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CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV

				Pages
PREFACE		•••	•••	xiii
VAISNAV	ISM, ŚAIVISM AND MINOR RE	LIGIOUS	,	
• •	rems			1-238
PART I		••••	••••	1 200
	- •			
I	Introductory	•••	•••	1
II	The Rise of a New Theistic Syste			3
III	Analysis of the Nārāyaniya Sect	ion of the		
	Mahābhārata	•••		6
IV	The Satvatas and their Religion		*···	11
v	Substance of the Bhagavadgitā			19
VI	The Sources of the Religion of th	e Bh agav	adgitā	37
v_{II}	Identification of Vāsudeva with	Nārāyaņa	•••	42
VIII	Identification of Vasudeva with	/isnu		47
IX	Identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣ	na with	the	
	Cowherd God (Gopāla-Kṛṣṇə.)			49
X	The Pāñcārātra or Bhāgavata Sy	stem		54
XI	The Avatāras of Visnu or Nārāys	aņa	•••	58
XII	Later Traces of the Bhagavata	School,	\mathbf{and}	•
	General Vaisnavism	•••	•••	60
XIII	The Cult of Rāma			65
XIV	Vāsudeva or Vaisņavism in the	South	•••	68
XV	Rāmānuja			71
XVI	Madhva or Anandatīrtha	•••		81
XVII	Nimbārka	.,.	•••	87
XVIII	Rāmānanda			9 3
XIX	Kabir	.,.	•••	95
XX	Other Rāmānandins		•••	104
XXI	Tulasīdās	•••	•••	105
XXII	Vallabha		•••	108
XXIII	Caitanya			117
XXIV	Debasement of Vaisnavism	•••	•••	122
XXV	Nāmadev and Tukārām			124
XXVI	Résumé of Vaisnavism	•••		142
			•••	

viii

		Pages
No Pali consonants omitted by Pali speakers		284
Exceptions to the above	•••	285
Changes of single consonants		286
Mātrā		289
Possible influence of aliens on language mod	lification	2 9 3
Assimilation of Consonants a universal rule	in P ali .	293
Several words, unknown to Sanskrit, but for	rmed from	
Sanskrit, coming into use	•	294
Grammar of the Pali Dialect		294
The Noun: Masculine Nouns ending in अ	•••	297
Masculine Nouns in इ and उ	•••	298
Masculine Nouns in ₹	•••	298
Masculine Nouns in a consonant	•••	299
Feminine Nouns		300
Neuter Nouns	•••	3 0 1
Pronouns	•••	3 01
False Analogies or Generalisations: false id	eas regard-	
ing some of these	••	304
The Verb in Pali		305
Terminations in Pali		3 06
The Grammar of Asoka Inscriptions: their	place	312
Examples of Asoka Inscriptions		3 13
Resemblance of some Inscriptions in Pali to	Sanskrit	31 6
LECTURE III The Prakrits and the Apabhran	nśa	319-373
Prakrits: Vararuci's Prākṛtaprakāsa; He	macan dra's	
Kosa of Desi words		319
Dandin: his Kāvyādarsa; Setubandha; V	ākpatirāj a ;	
Gaudavadhakāvya		320
General rule that the dramatic person sh		
language of the country to which he is s	upposed do	004
belong		323
Later dramatists : Sāhityadarpana		323

			Pages
Points of Difference between Mahārāstri	and Śaura	inean	
dialects	•••	•••	325
Examples of above	•••	•••	328
MS. of Gaudavadha	•••	•••	329
Phonetic changes common to Pali and Pr	akrits	•••	330
Phonetic changes in the Prakrits			33 3
Assimilation	•••	•••	338
Mahārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśācī, C	Jūl ikā Pa iš	āci &c.	343
The Grammar of the Prakrits	•••	•••	345
Masculine Nouns in अ in Prakrits	•••		346
Masculine Nouns in and in Prakrits	•••		346
Masculine Nouns in ₹ in Prakrits	•••	• • • •	347
Masculine Nouns in अन्, अत् (Pres. Prti.),			347
Feminine and Neuter Nouns in Prakrits	•••	و	348
Pronouns in Prakrits	•••		348
The Prakrit Verb	•••	•••	352
Conjugations	•••	•••	352
Śādhyāvastha and Siddhāvastha dialects			35 6
Tadbhava, Tatsama and Desya words; th	eir defin it i	ano	36U
Some Deśya words becoming Tadbhavas	•••	•••	361
The Apabhramsa	•••		36 2
An illustration of Apabhramsa	•••		363
The Phonology of Apabhramsa	•••	•••	364 ·
Declension of Apabhramsa	•••	•••	365
Nouns in अ in Apabhramsa	•••	•••	365
Nouns in ਵ or ਵ in Apabhramsa	•••	•••	368
Feminine Nouns in Apabhramás	•••	•••	363
Pronouns in Apabhramsa	•••	•••	370
The Verb in the Apabhramsa	•••	•••	371
LECTURE IV Phonology of the Vernacular	s of North	ern	
India .			4-473
Nine Principal Languages in India	•••		375
Nepali and Kashmiri not to be taken into	account		375
Old Hindi written in two dialects; Differe		en	
them	•••		37 6
Eight Principal Dialects in Northern Indi	a, instance	B S	
of Albama	****		377

			Pages
Words derived from Sanskrit from the eigh Distinction between the Vocabulary of the			381
of N. India			387
Distinction between Modern Tatsamas, San	skrit &c.	•••	388
Three classes of Prakrit and newly construction	cted word	8	389
Tracing the Vernaculars from Pali and Pra	kri ts	•••	3 90
Accent in Modern Vernaculars .	••	•••	412
The suffix ka in Pāṇini's time to indicate l	ittleness (&с.	420
The Original and Derivative Accents in the	Vernacula	ers	422
Accent in the Hindi		•••	424
Exceptions to the above		•••	425
Accent in Gujarati		•••	426
Accent in Panjabi		•••	42 6
Accent in Sindhi		•••	426
Accent in Bengali and Oriya	••	•••	426
Accent on Vernacular Terminations	••	•••	427
Accent in Vernacular Compounds	· 		427
Avoiding of the Histus in the Vernaculars	•••		42 8
Consonantal Changes in the Vernaculars		•••	431
Interchangeableness of certain Consonants	•••	•••	440
Va of the Causal Terminations in the Verns	acul ar s		447
Treatment of Sankrit Conjuncts in the Vern	aculars	•••	461
Dentals changed to Palatals	•••	•••	465
Assimilation of Members of Conjuncts	•••	•••	471
LECTURE V — Remnants of the Older Gramma	atical For	ms	
in the Northern Vernaculars	•	4'	74-511
Case Terminations in the Vernaculars	•••	•••	474
Pronouns in the Vernaculars	•••	•••	479
	•••	•••	480
	•••	•••	481
Verbal Terminations: The Present	•••	•••	482
Verbal Terminations: The Imperative	•••	•••	487
Verbal Terminations: The Future	•••	•••	493
The Past Tense in the Vernaculars	•••	•••	495
	•••	•••	495
The Present Participle in the Vernaculars	•••	•••	500

			Pages
The Absolutive in the Vernaculars	•••	•••	501
Infinitive of Purpose in the Vernaculars	•••	•••	502
Potential Participle in the Vernaculars	•••	•••	50 2
Passive in Participle in the Vernaculars	•••		503
Causal in Participle in the Vernaculars			504
LECTURE VI New Grammatical Format	ions in	the	
Northern Vernaculars		!	512-557
The Oblique forms		•••	513
The Oblique form in the Marathi: Five v	vays of ta	king	
the Obsolete forms in Marathi			513
The Oblique Forms of Sindhi			515
The Oblique Forms of Punjabi	•••	•••	516
The Oblique Forms of Hindi	•••	٠,	516
The Oblique Forms of Gujarati	•••	·	516
Absence of Oblique Form in Bengali and C	Oriya		518
Nature of the Oblique Form	•••	•••	519
Analysis of the Marathi Oblique Form	•••	•••	52 0
Analysis of the Sindhi Oblique forms	•••	•••	521
Hindi and Punjabi Oblique forms		•••	521
New Terminations in the Vernaculars	•••		525
Origin of Ka in the Vernacular Terminat	ions	•••	526
Origin of Sa in the Vernacular Termination	ons	•••	532
The Verbal forms	•••	•••	545
The Future Tense	•••	•••	553
LECTURE VII Relations between Sanskri	t, Pali,	the	
Prakrits and the Modern Ve	rnaculars	ŧ	58-5 9 0
The Vedic dialect lost a good deal of its wo	ords: "Mi	ddle	
Sanskrit'	•••		558
Pali the sacred language of the Southern	Buddhis	ts	5 58
Not great difference in the dialect : Prakrit			
importance		•••	559
Certain scholars holding that the Prak	rits were	an	
artificiality; its refutation		•••	559
The present practice of Desastha Brahmana	8	•••	560
Prakrits became literary and dead dialects			562
Were there various dialects in the Vedic ti		•••	562
Many uneducated persons using wrong En	glish : ins	tance	s 5 6 5

		Lake
The theory is utterly untenable; contemporaneous of	leve-	
lopment of Sanskrit and Prakrits an impossibil:	ity	569
Other objections—their refutation	•••	570
Positive evidence that Sanskrit was a spoken lang	uage:	
the evidence of Yaska	•••	572
Pāṇini and Patañjali	•••	572
Sanskrit Grammar the best in the world	•••	574
Sanskrit Compounds in the language-Later wa	riters	
using rather too many Sanskrit Compounds *	••••	575
Traces of Sanskrit expressions, showing that San	ıskrit	
in colloquial use once existed	•••	576
Sanskrit was not the only language in the tim	e of	
Katyāyana and Patañjali; instances	•••	577
Patañjali's evidence		578
Who were the Sistas without learning Pāṇini's Gr	ammar	581
Characters in Plays - Males and Females		585
Sanskrit losing ground - after some times	•••	585
Chronology and historical changes of the same		587
Pali people a foreign race?	•••	587
Pali continuing for a long time as the mother tong		587
Times of Asoka		588
Dates of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali		589
Prakrits coming into importance in the early centu	ıries	
of the Christian era	11108	590
Apabhramsa in the sixth or seventh Century; Dan	din :	000
Kālidāsa	iųiii,	5 9 0
Modern Vernaculars appearing about the tenth cer	***	090
a Copper-plate Inscription of 1206 A. D.	•	590
Author's Farewell	•••	590
List of Abbreviations	•••	
.,	•••	591
Index I General Index	•••	593
Index II — Index of Archaic and Obsolete Sanskr	it Word	ls 600
Index III Index of Mythological Names	•••	601
Index IV — Index of Ancient Writers and Works	•••	602
Index V — Index of Modern Scholars	•••	606
Index VI — Index of Sanskrit and other Words	•••	609

PREFATORY NOTE

This volume contains a reprint of (i) "Vaisnavism, Saivism, and Minor Religious Systems" included in the Grundriss der Indonvischen Philologie and first published in 1913; and (ii) "Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Derived Languages" delivered in 1877 and first published in a collected form in 1914. The first work was issued without any Preface. The Preface to the second work is dated, Sangam, Poona, 22nd June, 1914, and is reproduced below:

"I was appointed Wilson Philological Lecturer in 1877 and was thus the first lecturer under the Endowmint. subject was the Sanskrit and the Prakrit languages derived from it. I understood the Prakrit in a comprehensive sense, so as to include modern Vernaculars of Northern India also: and thus delivered a course of seven lectures on Sanskrit in its several forms, the Pali and the Dialects of the period, the Prakrits and the Apabhramsa. Phonology of the Vernaculars, Remnants of the older Grammatical Forms in the Vernaculars, New Grammatical Formations to supply the place of the forms that had disappeared, and the General Questions as to the relation between these several languages. The method I followed is strictly historical, tracing the modern Vernaculars from the original Sanskrit through all the different stages of development of which we have evidence, and assigning the different transformations to their causes, natural or physical, racial, and historical. These lectures, with the exception of the fifth and sixth. were thoroughly revised afterwards and the first two and the seventh were published in Vol. XVI of the Journal. BBRAS, between the years 1883 and 1885; while the third and the fourth were published between 1887 and 1889. The other two lectures remained in manuscript for a long time, until I finished in 1911 my book on "Vaispavism, Saivism etc." which was written for the series of Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research, which is being published at Strassburg by Karl J. Trübner. These have now been revised and I publish them for the first time along with a reprint of the five lectures in the present volume. The delay in the publication has been due to my having had to attend to more urgent work, such as the preparation of a translation of the Vāyu Purāṇa for the "Sacred Books of the East," which had afterwards to be given up, the preparation of my Early History of the Deccan and the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts and writing my several Reports on them.

"As, since 1908, my eye-sight has greatly impaired and I am unable to read matter printed in ordinary type or an ordinary manuscript, I have had to depend on Readers and Amanuenses. The work on "Vaisnavism, Saivism, etc." was written under these conditions, but the publication of the present volume was undertaken by my eldest son, Professor Shridhar Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, who has been associated with me in a good deal of my literary work. The lectures were all carried through the press by him at the sacrifice of a good deal of time and trouble.

"I regret to find some misprints in the present volume, but one-half of them occur in the fifth and the sixth lectures, which had to be set up from manuscript. There are comparatively few instances in the reprints of the other five lectures."

Dr. Bhandarker's classical work on Vaisnavism, Saivism, and Minor Religious Systems, being included in a costly German Series of publications, was not easily accessible to students in India, although greatly in demand. Sir Ramkrishna accordingly purchased from Messrs. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, assign of the firm Karl J. Trübner of Strassburg, the right to issue an Indian Edition of the work, and this right the B. O. R. Institute has purchased from him. The Indian Edition of the first book was issued separately in 1928. In the present volume it is incorporated along with the Wilson Philological Lectures.

The three Indexes to Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems were originally compiled by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D. The same have been retained here with necessary changes in pagination. The Indexes to the Wilson Philological Lectures have been prepared by me.

I was suddenly taken ill by paralysis on Thursday, September 8, 1927. I was unconscious for more than a month, and I am not yet completely recovered, although—thank God—I am slowly but surely regaining strength. For more than one year, Mr. G. N. Shrigondekar, B. A., of the Publication Department of the Bhandarkar Institute had to do the proof-correction and all other work in connection with this volume. To him and to all friends I am very sincerely thankful for all they did. Recently, I am recommended for Invalid's Pension.

With the present volume, three Volumes of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's works are now ready. The fourth volume, which however will be the first in order, will be ready next year. It may then be considered whether I may be able to compile a short biography of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar as originally contemplated.

The publication of the present volume in time for the annual literary tribute to be paid by the Bhandarkar Or. R. Institute would not have been feasible in my present invalid state had not the Press and the Publication Departments of the Institute—and especially Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, M. A., LL. B., D. LITT., the Superintendent of both,—come to my assistance. I offer him here my grateful thanks for the assistance, the extent of which cannot be adequately gauged.

Pandharpur Rei Pañcami, Śake 1851 (7th September 1929)

N. B. UTGIKAR

VAISŅAVISM, SAIVISM AND MINOR RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS.

PART I.

VAISNAVISM.

I. Introductory.

§ 1. The old Vedic gods became indissolubly involved in the elaborate and mechanical system of worship that had grown up. Speculations as regards the appropriateness of the rules and modes of worship, and their efficacy as regards man's good in this world and the next became prevalent. But all this did not satisfy the religious spirit of the people. Religious speculation of a more natural order came to be established about the close of the Hymn period and was continued into that of the Upanisads. The various problems about God, man and the world, engaged the attention of many thinkers, and a variety of solutious was arrived at. It is generally believed that the Upanisads teach a system of Pantheism but a close examination will show that they teach not one, but various systems of doctrines as regards the nature of God, man and the world and the relations between them. The religic-philosophic systems of modern times, which are mutually inconsistent, quote texts from the Upanisads as an authority for their special doctrines. These references to the old books are correct in the most prominent cases, but when the advocates of the systems force into other texts of an opposite nature a meaning consistent with their ow a pecial doctrines, they are manifestly wrong. .ds teach not one but various systems must follow the Upa nat they are compilations just as the Ravedafrom the fact Samhitā is. The speculations of the old seers were clothed by them in words, and these were handed down orally and came to e floating mass. When the idea of collecting these speculat or; arose, they were incorporated into books for the use of indiv dual Vedic schools. Hence it is that we find certain Asuras, Gandhabbas, Mahārājas, Canda, Suriya, Inda, Brahmā, Deva, Disā is the elephant, the horse, the cow, the dog, the crow, Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Punnabhadda, Manibhadda, etc., respectively.

Here a Buddhist, who cannot but be expected to show scant courtesy to religious systems other than his own, places the worshippers of Vāsudeva and Baladeva on the same level with those of fire, moon, sun and Brahmā, and even elephants, crows, dogs, etc. But the worship of Vāsudeva was destined to become the predominant religion of a large part of India even to the supersession of that of fire, sun, moon, and Brahmā and, of course, of the superstitious adoration of the lower animals. And it will be now our duty to trace its rise and progress.

§ 3. In his comment on Pāṇini IV. 3. 98. Pataṇjali distinctly states that the Vāsudeva contained in the Sūtra is the name of the "worshipful", i. e., of one who is pre-aminently worshipful, i. e., God!. The worship of Vāsudeva must be regarded to be as old as 'Pāṇini.

In an Inscription found at Ghosundi in Rājputāna², which unfortunately is in a mutilated condition, the construction of a wall round the hall of worship of Sainkarsana and Vāsudeva is mentioned. From the form of the characters in the Inscription it appears to have been engraved at least two hundred years B. C.

In another Inscription recently discovered at Besnagar³, Heliodora represents himself to have erected a Garudadhvaja or a column with the image of Garuda at the top in honour of Vāsudeva, the god of gods. Heliodora calls himself a Bhāgavata, was the son of Diya, was a native of Taksasilā and is spoken of as an ambassador of the Yavana and as such came on a political mission from Amtalikita to Bhāgabhadra, who must have ruled over Eastern Mālwā. In this Inscription occurs the name Amtalikita which in all likelihood is the same as Antialkidas of the Bactro-Greek coins. This name as well as the form of the characters show that it belongs to the earlier part of the second century before the

¹ See JRAS, 1910 p, 168,

² Luders, List of Brahmi Inscriptions, No. 6,

³ Ibid, No. 669,

Christian era. At that time Vāsudeva was worshipped as the god of gods and his worshippers were called Bhāgavatas. The Bhāgavata religion prevailed in the northwestern part of India and was adopted even by the Greeks.

In the Inscription No. 1 in the large cave at Nānāghāṭ¹, the names of Samkarsana and Vāsudeva, in a Dvandva compound, occur along with those of other deities in the opening invocation. This Inscription appears from the form of the characters to belong to the first century before the Christian era.

In the passage in the Mahābhāsya in which Patañjali, to account for the appearance of the name Vāsudeva in Pānini IV. 3. 98, says that this is not the name of a Ksatriya, but that of the Worshipful One, the question to be considered is whether Patanjali means this Vasudeva to be quite unconnected with the Vasudeva of the Vrsni race. From the occurrence of the names Vasudeva and Baladeva close to each other in the passage from the Niddesa referred to above, and that of Samkarsana and Vasudeva as worshipful or divine persons in a Dyandya compound in two of three above Inscriptions, it appears that the Vasudeva referred to by Patañjali as the Worshipful One must be the Vāsudeva of the Vrsni race. But to account for the appearance of the name in the Sutra, though the required form can be made up in accordance with the next Sūtra (Pānini, IV. 3. 99), Patanjali says that Pānini looks at Vāsudeva in his capacity as a divine person and not as a Ksatriya. One must take it in this sense, since the Ghosundi Inscription noticed above, in which Samkersana and Vāsudeva are associated as worshipful persons, must be older than Patanjali himself. Besides, Patanjali begins the discussion of the Sūtra by first taking Vāsudeva as the name of a Ksatriya and raising an objection against it. This objection is answered in one way, Vāsudeva being still regarded as a Ksatriya, and it is only optionally that he gives another explanation, that that name is not the name of a Ksatriya, but of a divine person. This optional explanation given in the last resort must, therefore, be understood in the sense given above. And from all the accounts of the Bhāgavata school contained in the whole literature it is clear that the worshipful Vāsudeva belonged to the Vrsni race.

¹ Ibid, No. 1112,

III. Analysis of the Narayamya Section of the Mahabharata.

§ 4. Having thus established on irrefragable evidence the existence during the three or four centuries before Christ of a religion with Vāsudeva as its central figure, and of a school of his followers, known by the name of Bhāgavata, I will now proceed to examine the detailed accounts contained in the literature and especially in the Mahābhārata. This was not done before, because the date of the Mahābhārata or any portion of it cannot be ascertained with any approach to certainty. The Nārāyaniya section of the Sāntiparvan, to which we shall devote a detailed consideration, is, however, older than Sankarācārya, who quotes from it.

Nārada is represented to have gone to the Badarikāśrama to see Nara and Nārāyaṇa. The latter was engaged in the performance of religious rites. Nārada asked Nārāyaṇa whom he worshipped, while he himself was the Supreme Lord. Nārāyaṇa told him that he worshipped his original Prakṛti (form), the source of all that is and that is to be. Nara and Nārāyaṇa as well as Kṛṣṇa and Hari, sons of Dharma, are represented as the four forms of the Supreme.

Narada flies into the sky to see that original Prakrti and alights on a peak of Meru. There he saw white men without sense, not eating anything, sinless, with heads like umbrellas, making a sound like that of thundering clouds and devoted to Bhagavat. Then Yudhisthira asked Bhisma who those people were, and how they came to be what they were. Bhisma tells the story of the king Vasu Uparicara, who worshipped God according to the Satvata Vidhi (form of ritual). He was a glorious king honoured by Indra, devoted to truth and holy. The best of the learned in the Paacaratra system were honoured with the first seat at dinner by him.

The narrator then proceeds to mention the Citrasikhandins, who appear to be the original promulgators of this religion. The mountain Meru was the place where they revealed it. They were seven, consisting of Marici, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha,

Kratu and Vasistha. The eighth was Sväyambhuva. From these eight, emanated this excellent Sästra. This they promulgated in the presence of the great Bhagavt, who said to the Rsis: "You have composed a hundred thousand excellent Slokas (stansas), which contain rules for all the affairs of men and are in harmony with Yajus, Sāman, Rc, and Atharvāngiras, and lay down precepts about the religion of action as well as that of contemplation or repose. I created Brahman from my peaceful and Rudra from my wrathful nature. This Sāstra will be handed down from person to person until it reaches Brhaspati. From Brhaspati the king Vasu will obtain it. The king will follow this Sāstra and will become my devotee. After his death this Sāstra will be lost." Telling all this the great god disappeared. Then the Citrasi-khandins spread the religion until it reached Brhaspati.

Then the old Kalpa having ended and the son of Angiras, the priest of the gods, being born, the gods were happy. The king Vasu Uparicara was his first pupil. He learned this Sastra from Brhaspati. At one time he brought forward an extensive horse-sacrifice, but no animal was killed on the occasion. The oblations were devised in accordance with the words of the Aranyakas. The god of gods showed himself to Vasu and accepted his oblation, but was unseen by anybody else. Since the oblation was taken away by Hari without showing himself to Brhaspati, the latter got angry and dashed upwards the sacrificial ladle. At that sacrifice Ekata, Dvita, and Trita, sons of Prajapati, and sixteen Rsis, many of whom are now known as the authors of literary works, such as Medhātithi, Tittiri, and Tāndya, are represented to have been present.

When Brhaspati was angry, they all said that the great Hari was not to be seen by any man at random; but by one who was favoured by his grace. Ekata, Dvita and Trita said: "On one occasion we went to the north for the attainment of eternal blish near the Milky Ocean, and practised austerities for four thousand years and at the end a voice in the air declared: 'Well, how can you see that great Lord? In the Milky Ocean there is a White Island where there are men possessing the lustre of the moon, who are the devotees of the god, possess no senses, do not eat anything and, being devoted solely to the god (Ekāntin or monotheistic), are absorbed in him, who is bright like the sun. Go to

that island; there shines my soul.' Accordingly we went to the white island, and, dazzled by the light of that being, were not able to see him. Then the truth fiashed upon us that the god cannot be seen by us unless we have gone through austerities. After further austerities for a hundred years we saw the men of the lustre of the moon with their minds fully absorbed in the contemplation of God. The refulgence of each man was like that of the sun on the last day. Then we heard a sound: 'Jitam te Pundarliaksa' etc.— (Triumphant art thou, Lotus-eyed one!). A short time after, a voice in the air declared: 'Go you away as you came. That great being is not to be seen by one who is not devoted to him'. Then we returned without being able to see him. How then will you be able to see him? "Having heard this from Ekata, Dvita and Trita, Brhaspati finished the sacrifice.

Vasu Uparicara had to live in a hole in the earth on account of the curse of the Rsis, who in a controversy with the gods maintained that no animal should be sacrificed, but only vegetable grain, while the gods contended that a goat should be sacrificed. The question was referred to Vasu who declared in favour of the gods. Vasu was raised from the hole by Nārāyaṇa, whom he had devotedly worshipped, by sending his Garuda to lift him up. He was thence taken to the Brahma world.

The story of Nārada's visit to Svetadvīpa is then continued. He praises the great Being by uttering names expressive of his purity and grandeur, and the great Being then manifested himself to him saying that he was not to be seen by one who was not solely devoted to him (Ekantin), and that, as Narada was such a one, he showed himself to him. He then proceeds to explain to him the religion of Vasudeva. Vasudeva is the supreme soul, the internal soul of all souls. He is the supreme creator. All-living beings are represented by Samkarsana, who is a form of Vasudeva. From Samkarsana sprang Pradyumna, the mind, and from Pradyumna Aniruddha, self-consciousness. "Those who are devoted to me enter into me and are released. " The great being calls the four mentioned above his forms (Murtis). The production of one form from another is also mentioned, all these forms are, however, styled his forms (Murtis). He then proceeds to mention the creation of gods and all other things by himself and their final dissolution into himself. Then are mentioned his incarnations (Avatāras), viz. Varāha, Narasimha, the oppressor of Bali, Rāma of the Bhrgu race and destroyer of the Ksatriyas, Rāma Dāšarathi, and "he who will come into existence for the destruction of Kamsa at Mathurā and after having killed many demons will finally settle at Dvārakā." In this manner having done all things by his four Mūrtis, he destroyed Dvāraka with the Sātvatas and went to Brahmaloka. After Nārada had heard this from the supreme Narāyana, he returned to Badarikāśrama.

What follows at the end of chapter 339 and in the next four chapters has little bearing on our subject, except that in one of them the etymological sense of Vāsudeva is given as one who covers the whole world and is the resting-place (Adhivāsa) of all beings.

In chapter 344 the path of those who are free from sin is given thus:—The sun is the gate, and after entrance all their [material impurities being burnt, they remain as atoms in him; then released from him, they enter into the Aniruddha form, and becoming mind, enter into the Pradyumna form. Leaving that form, they enter into that of Samkarsana, i. e., the form of the individual soul (Jiva). Afterwards being free from the three Gunas, they enter into the Supreme Soul, who exists everywhere and who is Vasudeva.

In chapter 346 Vaisampāyana relates to Janamejaya that the Dharma which Nārada got from 'the Lord of the world', Nārāyana himself, in all its details and peculiarities, was explained briefly to him (Janamejaya) in the Harigitā. In chapter 348 this Ekāntika Dharma is represented to be the same as that which was communicated to Arjuna at the beginning of the war. At the creation of each Brahmā, this Dharma was revealed by Nārāyana, and then at the end of the Brahmā it was lost. In the account of the fourth Brahmā the Dharma revealed is twice called Sātvata. In this manner it goes on up to the present or the seventh Brahmā, in which that Dharma was first communicated to Pitāmaha, and from him it passed in succession to Dakṣa, his grandson, the eldest Āditya, Vivasvat, Manu and Ikṣvāku. Later on it is stated that this original great eternal Dharma, difficult to be known and to be followed, is professed by the Sātvatas.

^{\$ [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

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\$ [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

This Dharma is associated with the non-slaughter of animals (Ahimsā) and when properly exercised, the lord Hari is pleased with it. Sometimes one Vyūha or form of the Lord is taught and sometimes two, three or four. Vaisampāyana winds up by saying that he has thus explained the Ekāntadharma.

§ 5. Here we have two accounts, the second of which is interweven with the first. The former, however, appear to relate to
a more ancient condition of things. The points to be noticed are
these: 1. At the sacrifice instituted by Vasu Uparicara no
animals were killed. 2. The oblations were devised in accordance
with the teachings of the Aranyakas which include the Upanisads.
3. The chief deity was the God of gods, who is also called Hari.
4. This Hari or God of gods is not to be seen by one who follows
the sacrificial mode of worship, such as Brhaspati did, nor by
persons who practise austerities for thousands of years, as Ekata,
Dvita and Trita did, but by one who worships Him with devotion
as Vasu Uparicara did.

Here then is an attempt to introduce a religious reform on more conservative principles than Buddhism and Jainism did. The repudiation of the slaughter of animals and the inefficacy of sacrificial worship and austerities are common to this religious reform with Buddhism. But that the supreme lord Hari is to be worshipped with devotion, and the words of the Aranyakas are not to be rejected, are doctrines which are peculiar to it. Vasu Uparicara's story goes so far only.

In the main account, according to which Nārada visited the White Island, we have a re-assertion of the doctrine that the Supreme Soul can be seen by one who worships him with devotion. The great Nārāyaṇa manifests himself to him and explains the religion of Vāsudeva and his three other forms (Vyūhas). He also mentions the future incarnations of Vāsudeva, and one of these is that assumed at Mathurā for the destruction of Kamsa. The supreme Nārāyaṇa indentifies himself with Vāsudeva in his four forms (Vyūhas). At the end it is stated that the religion is followed by the Sātvatas.

These two accounts seem to represent two stages in the progress of reform. In the earlier one the worship of Vasudeva and

his three other forms is not known. The Supreme God is named Hari, and his worship has not thoroughly emancipated itself from the religion of sacrifices. The reform had no reference to specific historical personages and was promulgated by certain sages who are called Citrasikhandins and whose names had been handed down by tradition. The later account connects the reform with Väsudeva and his brother, son and grandson, and the new religion is represented to have been identical with that taught in the Bhagavadgitā. This reformed system is said to have been promulgated by Nārāyana himself.

It thus appears that the idea of a religion of devotion arose in earlier times, but it received a definite shape when Vāsudeva revealed the Gītā to Arjuna, and led to the formation of an independent sect, when his brother, son and grandson were associated with him as his forms presiding over certain psychological categories, or as persons created by him for the purpose. That sect became conterminous with the race of the Sātvatas. We have now to consider who these Sātvatas were.

IV. The Satvatas and their Religion.

§ 6. In the Adiparvan, Vāsudeva addressing the Vṛṣṇis says that Pārtha does not think them who are Sātvatas to be covetous. Vāsudeva is called Sātvata in Adip. 218. 12; Kṛṭavarman in Adip. 221. 31; Sātyaki in Droṇap. 97. 36; and Janārdans in Udyogap. 70. 7. At the end of chap. 66 of the Bhiṣmaparvan, Bhiṣma says: "This eternal god, mysterious, beneficent and loving should be known as Vāsudeva, and Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiṣyas and Sūdras worship him by their devoted actions. At the end of the Dvāpara and the beginning of the Kali age, he was sung or expounded by Samkarṣaṇa according to the Sātvata rites (Vidhi).

At the end of chap. 12 of the third book of the Visque-Purāņa it is stated in the account of the genealogy of the Yādevas and the Vṛṣṇis that Sātvata was the son of Amsa, and all his descendants were after him called Sātvatas. The Bhāgavata represents the Sātvatas as calling the highest Brahman Bhagavat and Vāsudeva (IX.9.49), and having a peculiar mode of worshipping him. It mentions the Sātvatas along with the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis, which were Yādava tribes (I. 14. 25; III. 1. 29), and calls Vāsudeva, Sātvatarsabha (X. 58, 42; XI. 27. 5).

In Patanjali under Panini IV. 1. 114, Vāsudeva and Bāladeva are given as derivatives from Vrsni names in the sense of sons of Vāsudeva and Baladeva. Instances given by the Kāsikā of the same are Vāsudeva and Aniruddha. Here Aniruddha means the son of Aniruddha, and therefore Vāsudeva must mean the son of Vāsudeva and not of Vasudeva, as will appear from what follows. In the latter work under Pāṇini VI. 2. 34, Sini-Vāsudevāh is given as a Dvandva of royal Vṛṣṇi names, each of them being in the plural, and Samkarṣaṇa-Vāsudevau as a Dvandva of royal Vṛṣṇi names each being in the singular, so that Vāsudeva means both the individual of that name and his sons.

From all this and such other passages from Patañjali it will appear that Sātvata was another name of the Vṛṣṇi race of which Vāsudeva, Samkarsaṇa, and Aniruddha were members, and that the Sātvatas had a religion of their own according to which Vāsudeva was worshipped as the Supreme Being, and thus the account given above from the Nārāyaṇiya is amply confirmed.

§ 7. It therefore appears that this religion of devotion to Vasudeva ascends as high into antiquity as Panini himself. As I have mentioned elsewhere, the Ksatriyas engaged themselves in active speculations on religious matters about the time of the Upanisads,1 and are mentioned even as the original possessors of the new knowledge. Siddhartha and Mahavira founded in this period of intellectual fermentation new systems of religion in the east or the Magadha country, which discarded or passed over in silence the doctrine of the existence even of God and laid down selfabnegation and a course of strict moral conduct as the way to salvation. They belonged to the Sakya and Jñatrka races of Ksatriyas. and Buddhism and Jainism might be considered to be the religions of those tribes. The west, however, was not so radical in its speculations, and the race of Satvatas developed a system of religion which took up the ideas of a Supreme God and devotion to him as the mode of salvation.

These Satvatas and the worship of Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa seem clearly to be alluded to by Megasthenes, who was the Macedonian

Verhandlungen des VII. Internat. Orientalisten-Congress m Wien. Ar. Sect., pp. 108-9. [This article is included in Vol. I of this Edition.—N. H.U.]

ambassador at the court of Candragupta, the Maurya. Candragupta reigned in the last quarter of the fourth century B. C. The statement of Megasthenes is that Herakles was specially worshipped by the Sourasenoi, an Indian nation, in whose land are two great cities, Methora and Kleisobora, and through it flows the navigable river Jobares. The Sourasenoi were the Sūrasenas, a tribe of Kṣatriyas, who lived in the region in which was situated Mathurā, corresponding to Methora in the above passage, and in which flowed the river Jobares, which has been idententified with the Jumna or Yamunā. If the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa worship prevailed in the time of the first Maurya, it must have originated long before the establishment of the Maurya dynasty, and my assertion that it owes its origin to the stream of thought which began with the Upanisads and culminated in the east in Buddhism and Jainism, and arose about the time of the latter, is confirmed.

The name expressive of the Supreme Spirit was, however, in the early period Vāsudeva alone. In the passage from the Niddesa and the three Inscriptions Vāsudeva is the name that occurs.

In the Bhagavadgita (VII, 19) it is stated that "He who possesses knowledge gives himself up to me, believing Väsudeva to be Even in the Bhagavata Mantra of twelve syllables which is usually repeated at the present day and which is mentioned by Hemādri, it is to Vāsudeva that obeisance is made. In Bhīsmap. chap. 65 Brahmadeva, addressing the Supreme Spirit (Purusa Paramesvara), entreats him to become the increaser of the Yadu race, and then, referring apparently to a foregone age, he says: O Vasudeva! this great secret I have communicated to thee through thy favour as it really is. Having created thyself as the God Samkarsana, thou didst procreate thy son Pradyumna. He created Aniruddha who is Visnu himself, and he created me (Brahmadeva), who am made up of Vasudeva and created by thee. Dividing thyself in this way be born as a human being again." In the beginning of chapter 66 of the same Parvan, Prajāpati speaks of himself as having asked the supreme lord of all to dwell in the world of men as Vasudeva (to become incarnate). This Supreme Spirit should, it is said,

¹ Vratakhanda (Bibl. Ind.) p. 225. The Mantra is Om namo Bhagavate Vasudeväya.

be known as Vāsudeva, and throughout the chapter that name alone is used in speaking of the eternal God.

The substance of these two chapters seems to be that in a former age the Supreme Spirit Vāsudeva created Samkarsana and the rest up to the Brahmā himself, and on the present occasion the latter asked him again to be born in the Yadu race as Vāsudeva, dividing himself into four parts as on the previous occasion. Thus Vāsudeva was the name of the teacher of the religion of devotion, and there appears to be an implication here that he existed with the other three in a previous age. Even as a member of the Vṛṣṇi race the name Vāsudeva occurs in the examples quoted above from the Mahābhāṣya and Kāsikā and no other.

In the passages quoted by me in my article on "Allusions to Kṛṣṇa etc.," the name Kṛṣṇa occurs three times, Vāsudeva in three passages and Janārdana in one. But in Kielhorn's Edition of the Mahābhāṣya, which is more accurate than the Benares edition which I then used, the reading Kṛṣṇa in two of the three places is supported by one Manuscript only; and Vāsudeva occurs instead of Kṛṣṇa in one of the two places and the other is entirely omitted, so that Vāsudeva is used four times and Kṛṣṇa only once. In the Bhagavadgītā (X. 37) the Bhagavat says that of the Vṛṣṇis he is Vāsudeva.

In the Buddhist Chatajātaka the two eldest sons of Upasāgara and Devagabbhā are named Vāsudeva and Baladeva. In the prose narrative no other name is given, but the names Kanha and Kešava occur in the verses that are interwoven with the prose. The commentator remarks on the first verse that he is there addressed by his Gotra name Kanha, for he belonged to the Kanhāyana Gotra, thus showing his belief that Vāsudeva was the true proper name of the person. This belief he expresses again in his commentary on a verse occurring in the Mahāummaggajātaka, in which Jambāvātl is mentioned as the beloved queen of Vāsudeva Kanha. Here also Vāsudeva is mentioned as belonging to the Kanhāyana Gotra, and from the verse itself, in which Vāsudevassa Kanhassa occurs, it would appear that Kanha

Ind. Aut., Vol. III, pp. 14 ff. [This article is included in Vol. I of this Edition.—N. B. U.]

was the family name, the sense being Vāsudeva, the Kanha, so that the author of the verse itself would seem to regard Vāsudeva as the proper name of the individual, and thus he and the procenarrative agree.

§ 8. Thus then Vāsudeva appears to be a proper name and not a patronymic, and when the Vāsudeva religion or the Bhāgavata school took its rise, that was the name by which the Supreme Deity was known. The conception of Vasudeva as his father must have arisen afterwards, as appears to me from the example Vāsudevaḥ given in the Mahābhāṣya in the sense of "son or descendant of Vāsudeva", and not "of Vasudeva", as must be inferred from the analogous instance of Bāladeva from Baladeva. Baladeva was associated with Vāsudeva and not with Vasudeva.

Krsna, Janardara, and Kesava do not appear to be Vrsni names and were given to Vāsudeva in subsequent times when his worship had widely spread. All these three occur in Patanjali also, but the two latter only once so far as I know. But of these the name Krsna is more important than the other two and many others that are used. It appears to be as much a proper name as Vāsudeva, though the latter has a religious signification specially attached to it. How then did this name Krsna come to be used? It was the name of one of the Vedic Rsis, the composer of hymn 74 of the eighth Mandala. He speaks of himself as Krsna in verses 3 and 4 of the hymn. The author of the Anukramani calls him an Angirasa or descendant of Angirasa. In the KB. (XXX. 9) apparently the same Krsna Angirasa is alluded to and is represented to have 'seen' the evening libation in its connection with the Brāhmanācchamsin priest. Krsna occurs in a Gana attached to Pāṇini, IV. 1. 96. In the Gana connected with Pāṇini IV. 1. 99 Krsna and Rana are represented to form the Gotra names Karsnayana and Rāṇāyana. These were Brāhmana Gotras falling under the group of Vasisthas. The former is the Gotra alluded to by the commentator on the verses in the Jatakas noticed above. But he apparently does not confine it to the Brahmana class. Then the name Kṛṣṇa as the son of Devaki occurs in the Chandogya-Upanisad (III. 17). He was the pupil of Ghora, who was an Angirasa. If Kṛṣṇa was also an Angirasa, which is not improbable, it must be inferred that there was a tradition about Krapa as a sage from the time of the Rovedic hymns to the time of the Chandogya-Upanisad, and about a Gotra of the name of Karsnayana, which literally means collection of Krsnas, of which the original Krsna was the founder. This tradition gave rise to the identification of the sage Krsna with Vasudeva, when he was raised to the rank of the supreme deity. Just as the name Janamejaya, the son of Pariksit, which occurs in the AB., was in subsequent times used as the name of the person to whom the Mahabharata was narrated, and a genealogy was given to him from Arjuna, the Pandava, so it is possible that Vasudeva was identified with the sage Krsna and a genealogy given to him in the Vrsni race through Sūra and Vasudeva.

Perhaps the best explanation of the fact of Vasudeva having been called Krsna is that given by the commentator of the Gathas or verses of the Jatakas, supported, as it appears to me, by the author of the Gathas himself, that Krsna was a Gotra name. Gotra Kārsnāyana which corresponds to Kanhāyana is not only mentioned as a Brahmana Gotra belonging to the Vasistha group in the Gana alluded to above, but is stated to have belonged to the Pārāsara subdivision of that group in the Matsyapurāna. ch. 2001. Though this was a Brāhmana and Pārāsara Gotra, it could be assumed for sacrificial purposes by a Ksatriya, for according to Asvalayana (Sr. S. XII. 15) the Gotra and the ancestors invoked of the Ksatriyas are those of their priests or chaplains, and the only Rsi ancestors that all the Ksatriyas have are Manava, Aila and Paururavasa. The name of these do not distinguish one Ksatriya family from another, and, to answar the purposes of such a distinction, the Gotra and ancestors of the priest are assumed. Vasudeva therefore belonged to the Karsnayana Gotra, though it was a Brāhmana and Pārāsara Gotra, and as belonging to this Gotra he could be called Krsna by name. Having come to be known by that name, all the traditions about the learning and spiritual insight of the old Krsna, and also of his being the son of Devaki were engrafted on him, and thus in the Sabhaparvan 38, Bhisma says that one of the two reasons for giving the highest honours to Krsna was that he possessed the knowledge of the Vedas and dependent treatises (Vedangas), and that he was also a sacrificial priest (Rtvij). The Hindu habit of

¹ Quoted also in Purusottan a's Pravaram añjari, Mysore edition.

thought of identifying one god with others by regarding the latter either as forms or incarnations of the former, and thus evolving monotheism out of polytheism, led to the identification of this Väsudeva with other gods and with the boy Kṛṣṇa of Gokula. These we will notice later on.

§ 9. In the Nārāyaṇiya we have an explanation of the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra system. This system also we will notice in its ripened form later. In the meanwhile we will turn our attention to the statement that the Ekāntika-Dharma founded by Vāsudeva has been explained in the Harigitā and on the occasion when the armies of the Kurus and the Pāṇdavas stood face to face and Arjuna lost heart. The allusion is of course to the Bhagavadgītā.

This passage is noticed in the Bhaktisūtra (83) and its commentary, in which it is stated that Ekāntabhāva (which is the subject of the Nārāyaniya), or devotion to one only, is Bhakti alone, since the former is recognised in that passage as identical with the main topic of the Bhagavadgītā. But the Bhagavadgītā contains no allusion to the Yyūhas or forms of the Supreme, Samkarṣana and others, while the latter form a characteristic of the Bhāgavata school. The Gītā, however, mentions as the Prakrtis of Vāsudeva the five elements, the mind, Buddhi or knowledge, and egoism as well as Jīva (VII. 4, 5). The last is identified with Samkarṣana in the Bhāgavata system, egoism with Aniruddha, and mind, with which probably Buddhi is associated, with Pradyumna.

What appears to be the fact is this: The Bhagavadgita was composed before the doctrines of the Bhagavata school were reduced to a system, and it was then that the three of the Prakrtis of the Supreme were personified into Samkarsana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, who were members of the family of Vasudeva. In the prevalent worship, however, Samkarsana alone is found associated with Vasudeva in early times, as is seen from the Inscriptions, and the passage from the Niddesa noticed in the beginning. Patanjali also notices, under Panini II. 2. 34, a verse in which it is stated that certain musical instruments are sounded in a gathering in the temple of Dhanapati, Rāma and Kešava.

¹ Ante, p. 3, [N. B. U.]

^{3 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

Here Rāma and Kesava are Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, and it is clear that there were festive gatherings at their temples in Patañjali's time. If the passage in Patañjali under Pāṇini VI. 3. 6, "Janārdana with himself as the fourth", i. e., with three companions, may be taken to allude to the three Vyūhas, then it must be understood that the four Vyūhas, Vāsudeva, Samkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, were known in Patañjali's time. Still it is doubtful, and it may be taken for granted that the two Vyūhas, Vāsudeva and Samkarṣaṇa, only were known up to the time of the latest Inscription which is to be referred to about the beginning of the first century before the Christian era, so that the system of four Vyūhas was not fully developed up to that time.

If this reasoning is correct, it will be seen that the date of the Bhagavadgitā which contains no mention of the Vyūhas, or personified forms, is much earlier than those of the Inscriptions, the Niddesa and Patañ ali, i. e., it was composed not latter than the beginning of the fourth century before the Christian era. How much earlier it is difficult to say. At the time when the Gita was conceived and composed, the identification of Vasudeva with Narayana had not taken place, nor had his being an incarnation of Visnu come to be acknowledged, as appears from the work itself. When his Virāj or universe-form was shown to Arjuna, as represented in the eleventh chapter, he is twice addressed by the latter as Visnu on account of his dazzling brilliance, which rendered everything hot, and filled the whole universe. Here Visnu is alluded to as the chief of the Adityas and not as the supreme being, and Vasudeva was Visnu in this sense, as mentioned in chapter 10, because the best thing of a group or class is represented to be his Vibhūti or special manifestation.

§ 10. A characteristic of a new system of religion that comes into vogue is, that the followers are not satisfied with the idea, that the person known as the founder originated the system. They push back the origin by many ages. Siddhārthaka was preceded by many Buddhas, so was Mahāvīra by many Tirthemkeras. So in the case of the Bhāgavata school we have seen that that system was taught by Nārāyaṇa at the beginning of each Frahman, and

in the existing Brahman it was first taught to Pitāmaha or Prajāpati and thence it passed to Daksa, Vivasvat, Manu and Ikṣvāku. This last order of its revelation is alluded to at the beginning of the fourth chapter of the Gitā, which confirms the tradition noticed in the Nārāyaniya about the identity of the religion of the Gitā with the Ekāntika religion revealed by Nārāyaṇa. In this respect of pushing back the origin the Bhāgavata system resembles Buddhism and Jainism.

V. Substance of the Bhagavadgita.

§ 11. We will now pass under review the main contents of the Bhagavadgitā, as from all appearances it is the earliest exposition of the Bhakti system or the Ekāntika Dharma.

Chapter II. Arjuna is reluctant to fight because it involves the destruction of his near and revered relatives and of other men. Bhagavat endeavours to remove the reluctance by speaking of the eternity and indestructibility of the human soul. Here are two stanzas which occur, with a variation in one of the lines, in the Katha Upanisad. Then to fight is spoken of as the duty of a Ksatriya for whom there is no other good than a just fight. This mode of thinking is characterised as being Samkhya, and the Yoga mode then follows.

The condition of mind in the Yoga mode is a determined will. Those who according to the precepts of the Veda perform rites for fulfilment of various desires, cannot have a determined steadfast will. For attaining such a will one should think only of the deed to be done and not of the fruits to be derived from it. With a concentrated mind and without any attachment to other objects one should devote oneself to the deed alone. By such devotion to acts with a determined will, man finally attains inflexibility of will (becomes Sthitaprajña), and all his desires being uprooted, he attains complete serenity of soul or the Brāhmi condition. When he is in this condition at the time of death, he obtains quiescence in Brahman. This comes to the same doctrine as that stated in the Katha and Brhadāranyaka-Upaniṣads, that when all desires in the heart are uprooted, the mortal becomes immortal and attains to Brahman. The discipline, however, prescribed for

Yadā sarve pramucyante kāmā yesya hṛdi śritāḥ, KU. VI. 14, and also BU. IV. 4. 7.

the attainment of this end is not simply moral, but religious also, since it is stated that after having controlled the senses which render the mind restless, a man should devote himself to Bhagavat.

§ 12. Chapter III. There are two paths, that of devotion to knowledge for the Sāmkhyas, and that of devotion to Karman or action for the Yogins. Every one is born for a life of activity, but the deeds done do not tie him down to the world, if he does them for worship (Yajña) and not for his private purposes. No Karman is necessary for one whose enjoyments consist in himself, who is satisfied with himself and contented in himself. But for other people action is necessary, and it must be done without any selfish desire. Janaka and others obtained perfection by devoting themselves to actions alone, i. e., by the pursuit of an active life. But the action should be dedicated to the Supreme, and one should not seek any fruit for himself. But such a frame of mind is not attainable by ordinary men, who are under the influence of their physical nature and sensual passions.

Then a question is asked what it is that prompts man to sin. The reply is that it is desire and anger which are all-powerful and envelop a man's spiritual existence. Desire acts through the senses, but intelligence is superior to the senses, and superior to this latter is the will (Buddhi) and the soul is superior to Buddhi. Knowing oneself to be higher than Buddhi, one should curb oneself by efforts and kill desire which acts through the series, viz., senses, intellect, will. Here the superiority of one faculty over another is an idea borrowed from the Katha-Upanisad. In connection with the teaching that action should be done disinterestedly, Bhagavat makes the closest possible approach to the Sāmkhya doctrine that the soul being deluded by egoism (Ahamkāra) regards himself as the agent of the actions done by the qualities of nature, he forms an attachment to the qualities and actions.

§ 13. Chapter IV. The chapter begins with Bhagavat's mention of his communication of this system to Vivasvat in the first instance, as alluded to above. Incidentally the question of his ex-

¹ Ante, p. 1 . [N. B. U.]

istence at the time of Vivasvat comes up, and he then explains his being born again and again, and assuming incarnations for the destruction of the wicked by means of his Praktti. They who know the incarnations and the celestial deeds of Bhagavat, are released from the body and are not born again. By means of knowledge, men, being purified and their passions destroyed, and being devoted to him and resorting to him and resting on him, attained to the condition of Bhagavat. Bhagavat resorts to men in the manner in which they resort to him; men everywhere follow his path.

The idea of action without attachment is further developed. The metaphorical Yajñas are mentioned, such as the sacrifice of the senses into the fire of restraint, of the objects of the senses into the senses, of the operation of the senses and of the vital breaths into the fire of Yoga, which is the control of the self. these Yajñas cannot be accomplished without acts. Of these the Yajña of knowledge is the best; for by its means one sees all things in one-self and in God (Supreme spirit). This highest knowledge brings about freedom from all sin, and destroys the polluting effect of action. The realisation of the Yoga sets aside the significance of the actions. This highest knowledge puts an end to all doubt and one becomes a spirit -- a spirit totally free. When acts are done in this condition, they do not defile a person.—Here the tendency to rationalise Yajñas or sacrifices, which set in in the Upanisad period, is seen in a developed form, since the restraint of the senses, the attainment of knowledge, and such other practices are characterised as Yajñas or sacrifices.

Another point that deserves notice is the statement that Bhagavat deals with men in the manner in which they deal with him, that is, the spirit with which God is approached by men is reciprocated by God. This is followed by the affirmation that men everywhere, whatever the differences of their views, follow the path of Bhagavat. Here lies, in germ, the principle that all religions have a basis of truth in them.

§ 14. Chapter V. Sāmkhya and Yoga are brought into connection with Samnyāsa and Karmayoga. They are not independent of each other. Following either thoroughly, one obtains the fruit of both. The place which is obtained bp Sāmkhyas is obtained also

by Yogas. For Jñānayajña or sacrifice of knowledge enabling a man to see all things in himself and in God, and this knowledge bringing about freedom from sin, the same condition is attained to, which an active life or pursuit of actions (Karmayoga) brings about, when the actions are done disinterestedly or without aiming at the fruit, with an eye directed towards Brahman only, the true essence of things. Though this is so, still Samnyasa is difficult to be realised without Yoga. With Yoga one attains to it soon. A Yogin does not think that he does something when he sees, hears, eats, sleeps, etc. This is so when these acts are done without any attachment, the aim being the realisation of Brahman. The Yogins perform deeds by their body, mind, will, or simply by their senses, without any attachment for the sake of spiritual purification. By means of Yoga, Jñāna is obtained, and in this condition man looks at all things alike. When a man looks at all things with the same regard, what he aims at is the Brahman and in it he rests. This leads to the consideration of the final peace in Brahman and the method of attaining it. peace in Brahman resembles the condition of an Arhat in Buddhism, but the Bhagavadgita does not end there and adds that in this condition of deliverance a person comes to know the Supreme Soul as one to whom all kinds of worship and austere practices are directed as the lord of all worlds and the friend of all beings: and it is this knowledge that leads to peace.

§ 15. Chapter VI. He who does not attach himself to the result of his actions and does what he ought to do, is Samnyāsin as well as Yogin. Karman or action is necessary to become a sage (Muni). When he has attained the dignity of a sage, the essence of it is peace. Then follows a description of the state of a man who has attained Yoga. Practice of Yoga, or contemplation, is then described. When a man goes through the Yoga practices, he attains serenity in Bhagavat, i. e., becomes absorbed in him in peace. All the functions of the mind are suspended in the condition of Yoga. Seeing himself by himself he rests in himself.

Then follows an explanation of the process of abstraction and concentration. A Yogin sees himself in all things and all things in himself, looks at all things in the same light. The Supreme Spirit is not lost to him who sees Him everywhere and sees everything in

Him, the Supreme Spirit. He who looks upon the Bhagavat as one, though he exists in all things, exists in him, though he moves about everywhere. He who regards all as himself (and looks upon them in the same light) in matters of happiness and misery is the best Yogin. Then Arjuna remarks on the difficulty of this Yoga. "The mind" he says, "is restless". But Bhagavat replies that it can be controlled by practice as well as by reflection on the vanity of things (Vairāgya). At the end Bhagavat teaches that he is the greatest Yogin, who, having faith in him, adores him with his whole soul centred in him.

The Yoga described in this chapter is found in some of the Upaniṣads, especially in the Śvetāśvatara. The affirmation "sees himself in himself and everywhere else" occurs in the Brhadáranyaka (IV. 4. 23). The author winds up the chapter with a verse which is in every sense theistic, as he does the fifth chapter, in order, it would appear, that the description of the mental discipline contained in the last chapter, and of Yoga in this, might not lead to non-theistic conclusions. Care is taken to bring the whole into connection with the Supreme Soul.

§ 16. Chapter VII. In the last six chapters has been explained the whole process of Karmayoga from beginning to act regardless of the fruit, to the attainment of the condition of Yogin, who acting solely with a view to the acquisition of the Brahma condition, is free from passions, looks upon all things alike; and it is added at the end that he is the best of the Yogins, who adores Bhagavat with faith and with a devoted heart. This is added to show that the processes up to the attainment of the Yoga condition, are difficult to be practised by men with such passions as we possess, and the way to be free from them is to surrender oneself to God; and therefore in this chapter Bhagavat goes on to explain the nature of created beings and of his relation to them. He begins by saying that God's Prakrti is eightfold: the five elements, mind, will (Buddhi), and egoism. Jiva is another Prakrti. which supports the world. From these are produced all objects or beings. Bhagavat is the source and the last resting place of the world. There is nothing further than him. All these things are strung together in him as gems in a string. That which is the characteristic excellence of a thing is Bhagavat himself. All the three qualities and the conditions resulting from them proceed from him. Bhagavat is not in them and they are not in him. Bhagavat is beyond all these three conditions. The world, deluded by the conditions resulting from the three qualities, does not know Bhagavat, the Supreme Spirit, who is beyond them all. This Māyā of Bhagavat consisting of these qualities is very difficult to be got over, and this Māyā they get rid of, who take refuge in him. Wicked men do not resort to Bhagavat, their understanding being clouded by Māyā and resorting to Āsura or demoniacal condition.

The devotees of Bhagavat are of four kinds. Of these the Jāānin, or the enlightened, is the best. The Jāānin sticks to Bhagavat as his best refuge. The enlightened man surrenders himself to him, regarding Vasudeva as everything. Other people are attached to other deities and undertake different vows. Their faith in their deities is generated by Bhagavat and strengthened by him. They worship those deities with that faith and attain fruit. That fruit is yielded by Bhagavat himself. But it is perishable. Not knowing Bhagavat's true nature, which is unchangeable and excellent, ignorant people regard him as something indiscrete at first and afterwards made discrete. He is not intelligible to all beings, being enveloped in Yogamaya (mystic power). He knows the past, the present and the future, and nobody knows him. By likes and dislikes all beings are deluded, and those only, who are released from the infatuation of likes and dislikes, with their sins being destroyed by the practice of virtue, adore the Supreme. Those who know Bhagavat to be Adhiyajña (presiding over worship) and Adhibhūta (presiding over beings), come to know him when they depart this life.

For the idea of all existing things being strung together in the Supreme, we may compare MU. II. 2.5, and BU. III. 8.3—4; 6—7. Ordinary people are represented as resorting to other deities, led by several desires. The Bhagavat confirms their faith in their deities, and the fruits that they get from them are perishable. Here appears the same idea as that noticed in chap. IV and to be noticed in chap. IX, viz., that the worshippers of other gods are really Bhagavat's worshippers, and that there is a principle of unity in all religious.

§ 17. Chapter VIII. Arjuna begins by putting questions about the three subjects mentioned in the last verse of the last chapter, and about Brahman and Adhyatma. Bhagavat then explains these. About perceiving him at the time of death he says: "He who leaves his body while remembering me at the time of death, attains to the same condition as mine." Finally he states that he who departs this life, while meditating on the all-knowing, eternal ruler, who is smaller than the smallest thing, who is the protector of all, whose form is unthinkable, whose brilliance is like that of the sun, and who is beyond all darkness—with devotion, his whole soul gathered between the brows with the power of concentration, reaches that Supreme Being, who is higher than the highest. then mentions the attainment of the Unchangeable, with the mind concentrated, and the reaching of the final goal after leaving the body by means of a Yoga process and by the utterance of the syllable 'Om' and the remembrance of Bhagavat all the while. Bhagavat is easily attainable by one who meditates on him with a singleness of mind and is devoted to him. Every being is subject to transmigration, but is free from it when he reaches Bhagavat.

During the night of Brahman all these things are resolved into the indiscrete (Avyakta), and, when the day dawns, they spring out again from it. There is another substance, different from the Avyakta and itself indiscrete (Avyakta), which is not destroyed when all others are destroyed. This substance which is indiscrete, is unchangeable and that is the highest resting place, which being attained to, there is no return. That is Bhagavat's highest abode. That supreme soul, in whom all these beings are and who has spread out all this, is to be attained by single-minded devotion. Then he proceeds to mention the two paths. Those who die while the sun is in his northern course (Uttarāyaṇa) go to Brahman, and those who die while he is in his southern course (Dakṣiṇāyana) go to the orb of the moon, from which the soul returns.

It is worthy of observation that after mentioning that the man who meditates on the Supreme at the time of death reaches him, he mentions the attainment of the Aksara, which is the highest

^{4 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

goal, by resorting to a Yoga process. This seems to be like looking back on the Yoga practices for the attainment of the Aksara (Brahman) mentioned in the Upanisads, such as the Mundaka (II. 2. 3), and the Svetasvatara (I. 14). In the first passage, the syllable 'Om' is compared to a bow, the soul to the arrow, and Brahman to the target which is to be hit. In the second a person is instructed to use his own body as the nether wooden piece and the Pranava as the upper one, and, practising meditations, which is like rubbing of the wooden pieces against each other, to discover the God hidden like Agni in the pieces of wood. Here the Aksara Brahman of the Mundaka is transformed into Deva (God) in the Svetasvatara-Upanisad, and the Bhagavadgita also prescribes the meditating on Bhagavat while the syllable 'Om' is being uttered. Here, therefore, we see the effort to invest the unchangeable and indiscrete Brahman with a strong distinct personality. Later on in the chapter, another Avyakta is mentioned, besides that into which all things are resolved at the dissolution of the universe. This Avyakta is eternal and indestructible and is called Aksara and the highest goal. Here, however, this Aksara is at once rendered theistic by being spoken of as the highest abode or condition of Bhagavat.

§ 18. Chapter IX. In this chapter Bhagavat proceeds to explain the direct and indirect knowledge which constitute the royal lore and the royal secret. It is to be directly perceived. It is holy and easy to be practised. The Bhagavat spread out all this universe. All things are in him and he is not in them, and still the objects are not in him. Wonderful is his lordly power. He is the sustainer of all beings and is not in them. His self brings all things into existence. As the air which exists in the sky is everywhere, so all beings are in him. At the dissolution of the world all beings are dissolved into his Prakrti, and at the beginning of a new Kalpa they are discharged forth again. All these acts do not contaminate him, as he does them without any desire. With himself as the director, the Praketi brings forth the moveable and immoveable things. Foolish men disre and him who has assumed a human form, not knowing his true nature, viz., that he is the lord and the great ruler of all; but great souls, assuming a godly nature, knowing him to be the origin of all beings, adore him with single-mindedness. Some people worship him by Jñānayaiña i. e., a rationalised sacrifice, taking him as one or several, or as having his face in all directions.

He is a subsidiary as well as the main sacrifice. He is Svadha. herbs, Mantra, ghee. He is Agni and he is also oblation. father, mother, nourisher and grandfather of the world. Ro, Saman, etc. He is the way, sustainer, lord, witness, shelter and friends etc. The knowers of the three Vedas, the drinkers of Soma, worshipping him by means of sacrifice, desire habitation heaven, where they enjoy many pleasures. After their merit has been exhausted, they come back to the mortal world again. Those who thus follow the ritual of the three Vedas come and go. looks after the welfare of those who think of him and meditate on him with single-mindedness and adore him. Those who worship other deities must be considered as worshipping him, but they do so not according to prescribed rules. He is the receiver and lord of all kinds of Yajñas or worship, but those people do not know him as he really is, and therefore they fail. Those who worship other deities attain to them, and his worshippers attain to him. All the oblations thrown into the fire, all that is eaten and given and the austerities practised should be dedicated to him. In this way these actions do not serve as a bondage, and one becomes a real Samnyāsin and goes to him. He who adores Bhagavat with single-mindedness, becomes holy, even if he be wicked. He becomes immediately holy and obtains peace. women, Vaisyas and Sūdras, when they resort to him, attain to the highest place. The seeker of the good should direct his mind towards him, should be his devotee, should worship him, should bow to him, and acting in this way, and being thus fully devoted to him, he will reach him.

Here the performance of sacrificial rites is, in the manner which has become usual, mentioned as efficacious for the acquisition of a place in heaven. From this place persons return when their merit is exhausted, but there is no return when a man devotes himself to Bhagavat with all his heart. God is further personalised and brought home to man by being declared as his father, mother, nourisher, grandfather, friend, refuge, etc. The attitude to other gods is of toleration. The worship offered to

them is really offered to Bhagavat, but the worshippers do not know Bhagavat as he truly is, and therefore go wrong.

§ 19. Chapter X. The gods and Rsis do not know the origin of Bhagavat. He was before them all. He who knows Bhagavat to be the unborn and unteginning lord of all worlds, is free from all sins. All the mental conditions, knowledge, absence of ignorance, forgiveness, truth, self-control, serenity, pain and pleasure, etc., are from him. The seven ancient Maharsis and four Manus sprang from him, whose descendants are all these men. Good men adore Bhagavat with pure faith, knowing him to be the origin of all and that everything is set in motion by him. They, with their minds directed towards him, with their souls centred in him, enlighten each other, speak about him, and thus they are satisfied and are happy. Out of sympathy for them he dispels the darkness of ignorance by the light of knowledge, being himself in his true condition. When they adore him thus constantly full of love, he grants them that condition of mind by means of which they reach him.

Then questioned by Arjuna as to the Vibhūtis or excellent forms of each species or group, which pervade the world, Bhagavat proceeds to mention them. He is the soul that dwells in the heart of men and is the origin, the middle and the end of all beings. He is Viṣṇu of the Ādityas, the sun of all shining things, Kapila of the Siddhas, Prahlāda of all Daityas, Rāma of wielders of weapons, philosopoy (Adhyātma) of all lores, Dvandva of compounds, Kirti (fame) of all females, Vāsudeva of Vṛṣṇis and Dhanamjaya of Pāṇdavas. That object which has excellence and splendour should be known as arising from his lustre.

There is to be observed here one special characteristic of the Bhakti school, and that is that all the devotees meet together, enlighten each other as to the nature of God, and contribute by discourses on him to each other's elevation and gratification. This is almost a characteristic mark of Bhaktas as distinguished from the Yogins, who have to go through their exercises singly and in solitude.

§ 20. Chapter XI. The Virāj form of God, i. e., all being looked at simultaneously as constituting one whole, as also his destructive

form, in which all enter into his mouth and are absorbed, is described in this chapter. Arjuna praises him that he does not see the end, the beginning, the middle of him, that he is the guardian of eternal righteousness and entreats him to give up this frightful form and assume the more usual and the more agreeable human form. In verse 30, Arjuna addresses him as Visnu saying that his dazzling brilliance makes everything hot and his lustre has filled the whole universe.

The idea of looking at the universe as a form of god is as old as the Purusasūkta (RV. X. 90). God's having eyes everywhere, face everywhere, arms everywhere and the feet everywhere is expressed in RV. X. 81. 3. This verse is repeated in Svetāsvatara-Upanisad III. 3.

§ 21. Chapter XII. This chapter starts with a question as to the difference between the contemplation on the original indiscrete cause which is unchangeable (Aksara), and the worship of him (Vāsudeva), and the reply is, they are the best devotees, who, fixing their minds upon him, meditate on him with a concentrated attention and faith. Those who, with their senses restrained. meditate on the Indiscrete, Unchangeable, Undefinable, as existing everywhere and unthinkable, also reach him, but the trouble to them is greater. Bhagavat delivers from the ocean of death those, who, dedicating all their actions to him and meditating on him, worship him; and he teaches Arjuna to fix his mind on him and concentrate his will on him, and, if he cannot fix his mind firmly upon him, then to endeavour to obtain him by continued remembrance of him. If this last is not feasible, he should perform deeds for his sake, and doing this he would obtain success. If, however, he is not able to do this, with his mind fixed on him, he should abandon desire for the fruit of all his actions. Then follows an enumeration of the virtues of those who are devotees of God and are specially dear to him, such as not hating any being, being the friend of all, being humble, being indifferent to praise or censure, etc.

In this chapter the meditation on the Aksara or unchangeable indiscrete cause is again mentioned as opposed to the worship of Bhagavat as a personal God. In similar passages in the previous chapters, the personalisation is effected at once by inserting a

follow reflections on God and the seeing of the Supreme Soul everywhere.

The works, therefore, upon which this chapter is based are some of the Upanisads and some treatises setting forth the constitution of the world and the principles of morality. These treatises may have been the discourses first independent and afterwards included in the Santiparvan and other parts of the Mahābhārata, or they may have been others of which we have no trace; but there is no mention here of the Samkhya system by name nor a special reference to it as elaborated in later times by Isvarakrana. The idea of the twenty-four principles is ancient and seems to have been appropriated afterwards by the founders of the philosophic systems, as it suited their purpose. But no chronological conclusions can be deduced from the mention of those twenty-four principles. The doctrine that all action proceeds from the Prakrti, and the soul is inactive and simply enjoys or suffers, which is a true Samkhya doctrine, but is calculated to absolve a man from moral responsibility, is also mentioned; but it appears to come incidentally along with the twenty-four principles.

§ 23. Chapter XIV. The great Brahman is the womb (Yoni) for Bhagavat into which he throws seed. Of all the wombs that produce bodily forms, Brahman is the greatest. Bhagavat then proceeds to detail the nature of the three Gunas, their products and their results in the future world. These Gunas prove as bondage, and when they are got over, then the man is free from the bondage and becomes immortal. The distinguishing characteristic of one who is free from these three Gunas is a quiet undisturbed serene mood, in which happiness and misery are alike, and gold, clod of earth and stone are alike, in which agreeable and disagreeable things are alike, and praise and censure are also alike, etc. He who invariably resorts to Bhagavat by Bhaktiyoga becomes free from these three Gunas and attains to the condition of Brahman. Bhagavat is the support of the immortal and unchanging Brahman and of eternal righteousness (duty) and of unending happiness.

Here then is a distinct affirmation of the soul's attainment of freedom from passions by means of continuous devotion to Bhaga-

vat or God. The word Brahmayoni occurs in MU. III. 1. 3, and is to be interpreted, in the light of the opening statement in the above, as one whose Yoni is Brahman.

§ 24 Chapter XV. Bhagavat proceeds to the comparison of Samsara, or the whole extent of things, to the Pippal-tree. tree is to be cut by the weapon of indifference or non-attachment; and then should be sought that place from which there is no return. One should surrender himself to the original Purusa. Those reach that unchanging position or place, who are free from pride, ignorance, desires, and the pair of happiness and misery. That is the highest abode of Bhagavat, which is not illuminated by the sun, the moon or the fire. When a soul departs from a body, it takes away the Indrivas, of which Manas is the sixth, and brings them in when it assumes another body. The soul itself is a part of Bhagavat and is eternal. This soul, placing itself in these six Indriyas, resorts to all objects of sense. The brilliance existing in the sun, which illumines the whole world, and which exists in the moon as well as in fire, is to be known as that of Bhagavat. By becoming Soma, Bhagavat raises all herbs. By becoming fire he contributes to digestion. He dwells in the heart of all. From him proceeds consciousness of one's condition, knowledge, and the rejection of what is not true. Bhagavat alone is to be known by means of all the Vedas and as the author of Vedantas and the knower of the Veda. There are two souls in the world, one that changes, and the other that is unchangeable. Besides these there is another who is the highest and is called Paramatman, and who as the unchangeable lord supports all the three worlds after entering into them. Bhagavat is known to be that Highest Soul in the ordinary world and also in the Vedas.

There is one new point brought out in this chapter. And that is that the animal soul goes out of the body along with the six senses and enters new ones in that condition. The comparison of the composite universe to the Pippal-tree occurs in KU. (VI. 1), MaiU. (VI. 4), and the non-illumination of the highest abode of Bhagavat is mentioned in a verse in KU. (V. 15), MU, (II. 2. 10), and SU. (VI. 14). The doctrine of the existence of the third highest Purusa should also be noted as a characteristic of this theistic work. The triad, Kṣara, Akṣara or Ātman (individual

^{5 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

soul), and the ruling one God, is mentioned in SU. (I. 10), which work is a precursor of the Bhagavadgita.

§ 25. Chapter XVI. Bhagavat now proceeds to enumerate the virtues which constitute the divine endowments (Daivi Sampad), and the vices that constitute demoniacal possessions. From divine endowments results final deliverance, and from the demoniacal possessions, follows destruction. There are two classes of created beings: one is divine and the other demoniacal. In persons of the latter class there is no purity nor correct conduct nor truth. They regard the world as unreal, without substratum or support, without God, disconnected and what more, springing from lust. Holding this view these wicked and dull persons with their ferocious deeds bring about the destruction of the world. Full of insatiable lust and possessed of vanity, pride, and arrogance, they act in an unholy manner, sticking to their own false conceits. They accumulate wealth by foul means for enjoyment and boasting of their possessions, their power, their parentage, they treat others with contempt and eventually go to the infernal regions. If they worship at all, they simply utter the name and assume a false garb. They are full of egotism and hate Bhagayat, as abiding in their own bodies and those of others. These wicked men he consigns to the race of the demons. Desire, anger and covetousness are the three doors to hell. These three, therefore, should be abandoned. He who avoids these three doors reaches the highest goal. He who abandons sacred precepts and acts according to his own will does not obtain success, happiness or the highest goal. The sacred precepts must, therefore, be followed whenever a man has to do anything or avoid anything

Here two classes of men. good and bad, are mentioned. Among the latter are included not only worldly men who do not care for God or morality, but the followers of philosophical or religious systems, different from that of Bhagavat seem also to be included. They set aside the sacred Sastra or precepts, denied God, as Buddhists and Jainas did, and regarded the world as unsubstantial or unreal, as the former did.

§ 26. Chapter XVII. Arjuna asks: "What is the frame of mind of those who set aside the sacred precepts and still worship

with faith? Is it characterised by the quality of goodness, activity or ignorance?" Bhagavat answers: "Faith is of three kinds, characterised by goodness, activity, and darkness or ignorance. The faith of a man depends upon the quality of his heart. A man is what faith makes of him. As is his faith, so is the man". The good worship gods, the active, Yaksas and Raksases or evil spirits, and the ignorant, ghosts and spectres. Men of demoniacal frame of mind perform terrible austerities full of ostentation and egotism. and cause attenuation of the elements composing the body and of the Bhagavat who dwells in it. He then mentions three kinds of food, modes of worship, austerities and gifts, in keeping with the three qualities. For instance, in the case of worship or sacrifice. that is in keeping with the quality of goodness, which is performed without any regard for the fruit and in accordance with the sacred ritual. That springs from the quality of activity, which is done for the attainment of fruit and out of ostentation; and that which is done without regard for the sacred precepts and without Daksina or rewards to the priest and without any faith, proceeds from the quaity of ignorance. As to charitable gifts, those spring from the quality of goodness, which are made because it is a duty to give to one from whom no return is expected; while that which is made with an interested motive and with a desire for return. springs from the quality of activity. And in this manner all the four subjects are treated. At the end the doing of good acts by the repetition of the syllables "Om, tat, sat" is mentioned.

In this chapter the truth that man's religious faith and the character of the God that he worships, depend upon his own character whether good or bad, is clearly recognised. Not only the nature of the God worshipped, but also the diet, the mode of worship, charity or gifts, and the practice of austerity differ according as a man's nature is influenced by one or other of the three qualities, goodness, activity, and ignorance.

§ 27. Chapter XVIII. This chapter begins with a question by Arjuna as to the principles of renunciation and abandonment. Bhagavat replies that renunciation is the giving up of works springing from desires, and abandonment is the abandonment of fruits of actions. Some say that all Karman should be abandond; others say that worship, charity and austerity should not be given

The decision is that these last should not be abandoned, as they bring about purity of the soul. The actions should be done without being attached to them or desiring for the fruits. That duty that must be done, should not be abandoned. Giving up that duty is an ignorant deed. When action is avoided because it is wearisome, its abandonment springs from the quality of passion. When the essential action is done because it should be done without any desire for fruit or attachment, that abandonment springs from goodness. It is not possible for a living being to abandon all actions. He who abandons only the fruit, is really one who has abandoned actions. According to the Samkhya doctrine, there are five different causes: the resting place, agent, instrument, varied movements and fate. In this manner it goes on. Some acts or states of mind are represented to vary according to the three qualities, such as knowledge, the deed done and the doer, Buddhi or will, firmness and happiness, and the duties of the different castes.

The man who worships Him, from whom all beings have sprung and who has spread out all this, by doing the duties assigned to him, for which the three qualities have fitted him, attains final success. He then proceeds to mention all those virtues and other states of mind, such as self-control, freedom and passions, which conduce to the realisation of the Brahma-condition. When this condition is realised, a man is free from sorrow and desire, and, being equally disposed towards all beings, he develops in himself the highest love for Bhagavat, and knowing Bhagavat fully and truly, enters into the Bhagavat. One should do all acts, intent only upon God, and then one obtains the eternal place by the favour of God. A man should fix his mind upon Bhagavat alone, dedicating all his actions to him, and then he gets over all evils by the grace of Bhagavat.

Then Bhagavat winds up the whole by teaching Arjuna to surrender himself with all his heart to God (the Ruler), who abides in the hearts of all things and moves them, as if forming parts of a wheel; and then he says, by his favour Arjuna would obtain perfect peace and an eternal resting-place. He is further instructed to dedicate his whole mind to Bhagavat, to become

his devotee, to worship him, to bow to him, and in this way he (Arjuna) would reach him. This is styled the deepest secret. Then Arjuna is told to set aside all other methods of salvation and surrender himself to Bhagavat alone, and Bhagavat would then free him from all his sins. And thus the chapter ends.

This is the Ekantika Dharma or monotheistic religion, which, as the Narayaniya tells us, was communicated to Arjuna. The method of salvation here revealed is to lead a life of action, but the fruit of the action one should not be intent on. The action should be done disinterestedly; that is, a man should be selfless in doing it. The action should be dedicated to Brahman, that is, it should be done because the Universal Order requires it to be done. This is tantamount to saying that one should do one's duty because it is a duty. When a more personal interpretation is given to it, the doctrine comes to this, that one should act with the sole object of carrying out God's will. The frame of mind that is generated by consistently acting in this manner, is freedom from passion, a sense of the omnipresence of God and an equal regard for all things. This leads to the realisation of the highest love of God, and, knowing Bhagavat thoroughly, by this means a man is absorbed in him.

But to do one's duty consistently and selflessly is a matter difficult, since all beings are subject to the influence of the three qualities or, in our modern phraseology, of passions and appetencies. These can be got over by surrendering oneself to God.

VI. The Sources of the Religion of the Bhagavadgita.

§ 28. This constant insistence on action being done without any regard for the fruit, that is, distinterestedly or selflessly, forms a peculiarity of the Bhagavadgitā. But the idea is not new. In the Isopanisad it is stated in the second verse, that a man should desire to live a hundred years doing actions resolutely, and in that way and no other, will action not contaminate him. And the non-contamination as the result of an elevated state of mind is spoken of in ChU. IV. 14. 3; BU. 4. 23; and MaiU. VI. 20.

The attributes of the Supreme Being the Gita draws from the Upanisads, as has been already shown in the remarks on the differ-

ledged in certain parts of the Upanisads, mere Brahman, the personality of which is not so distinct, is also spoken of in some places. When the Bhagavadgitā takes in these passages, it takes care to distinctly personalise the Aksara or Brahman, as we have shown. The source from which the Gitā derives its doctrines about the conquest of the self and the attainment of a condition of a peace and serenity, is the general atmosphere of religious and moral sentiment, that came to prevail from the beginning of the earliest Upanisad speculations to the formation of definite religious systems, orthodox and heterodox. Consequently, though the Gitā speaks of the Brahma-Nirvāna, it ought not to be supposed that it borrows this doctrine of final peace and serenity from Buddhism. The source resorted to by these systems was common to all.

Besides the Upanisads and the religious and moral atmosphere prevalent at that time, the Gitā avails itself of the philosophy that had come into existence in early times. This is the philosophy of the Sāmkhya and the Yoga. Though the twenty-four principles of the former system, together with the Purusa or soul as the twenty-fifth, as known in later times, and the doctrine of the activity of the Prakrti only and the non-activity of Purusa, are alluded to in the Bhagavadgitā, still itadds another soul called the Uttama Purusa or the Supreme Soul, which is not found in the later Sāmkhya, thus giving a theistic character to the philosophy. In their account of the creation, the Purāṇas follow this philosophy, and the later Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva systems adopt it in a more or less qualified manner.

But the word Sāmkhya does not seem to be used in the Bhagavadgitā to indicate the later non-theistic system. In the second chapter and in the fifth, Sāmkhya indicates a philosophy based upon knowledge, and Yoga, one based on action. Again the five causes, that are alluded in the last chapter as mentioned in the Sāmkhya system, do not appear to be known to the later Sāmkhya. The speculative philosophy, therefore, that existed about the time of the Śvetāśvatara-Upanisad and the Bhagavadgitā, was known by the name of Sāmkhya, and out of it grew the non-theistic system of later times. The Yoga,

the philosophy of action, too did prevail, but it culminated, as indicated before, into a concentration of mind, the ordinary operation being suspended, on the Brahman, Aksara, or the Supreme Soul.

§ 29. Thus the Bhagavadgita is the result of development of the religious and philosophic speculation that prevailed before the rise of Buddhism. But the origin of the idea of Bhakti, or love of God, which is the characteristic of the work, has formed the subject of a great deal of speculation in modern times, and to this point we will now turn. In the Upanisads, Upasana, or fervent meditation of a number of things-such as Manas (mind), the sun, the Purusa in the sun or the moon, food, vital breath, etc., regarded as Brahman, i.e., thinking of them as Brahman-is prescrib-Such a fervent meditation cannot but magnify the thing and give it a glorious form so as to excite admiration and even love. Again what is called the Internal Atman (soul) is said in the Brhadāranyaka to be dearer than a son, wealth and everything else (I. 4. 8.). Here the word Atman may possibly be taken to mean one's own soul. In the same Upanisad there is another passage which runs thus: "This is that Great Unborn, who is of the form of thought among vital airs, who dwells in the cavity of the heart, who is controller of all, ruler of all, the lord of all. By doing good or evil deeds he does not become better or worse. is the ruler of all beings, he is the causeway or dike that separates things from one another and prevents them being confused together (he is the preserver of order). The Brahmanas desire to know him by the words of the Vedas, by worship, charity and austerity. Knowing him, one becomes a sage. The recluses desiring him as the place to live in renounce the world. On this account the wise men of old did not desire progeny, saying to themselves: 'What shall we do with progeny, when we have got this Being, this world to live in?'; and thus they gave up desire for sons, wealth and the world and lived the life of mendicants" (IV. 4. 22).

Now, if those wise men of old gave up all the pleasures of the world to contemplate and dwell with the Supreme Being, so eloquently described, must it not be considered that they were actuated by love for Him, though the word Bhakti does not occur

here? And at the bottom of all those rapturous sayings about the peace attained by seeing the Supreme Soul in the world and the heart of man, there must be a feeling akin to love. And during the period when the Rgveda poetry was composed, love for God or gods was often an abiding sentiment in the heart of the poet, as is evident from the words: "Dyaus is my father" (RV. I. 104. 33). "Aditi (the boundless) is father, mother, and son" (RV. I. 89, 10); and from such prayers as "O father Dyaus, avert all evils", "Be accessible to us and gracious as a father to the son", etc. the later sacrificial ritual destroyed the spirit of these verses and converted them into simple verbal formulae, still, the feeling that was in the heart at the time when they were composed, must have continued, though it found no expression for a time and exhibited itself again mixed with wonder and admiration in the times of the Upanisads. It certainly was not absent during this last period. The text about the two birds, the friends and companions of each other, by which are meant the Supreme and Individual souls exists in the Rksamhita (I. 164, 20) and is repeated in the Mundaka-Upanisad (VII. 1. 1).

In the last (MU. III. 2.3), and in the KU. (II. 23), there is a verse to the effect that this Supreme Soul is not to be attained by lectures (from a teacher), nor by intelligence, nor by much learning; he is to be attained by him whom the Supreme Soul favours; to him he discloses his form. Again we have the doctrine that the supremely wise Being, the life of all, leads a man to do good deeds, whom he desires to elevate (KBU. III. 8); and another, that God dwelling in the heart of all beings, controls them—which latter forms the subject of a celebrated passage in the BU. III. 7. From this it is clear that the doctrine that the individual soul is dependent on the Supreme and that the latter alone works out his salvation, was acknowledged in Upanisad times.

§ 30. In this manner all the points that constitute the Ekāntika religion of the Bhagavadgitā are to be found in the older religious literature. The word Bhakti, however, in the sense of love is not to be found except in a verse in SU. But that word is not always used in the sense of love even by Rāmānuja. In his system Bhakti means constant meditation and corresponds to the Upāsanā of

of the Upanisads. The word etymologically signifies resorting to and then loving the thing resorted to. It is used in this sense by Panini in Sutra IV. 3.95; but the word, as explained by the commentators, has a passive sense and means a thing resorted to, liked or loved; and general and special terminations are prescribed, which, when affixed to a noun, indicate one by whom the thing expressed by the noun is liked or loved. In this sense the word Bhakti is used by Yaska also, when he speaks of certain things as Agnibhaktini, Indrabhaktini, i. e., things which resort to, or relate themselves to, Agni, etc. Thus the idea of love was associated with the word in early times, though it then signified loved instead of love. Properly speaking, by the rules of Pānini himself, it ought to signify the latter, as the suffix hi indicates Bhava or condition. Howsoever the word may have come into use in later times, the thing expressed by it, viz., love for the Atman or the Supreme Soul, was an idea implied and often expressed by the word Priya or Preyas in the Upanisad period.

§ 31. The state of things which must have led to the evolution of the religion of the Gita seems to me to be this. time when the systems of religion we have been considering arose, there was a tendency amongst the people which often worked itself out, as is evident from the Pali Birth-Stories, to give up worldly life and betake themselves to a residence in forests or mountains. Even Buddhism, Jainism and other like systems considered an ascetic life to be a sine qua non of religious elevation. There is reason to believe that Sramanas existed before the rise of Buddhism. The religious systems that had sprung up were mostly atheistic. The Indian mind had become prone to indulge in mere moral discourses and thoughts of moral exaltation, unassociated with a theistic faith, as appears clear from Buddhism and other systems, and also from dry moral dissertations of which the Mahabharata is full. Such a system as that of the Bhagavadgita was, therefore, necessary to counteract these tendencies. Theistic ideas were so scattered in the Upanişads, that it was necessary for practical purposes to work them up into a system of redemption capable of being grasped easily.

These appear to be the conditions under which the Gita came 6 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

into axistence. I am not inclined to dissolve Vāsudeva and Arjuna into selar myths; but Vāsudeva could not have been living when the Bhagavadgitā was composed as a discourse delivered by him, any more than Buddha was living when his discourses were reduced to the form of books. It is worthy of remark that both of them are called Bhagavats when speaking. Vāsudeva must already have been deified before the Bhagavadgitā was written.

As regards the attitude of the Bhagavat to the older belief, it is syident that it is conservative and he came to fulfil the law and not supersede it. It must already have been seen that he looks at the sacrificial religion from almost the same point of view as the Upanisads. The cherishing of desires which the sacrificial rites encourged is considered harmful, and the fruit attained by means of them is perishable. It was because this Ekantika religion was so conservative, that it gradually made its way into Hindu society in general, though it did not succeed in uprooting the religion of sacrifices. Still it always retained its character as a religion for women and for all castes, Sudras included, and in its later development it was associated with such Vadic rites as then remained when it was professed by the Brahmanas, but not so associated when its followers were of lower castes, among whom it continued to exercise great influence. The Bhagavat's attitude towards the worshippers of other gods has already been explained. It was strictly liberal. All worship to whomsoever it was directed, reaches him ultimately, but the devotees of other gods do not know Bhagavat as he truly is and thus go wrong. This attitude must have had something to do with the influence of the Vasudeva-Krsna cult over the lower olaccos.

VIL Identification of Vasudeva with Narayana.

§ 32. The word Nārāyana is similar to Nādāyana, which last is formed by P. IV. 1. 99 and means the Gotra Nādāyana. The termination is significative and means in this case the resting place or the place to which Nāda or a collection of Nadas go. So Nārāyana means the resting place or goal of Nāra or a collection of Naras. In the Nārāyaniya (XII. 341) Kesava or

¹ See Medhatithi's commentary on Manu 1. 10.

Hari says to Arjuna that he is known as the resting place or goal of men (Narānām). The word Nr or Nara is also used to denote gods as manly persons, especially in the Vedas, so that Nārāyana may be construed as the resting place or goal of gods. There is a tradition which connects Nārāyana with the primeval waters. Manu (1.10), and also Hari in the above passage say that the waters were called Nārās because they were the sons of Nara, and, since they were the first resting place of Brahmā in the first case and of Hari in the second, the two were called Nārāyanas. The Purānas, such as the Vāyu and the Viṣnu, agree with Manu. Again there is a tradition that Brahmadeva sprang from the lotus in the navel of Nārāyana or Viṣnu (MBh. III. 12.34 and XII. 349.18). In the Vāyu-Purāna Nārāyana is represented as prior to Avyakta or matter in an undeveloped form, and from Avyakta sprang the mundane egg, and from the latter arose Brahmadeva.

All these traditions in various forms seem to go back to RV. X. 82.5 and 6, which may be thus translated: "Prior to the sky. prior to this earth, prior to the living gods, what is that embryo which the waters held first and in which all the gods existed? The waters held that same embryo in which all gods exist or find themselves; on the navel of the unborn stood something in which all beings stood". In this we have first the waters mentioned: on those waters stood the embryo, which corresponds to the Brahma of the later tradition, who created everything; and the unborn corresponds to Narayana from whose navel he sprang. In this embryo all the gods, it is said, found themselves. This corresponds to the Naras, men or gods, whose goal or resting place was Narayana, so that this confirms the identity between Brahms and Narayana mentioned by Manu and some of the Puranas Narayana therefore, who, by the other authorities cited above, is considered prior to Brahmadeva and to the Svavambhū of Manu: is another person and has a cosmic character and is not a historical or mythological individual. This idea of Nārāyana was developed in the period of the later Brahmanas and Aranyakas.

In the Satapatha-Brahmana (XII. 3. 4), Purusa Narayana is represented to have sent forth from the place of sacrifice Vasus, Rudras and Adityas by means of the morning, midday and evening libations respectively, he alone remaining in the place. Pra-

japati-tells him to sacrifice again, and the substance of the whole is that Narayana placed himself in all the worlds, in all the gods, in all the Vedes and in all the vital airs, and they were placed in him. This shadows forth the rising of Nārāyana to the dignity of the Supreme Soul, who pervades all and in whom all things exist and who in the beginning sent forth all the gods, being himself their receptacle or resting place as indicated in RV. X. 82. 6. In another place (XIII. 6.1) Purusa Nārāyana is mentioned as having conceived the idea of a Pañcarātra Sattra (continued sacrifices for five days) as the means of obtaining superiority over all beings and becoming all beings. He performed the sacrifices and attained to that dignity. Here also Narayana's becoming the Supreme Ruler and becoming all are spoken of. Nārāyana is represented as the author of the Purusasukta (RV. X. 90). This appears to be as much a fanoiful representation, as that of Visvakarman and others as authors of other hymns. As in these last cases, it has a connection with the deity to which the hymn refers. so that Narayana is another name of the Purusa, and these two names are associated together, as we have seen, in the above citations from the Satapatha-Brahmana. In the Taittirlya-Aranyaka (X. 11) Nārāyana is described with all the attributes of the Supreme soul, which are usually found mentioned in the Upanisads.

In the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, he figures as the supreme god; especially in connection with the creation; mythologically he is represented as lying on the body of a huge serpent in the ocean of milk, the original conception of his connection with the primeval waters being still kept to. Nārāyaṇa thus became an object of worship. In the Ghosundi Inscription noticed before, there is what appears to be a dedication of an enclosure to Nārāyaṇa ('Nārāyaṇa-Vāṇkā.).

§ 33. The heaven of this Nārāyana was the Švetadvipa or white island. In the Kathāsaritsāgara (54.19,21,23) Naravāhanadatta is represented to have been carried to the white island by Devasiddhi and to Hari reposing on the body of the serpent Sesa and attended by Nārada and other devotees. In another place in the same work (115, 101-3) certain gods are spoken of as having gone to Svetadvipa and seen Hari in a house made of great gems,

lying on the serpent bed with Lakemi sitting at his feet. In the Harivame (14,384) it is stated that Yogins and Kāpilasāmkhyas, who desire Moksa or final deliverance, go to the white island or Svetadvipa, by reciting the prayer and praise composed by Balin. Evidently, therefore, Svetadvipa or white island is the heaven in which Nārāyana, spoken of sometimes as Hari, dwells. It corresponds to the Vaikuntha of Visnu, the Kailāsa of Siva, and the Goloka of Gopālakrsna; and to that heaven of Nārāyana it was that Nārada went and saw him and learned from him the monotheistic religion of Vāsudeva. There is, therefore, no need to suppose that the white island was a Christian country peopled by white races.

§ 34. Nārāyana, being thus evolved as the Supreme Being in the later Brahmanic period, was, of course, prior to Vasudeva. and in the epicitimes when the worship of the latter arose. Vasudeva was identified with Nārāyana. In the Vanaparvan (chaps. 188, 189) there is a description of the condition of things at the time of dissolution of the universe, in which it is stated that there was water everywhere and there was a boy lying on couch on a branch of a Nyagrodha tree. He opened his mouth and took in Markandeya, who roamed in the inside and saw the whole universe and was struck with wonder. Then the boy vomited or threw him out, when he saw again the waters alone. Markandevathen asked the boy who he was; then he said: "Formerly I gave to the waters the name of Nārāh, and those were my resting place (Ayana), and therefore I am Nārāyana", and thus he goes on to describe his greatness. Finally Markandeya, who tells the whole story, says to Yudhisthira that Janardana, his relative, is this same Narayana. The burden of the whole of the Nārāyaniya section seems to be this identity between Nārāyana and Vāsudeva.

Besides this Nārāyana, the creator of all, there was a tradition about another who was always associated with Nara. This companionship seems to be traceable to the Upanisad idea of two birds dwelling in a tree, friends and associates of each other. That one of those, who is called the lord and the onlooker, is in the present tradition Nārāyana, and the other, who is engaged in eating the fruit of the tree, Nara. The old idea was transferred to the new conception of Nārāyana as the resting place or abode of all men. In

the opening chapter of the Nārāyaniya it is stated that Nārāyana the eternal soul of the universe, with four forms became the son of Dharma. The four forms or four sons were Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa. The first two of these devoted themselves to the practice of austerities in the Badarikāsrama.

The same story is given in the Vāmana-Purāna (chap. 6). These four are represented as the sons of Dharma and had Ahimsā (non-killing) as their mother. This story seems to be significant. About the time when the new systems of religion arose, the ideas that were undergoing fermentation were Dharma or righteousness and Ahimsā or non-slaughter, as against the old ceremonial of sacrificial rites and the killing of animals in accordance with it. These four names, therefore, were names connected with the introduction of a new system of religion, not heterodox, which concerned itself with righteousness and non-slaughter of animals. That is what appears to be meant by Dharma being called the father of these four and Ahimsā their mother.

Nara and Narayana are sometimes called Rsis, and that is probably to be traced to the conception of Narayana as the Hei or composer of the Purusasūkta. These gods must have been very famous at the time when the Mahabharata was composed, since in the opening stanza of the different books obeisance is made to these two gods. In the Vanaparvan (12.46,47) Janardana is represented to have said to Arjuna: "Oh invincible one, thou art Nara and I am Hari Nārāyana, and we, the sages Nara-Nārāyana, have come to this world at the proper time; thou art not different from me, oh Partha, and I am not different from thee; it is not possible to know any difference between us." In chap. 30 (verse 1) of the same Parvan, the God of gods (Siva) says to Arjuna: "In a former birth (body) thou wast Nara and with Nārāyana for thy companion, performedst austerities for many thousands of years in Bedari ". In the Udyogaparvan-(49.19) it is said: "The two heores, Vāsudeva and Arjuna. who are great warriors, are the old gods Nara and Narayana. This is the tradition." In this manner there are a good many examples of the identification of Arjuna and Vasudeva with Nara and Narayana. And thus the old tradition about the two Rsis who

ere warriors at the same time was brought into connection ith the two interlocutors of the Bhagavadgitā.

VIII. Identification of Vasudeva with Visnu.

§ 35. Visnu is a Vedic deity. There are but few hymns addressed to him in RV., but his personality is by no means unimportant. The long strides which he takes, and the three steps by which he measures the universe, are always described with an enthusiastic spirit. His first two steps can be discerned and approached by men, but the third no one can dare transgress, and it is beyond the flight of birds (RV. I. 155.5). The wise see the highest place of Visnu (Paramam padam), as it were an eye fixed in the heaven (RV. I. 22. 20). In the highest place of Visnu there is a well of honey, and there the gods rejoice (RV. I. 154.5). Visnu appears as the comrade and helper of Indra.

Visnu, however, in spite of his comparatively subordinate position in RV., began to rise in importance in the time of the Brahmanas, while during the epic and Puranic period he rose to the rank of the supreme spirit. The moment which seems to have been in operation during this process of elevation, was reverence for the third step or the mysterious highest abode of Visnu beyond the ken of all. In the Brahmanic period we have the mention of Agni as the lowest of the gods and Visnu as the highest (AB.1.1). Then we have a story in Satapatha-Brahmana and Taittiriya-Aranyaka of a sacrificial session held by the gods for the attainment of splendour, glory and food. They proposed to themselves that he amongst them, who by his deeds reached the end of the sacrifice before the others, should attain the highest place among them all. Visnu reached the end before the others, and he thus became the highest of the gods; and therefore they say that Visnu is the highest of the gods (SB. XIV. 1.1.). When this was written, Visnu had already attained to the supreme dignity. and the story is invented to account for it. There is again in the same Brahmana (1.2.5) the story of Visnu the dwarf. When the gods and Asuras were contending for a place of sacrifice, the latter agreed that they would allow as much land for the former as was equal to the size of the dwarf. Visnu was then made to lie down, but gradually he grew so large as to encompass the whole earth, and so the gods got the whole earth. Here a miraculous power has been attributed to Visnu, though he is not necessarily the Supreme Spirit.

In the Maitri-Upanisad (VI. 13) food is called the form of Bhagavad-Visnu, which sustains the universe. In the Katha-Upanisad (III. 9) the progress of the human soul is compared to a journey, and the end of the path which he traverses is called the highest place of Visnu (Paramam padam). This is the final goal and the abode of eternal bliss, and the use of the word in this sense lends support to the view that the elevation of Visnu to the dignity of the Supreme Being was due to the fact that the expression was capable of being used to denote this sense. Some time after, Visnu became even a household god. In the ceremony of the seven steps contained in the marriage ritual, the bridegroom has to say to the bride, when she puts forth a step: "May Visnu lead you or be with you." This formula occurs in the Grhyasūtras of Apastamba, Hiranyakesin and Pāraskara, but not in that of Asvalayana. In epic times Visnu grew to be in every respect the Supreme Spirit; and Vasudeva is identified with Visnu. In chapters 65 and 66 of the Bhismaparvan noticed before, the Supreme Spirit is addressed as Nārāyaņa and Visnu and is identified with Vāsudeva.

In the Anugitā portion of the Āsvamedhikaparvan (chap.53-55) Kṛṣṇa, while returning to Dvārakā, meets on the way a sage of the name of Uttanka of the Bhṛgu race. The sage asks Kṛṣṇa whether he had established peace between the contending kinsmen, Pāṇḍus and Kurus, and established affectionate relations between them. Kṛṣṇa replies that the Kurus had been destroyed and the Pāṇḍus were in possession of the supreme sovereignty. The sage got angry and said that he would pronounce a curse against Kṛṣṇa, but if he explained to him the philosophy of the soul (Adhyātma), he would desist. Kṛṣṇa then does explain this philosophy at the request of Uttanka and shows him his universal form (Virāt svarūpam). The Svarūpa is the same as, or similar to, that shown to Arjuna according to the Bhagavadgītā, but it is here called the Vaiṣṇava form (Rūpa), which name does not occur in the other passage. Thus then between the period of the Bhaga-

¹ Ante, pp. 13 and ff. [N. B. U.]

vadgitā and that of the Anugitā, the identity of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu had become an established fact. In the Santiparvan (chap. 43) Yudhisthira addressing Kṛṣṇa sings a hymn of praise, in which Kṛṣṇa is identified with Viṣṇu. In the epic times, Viṣṇu is regarded as the Supreme Spirit, but the names of Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa apparently occur more frequently or are more prominent.

§ 36. Still many parts of the Mahābhārata represent a condition of things in which the divinity Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was not generally acknowledged. In the above passage from the Anugitā, the sage Uttanka is about to pronounce a curse on Kṛṣṇa, as if he was an ordinary individual, and desists only when his universal form is shown to him. Similarly in many passages noticed by Dr. Muir (O. S. T. IV, pp. 205ff.) Kṛṣṇa's divinity is denied; and Samjaya and Bhiṣma make strenuous efforts to establish it.

What appears to be the fact is, that the religion of Vāsudeva, in which divine honours were paid to him, was professed by the Sātvatas, as observed in several of the passages noticed above, and its gradual extension to other tribes and people of the country is shadowed forth in these portions of the great epic. In the Purānic times, however, the cult of Vāsudeva ceased to be militant, and three streams of religious thought, namely, the one flowing from Viṣṇu, the Vedic god at its source, another from Nārāyana, the cosmic and philosophic god, and the third from Vāsudeva, the historical god, mingled together decisively and thus formed the later Vaiṣṇavism. There is however, a fourth stream, which in modern times in some of the systems of Vaiṣṇavism has acquired an alnost exclusive predominance, and to this we shall now direct our attention.

IX. Identification of Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa with the Gowherd God (Gopala-Kṛṣṇa).

§ 37. There is no allusion to the cowherd Kṛṣṇa in the authorities we have hitherto quoted. The Inscriptions, the work of Patañjali and even the Nārāyaṇiya itself indicate no knowledge of the existence of such a god. In the last the Avatāra of Vāsudeva is mentioned as having been assumed for the destruction of Kamsa, but of none of the demons whom the cowered Kṛṣṇa killed in the

^{7 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

herd. It is the name of a race, whose original occupation was the tending of cows; and consequently the name became in later times equivalent to a 'cowherd'. For these reasons the cowherds among whom the boy-god Kṛṣṇa lived, belong to a nomadic tribe of the name of Abhiras. These Abhiras occupied the tract of country from Madhuvana near Mathura to Anupa and Anarta. the regions about Dvārakā (H. 5161-5163). The Abhīras are mentioned in the Mahabharata (Mausalaparvan, chap. 7) as having attacked Arjuna, who was carrying the women of the Vrsnis from Dvārakā to Kuruksetra after the extinction of the male members of the Vrsni race. They are described as robbers and Mlecchas. and lived near Pañcanada, which is probably Punjab. The Visnu-Purana locates them near the Aparantas (Konkan) and Saurastras. and Varahamihira assigns them nearly the same position. Though they are mentioned as the southern people (Br. S. 14. 12), and as living in the southwest (Br. S. 14. 18), the Abhiras must have migrated in large hordes into the country. They were at first mere nomads and afterwards settled in the country from about the eastern confines of the Punjab to the vicinity of Mathura and in the south up to Saurastra and Kathiavad, i. e., they must have occupied the whole of Ra putana and a tract to the northeast of After they were settled, they took to various occupations, one of which was of course the old one, namely the tending of cows.

The descendants of the old Abhiras are called Ahirs at the present day, and we have now Ahirs following the occupation of carpenters, goldsmiths, cowherds and even priesthood. At one time they founded a kingdom in the nothern part of the Maratha country, and an Inscription of the ninth year of the Abhira king Isvarasena, the son of Abhira Sivadatta, is found at Nasik! From the form of the characters the Inscription probably belongs to the end of the third century. The Puranas mention a dynasty of Abhiras composed of ten princes. Another Inscription of an earlier date is found at Gundā' in Kathiavad, in which the charities of Rudrabhūti, a general, who is called an Abhira, are mentioned. The Inscription belongs to the reign of a Ksatrapa

¹ Luders, List of Brahmi Inscriptions, Nr. 1137.

² See Vāyu-Purāņa, vol. II, chap. 37, page 453, Bibl. Ind.

³ Luders, List of Brahmi Inscriptions, Nr. 963.

king of the name of Rudrasimha, who held power in Saka 102 corresponding to 180 A. D.

If then about the end of the second century and in the third, the Abhiras enjoyed high political tion, they must have migrated into the country in the first century. They probably brought with them the worship of the boy-god and the story of his humble birth, his reputed father's knowledge that he was not his son, and the massacre of the innocents. The two last correspond to Nanda's knowing that he was not the father of Krsna and Kamsa's killing all children. stories of Krsna's boyhood, such as that of killing Dhenuka. a demon in the form of a wild ass, were brought by Abhīras', and others were developed after they came to India. It is possible that they brought with them the name Christ also, and this name probably led to the identification of the boy-god with Vāsudeva-Krsna. The Goanese and the Bengalis often pronounce the name Krsna as Kusto or Kristo, and so the Christ of the Abhiras was recognised as the Sanskrit Krsna.

The dalliance of Kṛṣṇa with cowherdesses, which introduced an element inconsistent with the advance of morality into the Vāsudeva religion, was also an after-growth, consequent upon the freer intercourse between the wandering Ābhīras and their more civilised Āryan neighbours. Morality cannot be expected to be high or strict among races in the condition of the Ābhīras at the time; and their gay neighbours took advantage of its looseness. Besides, the Ābhīra women must have been fair and handsome as those of the Āhir-Gavaliyas or cowherds of the present day are.

§ 38. The story in the Buddhistic Ghatajātaka represents Vāsudeva and his brothers to be the sons of Kamsa's sister Devagabbhā and Upasāgara. They were made over to a man of the name of Andhakavenhu and to his wife Nandagopā who was the attendant of Devagabbhā. In this version there is a reminiscence of Devaki in the name Devagabbhā; and Nanda and Yasodā or Gopā of Gokula are compounded together to form the name of the maid-servant who brought up Devagabbhā's sons as

¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1907, p 981.

her sons. And in Andhakavenhu the names of the two kindred Yādava tribes, Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi, are compounded together and the compound becomes the name of the husband of the maid servant. Now as Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi were according to the highest authorities two distinct names, and were the names of the two tribes, this story contains a confused reminiscence of the true legend and was of a later growth. All the Jātakas were no written at one and the same time. While some belong to a pre Christian period, others must be assigned to post-Christian times and the Ghatajātaka appears to me to belong to the latter class. The compound Nandagopā, therefore, though it contains a clear reminiscence of the foster-parents of the boy-god Kṛṣṇa, cannot be considered to point to a pre-Christian period for the identification of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa.

X. The Pancaratra or Bhagavata System.

§ 39. We have thus gone over the last element which goes to form the Vaisnavism of the later times. That element, however. does not form a prominent part, or forms no part at all, of the systems which are based upon the old Pancaratra doctrines. we have seen, the Ekantika Dharma or monotheistic religion was that which was promulgated by the Bhagavadgita; but the Pāncarātra system, consisting, as it did, of the worship of Vāsudeva and his several forms, shows no organic connection with that work, though Bhakti or devotion is common to both. That system must have developed in about the third century B. C., as we have already seen from the Inscriptions and passages in books referred to before. Their being free from the Gopāla-Krsna element is thus intelligible, and the later Vaisnava systems, such as that of Rāmānuja and Madhva, which more or less recognise the old Bhagavata doctrines or ideas, have entirely neglected that element. In other systems, however, it is recognised and in a general way in popular Vaisnavism.

The authorities on which the Bhāgavata system was based are the Pāñcarātra-Samhitās; and Rāmānuja in his comments on the Brahmasūtras, II. 2. 39-42, quotes from some of these. The first quotation is from the Pauskara-Samhitā, which is intended to show that, when Brāhmaṇas worship the fourfold soul with the traditional names, it should be considered authoritative. The second is from the Sātvata-Samhitā, which is to the effect that this great Śāstra contains the secret of Brahman and imparts discrimination to Brāhmanas who worship the true Brahman bearing the name of Vāsudeva. There are two from the Parama-Samhitā. One of these gives the nature of Prakrti, which is unsentient, of use to another than "itself", eternal, always changeable, composed of three qualities, and is the sphere within which the action of agents is done. The other represents somebody, probably Śāndilya himself, as saying that he has studied all the Vedas with the dependent treatises and Vākovākya, but not having found the way to supreme bliss clearly stated in them.

One of these Samhitas, bearing the name of Satvata, has been printed and is available. It begins by saying that Narada-saw Parasurāma on the Malaya Mountain and was told by him to visit the Rsis, who were in search of the place of Hari, and to instruct them in the Satvata method of worship (Kriyamarga). Nārada does this and explains to them the secret traditional methods (Rahasyāmnāya). Nārāyana is spoken of here as the supreme spirit. The secret methods were formerly explained by the bearer of the discus (Vāsudeva), when asked by Samkarsana. Samkarsana spoke to Visnu at the beginning of the Treta age. asking why his countenance had become red. The answer is: "Because the people will be afflicted with passion in this age". Being asked how they will be delivered from passion, Samkarsana is told that they will be delivered by adoring the eternal and highest Brahman in three ways. The Supreme Spirit, who has hands and feet and eyes everywhere and is endowed with six Gunas or qualities, is Para or the Highest. It is one and the support of Besides this there is a triad, each member of which is distinguished from the others by a distinction in knowledge and other qualities. These three should be known as Vyūhas, or forms, who confer the desired fruit with ease.

Balarāma then asks about the mode of service. Bhagvat then explains it as follows:—"When the pure Brahman, which is the aim and end of the creation, exists in the heart of qualified Brāhmaṇas, who wership Vāsudeva, the highest Śāstra, which is a

great Upanisad of Brahman, springs forth from it for the redemption of the world and confers discrimination: it contains divine methods and has for its fruit final deliverance. I will then explain that to you which is of verious kinds. This Sastra, along with Rahasya, is fruitful to those who have gone through Yoga with its eight parts, and whose soul is devoted to mental sacrifice. The Yogins, who are Brahmanas guided by the Vedas and who have given up the mixed worship, are competent for the worship of the single one, dwelling in the heart. The three orders, Ksatriya and others, and those who are Prapanna or have resorted to selfsurrender are competent for the worship of the four Vyūhas accompanied by Mantras, and also unaccompanied by them, so far as regards the series of ceremonies concerning the four Vyūhas as well as the actions and the collection of Mantras concerning the Wibhavas². All these persons should be free from attachment and absorbed in the performance of their duties and be devotees of the supreme lord by their deeds, words and mind. In this manner, the four (orders) become competent, when they are initiated (for service) with Mantras. Hear now the process concerning the single form ". Then follows the statement of the mystic arrangement of letters and formulae and the meditations. This work throughout contains the mystic modes of worship by means of Mantras variously arranged.

The allusion at the end of Chapter 66 of the Bhismaparvan to Samkarsana's having sung or expounded Vāsudeva according to the Sātvata rites (Vidhi) refers in all probability to such rites as are detailed in this Sātvata-Samhitā.

Samkarācārya, in his notice of the Bhāgavata School under Br. S. II. 2. 42, gives five methods of worshipping the supreme lord, Bhagavat Vāsudeva, in his fourfold form, which, along with the explanations given by the commentators, are as follows:—
(1) Abhigamana or going to the temple of the deity with the speech, the body and the mind centred on him; (2) Upādāna or collecting the materials of worship; (3) Ijyā or worship; (4) Svādhyāya or the muttering of the usual Mantra; (5) Yoga or

Two lines out of this are contained in the quotations from Ramanuja given
above.

^{1.} Vibhavas are the incurnations of the Supreme Spirit.

meditation. By worshipping him in these ways for a hundred years, all sin is destroyed and the devotee reaches Bhagavat.

§ 40. The book called Nāradapañcarītra, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, contains the Samhitā called Jñānāmṛtasāra. The glories of the boy Kṛṣṇa are sung in this work. Nārada desiring to know Kṛṣṇa's greatness and the methods of his worship is recommended to go to Samkara, or Siva, and seek instruction from him. Nārada repairs to Kailāsa and enters the palace of Śamkara, which has seven gates. At these gates there are pictures and sculptures relating to the scenes of Krsna's childhood and his various deeds in the cow-settlement, such as Vrndavana, Yamunā, Kṛṣṇa's sitting on the Kadamba tree with the garments of the cowherdesses and their return from bath in the Yamuna river in a naked condition, the destruction of the serpent Kāliva, the holding up of the Govardhana mountain on the palm of his hand, the journey to Mathura and the lamentations of the Gopis and his foster-parents, etc. Sculptures representing some of these events were discovered on a pillar excavated at Mandor near Jodhpur about two years ago!. The age of the pillar has been considered not earlier than the fourth century A. D. The idea of imagining such sculptures on the gates of Siva's palace could have occurred to a writer only when the practice of adorning gates and pillars with such sculptures had become general. The Jñānāmrtasara, therefore, could not have been earlier than the fourth century and appears to me to be considerably later, as will be presently shown.

Goloka or the world of cows is the heaven in which Kṛṣṇa dwells and which is reached by those who adore him, and several Mantras are given in this book, the reciters of which are rewarded with a place in that heaven. The servitude of Hari through devotion is the highest Mukti or absolution according to this work. There are six modes of adoring Hari; viz., (1) remembrance of him, (2) utterance, (of his name and glory), (3) salutation, (4) resorting to his feet, (5) constant worship of him with devotion, and (6) surrender of the whole soul to him. The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa adds three more, viz., hearing (his praise), servitude, and companionship (Sakhyam). These last two are preliminary to

^{1.} Archaelogical Survey of India, Annual Report, 1905-1906, p. 135ff.

^{8 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

the surrendering of the whole soul. In this book Rādhā is mentioned as the highest of the women whom Kṛṣṇa loved, and she is represented to have been formed by the original lord becoming two, one of which was Rādhā (II. 3. 24ff.). The exaltation of this woman is thus one of the main objects of this Samhitā.

The Samhitā we have been considering, seems thus to be entirely devoted to the advancement of the cult of the Kṛṣṇa of the cowsettlement or Gokula and of his beloved mistress Rādhā, now raised to the dignity of his eternal consort. The Vyūhas which form a peculiarity of the Pāñcarātra School, are not mentioned in it. The creed afterwards promulgated by Vallabhācārya is exactly similar to that set forth in this book. This Samhitā, therefore, must have heen written a short time before Vallabha, that is about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Rāmānuilyas consider this Samhitā to be apportyphal.

XI. The Avataras of Visnu or Narayana.

§ 41. An Avatāra or incarnation of a god differs from mere identification of two gods in this, that in the former case the god that is considered an incarnation acts like a human being, or even a brute, at the same time that he has the miraculous powers of a god. The transition, however, from the idea of identification to that of incarnation is easy. The person in the flesh is identified with the god who is a mere spirit, so that the habit of thought which in Vedic times led to the identification of some of the Vedic deities with Agni, has been at work even in this conception of the Avatāras.

The Avatāras of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu are variously givên by the various authorities. In the passage in the Nārāyaṇiya translated above, six only are given, viz., the boar, the manlion, the dwarf, Rāma of the Bhṛgu race, Rāma Dāsarathi and that assumed for the destruction of Kamsa (Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa). This passage is followed after a short interval by another in which the incarnations are given as ten, the additions being Hamsa (swan), Kūrma (tortoise), and Matsya (fish) in the beignning and Kalkin at the end. The one preceding Kalkin is called Sātvata, i. e., Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. This passage, following so closely on the

^{1.} Ante. p. 9 [N. B. U.]

first, appears to be interpolated when the number of Avatāras became fixed at ten.

The Harivania mentions the six given in the first of these two passages. The Vāyu-Purāna gives the incarnations in two passages (Chap. 97, vv. 72ff. and Chap. 98, vv. 63ff.), in the first of which there are twelve, but some of them appear rather to be incarnations of Śiva and Indra. In the second the number ten, which about that time must have come into usage, is made up by adding to the six mentioned above the four: Dattātreya, one unnamed called the fifth, Vedavyāsa, and Kalkin. In the Varāha-Purāna we have the ten incarnations which came to be accepted later, containing the Fish, Tortoise, Buddha, and Kalkin, in addition to the six mentioned above. The Agni-Purāna gives the same ten.

The Bhāgavata-Purāna enumerates the incarnations in three different passages. In the first, contained in Chapter 3 of Book I, twenty-two are mentioned. In the passage in Chapter 7 of Book II, we have twenty-three, and in Chapter 4 of Book XI, sixteen are given. It deserves notice that among the Avatāras mentioned in this Purāna are Sanatkumāra; the divine sage (Nārada), who expounded the Sātvata system; Kapila who explained to Asuri the Sāmkhya system, which determines the collection of principles; Dattātreya, who is represented to have taught Anvīksikī to Alarka and the Prahrāda and the attainment of excellence hy means of Yoga to Yadu and Haihaya; Rṣabha, son of Nābhi and Merudevī, who abandoned attachment to all things, acquired serenity, and looking at all things alike and possessing Yoga power, acted as if he were a non-living creature; and lastly Dhanvantari, the teacher of the science of medicine.

Rsabha, from the parentage given here and other indications, appears clearly to be the same as the first Tirthamkara of the Jainas. He was probably raised to the dignity of an incarnation as the Buddha of the Buddhists was. There is hardly a wide-spread cult of any of these incarnations except Dattātreya, who is adored and worshipped by a large number of people to this day, and Rāma of whom more will have to be said hereafter. Kṛṣṇa, of course, though included in the Avatāras stands on independent grounds and his worship over the widest area is due, not to his having been con-

sidered an Avstāra, but to his being the peculiar object of adoration of the followers of a new religion or religious reform, as I have ventured to call it, which first took its rise among the Sātvatas.

XII. Later Traces of the Bhagavata School; and General Vaisnavism.

§ 42. We will now resume the chronological thread we have traced from Megasthenes to the latest Inscription, that at Nanaghat, which is to be referred to the first century B. C. For about four centuries after this there are no epigraphical or sculptural traces of any Brāhmanic religious system; and they reappear about the time when the Guptas rose to power in the first quarter of the fourth century. The Gupta princes, Candragupta II, Kumāragupta, and Skandagupta, are styled Paramabhāgavatas on their coins. They were thus worshippers of Bhagavat or Vāsudeva. Their dates range from 400 to 464 A. D.

On a panel at Udayagiri, there is a figure of a four-armed god, who is probably Visnu. The Inscription below bears the date 82 G. E., i. e., 400 A. D.

There is a pillar at Bhitari in the Ghazipur District of the U. P., on which there is an Inscription which records the installation of an image of Śārngin and the grant of a village for its worsh'p by Skandagupta, whose dates range between 454 and 464 A. D.² Śārngin must have been Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, Skandagupta himself being a Bhāgavata.

A temple of Visnu was erected in 456 A. D. by Cakrapālita, son of Parņadatta, appointed vicercy of Surāstra or Kathiavad by Skandagupta. The Inscription, which records this, opens with an invocation of Visnu in the Vāmana or the dwarf incarnation.

In an Inscription at Eran in the Sagar district, C. P., belonging to the reign of Budhagupta and bearing the date 165 G. E., corresponding to 483 A. D., Mātrviṣṇu and his younger brother Dhanyaviṣṇu are represented to have erected a Dhyajastambha or flag-

^{1.} Corp. Inscr. Ind. Vol. III, p. 21ff.

Ibid. p. 52ff.

^{3.} Ibid. p. 56ff.

staff in honour of the god Janārdana. Mātrviṣṇu is called a great devotee of Bhagavat (Atyanta-Bhagavad-bhakta). The god Janārdana must therefore be Vāsudeva-Krsna.

A copper-plate Inscription of A. D. 495, found near the village of Khoh in Baghelkhand, records the grant of a village, by a chief named Jayanātha, to Bhagavat for repairs to the temple of that god and for the performance of ordinary ceremonies³.

An Inscription on an iron pillar near Kutub Minar at Delhi speaks of that pillar as a flag-staff to Visnu erected by a great king named Candra, who enjoyed universal sovereignty and was a great devotee of Visnu. The Inscription is not dated, but if the Candra referred to here was Candragupta II, it belongs to the latter part of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth.

In his Meghadūta (v. 15) Kālidāsa compares the cloud adorned with a piece of a rain-bow, with Visnu in the shape of the cow-herd adorned with a shining peacock feather. Here there is an identification of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu; and, if the Vikramāditya who was the patron of Kālidāsa was Candragupta II of the Gupta Dynasty, this must be considered to be a record belonging to the early part of the fifth century.

We have already alluded to the sculptures on a pillar excavated at Mandor near Jodhpur. These sculptures represent the overturning of a cart by the baby Kṛṣṇa, the holding of the Govardhana Mountain by Kṛṣṇa on the palm of his hand, and such other events. I refer them tentatively to the fifth century.

In Saka 500, Mangalisa, a prince belonging to the early Cālukya dynasty of the Deccan, got a cave scooped out, in which a temple to Visnu was constructed, and an image of Visnu was installed in it. The provision for the performance of Nārāyaṇabali (offerings to Nārāyaṇa) was made by assigning the revenues of a village for the purpose. In this cave-temple there are figures of Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa lying on the body of a serpent, with Lakṣmī rubbing his feet, and of the Boar and Narasimha incarna-

^{1.} Ibid. p. 88ff.

^{2.} Ibid. p. 121ff.

^{3.} Ibid. p. 139ff.

^{4.} Ind. Ant. Vol. III. p. 305; Vol. VI, p. 363.

tions, and of Harihara in which the peculiar marks of Hari, or Vienu, and of Hara, or Siva, are combined.

In mentioning the priests who are qualified to install and consecrate the images of certain gods, Varāhamihira says that this function in the case of Visnu should be assigned to Bhāgavatas. Bhāgavatas were thus recognised in his time as the peculiar worshippers of Visnu. Varāhamihira died in Śaka 509, i. e. 587 A.D.

Amarasimha, the author of the well-known Kośa or thesaurus. was a Buddhist. After giving the words expressive of gods generally, when he comes to the names of particular gods, he hegins by giving those of Buddha and proceeds next to give the names Visnu. Nārāvana etc., of which we have thirty-nine. After finishing these he says that Vasudeva was his father. This means that the thirty-nine names previously given are the names of Vasudeva. If we examine these, we shall find that before Amara's time Vasudeva had already been identified with Visnu and Nārāyana. Except the name Dāmodara, there is no other connecting Vāsudeva with Gokula, and the etymology of Dāmodara which connects him with that cow-settlement is doubtful. While Kamsarati, or the enemy of Kamsa, does occur, we have no such name as Pūtanāri, the enemy of Pūtanā, or any other derived from the names of the many demons he slew while he was a boy. There are also no names of incarnations except the doubtful one. Balidhvamsin, which however, has been interpreted by one commentator as the destroyer of ignorance by means of Bali or oblations. There are, of course, several names derived from those of other demons, such as Madhuripu and Kaitabhajit, but these are not the enemies destroyed by Visnu in his incarnations as they are usually mentioned. After giving the name of the father of Vasudeva-Krsna, Amara proceeds to mention those of Samkarsana, or Baladeva, and afterwards of Pradvumna and Aniruddha. Thereafter he mentions those of Laksmi, the wife of Nārāyana or Visnu, then those of the weapons of the god and his ornaments, and ends with the names of Garuda, the vehicle of Visnu.

^{1.} Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples, p. 407.

^{2.} Br. S. 60. 19,

^{3.} Bhau Daji. Lit. Remains, p. 240.

finishing these he proceeds to the other great god of the Hindus, Sambhu or Siva.

Here Amara appears clearly to have in view the four forms, or Vyūhas, of Vāsudeva recognised by the Bhāgavatas, so that in his time the prevalent form of Vaispavism was that embraced by the Bhāgavatas. Amara's exact age is doubtful, but, if he was a Buddhist, he must have belonged to the Mahāyāna sect, the sacred language of which was Sanskrit. This system was in full swing in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries'. Amarasimha, therefore, must have flourished in this last century, or, if we believe in the traditional verse which asserts his contemporaneousness with Kālidāsa and in Candragupta II as Vikramāditya, the famous patron of learning, he must have flourished in the early part of the fifth century. The identity of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa is very rarely alluded to while that with Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa is clearly set forth.

About the middle of the seventh century, Bāna in his Harsa-carita represents a sage of the name of Divākaramitra, who, originally a Brāhmaṇa, became a Buddhist, as being surrounded in the Vindhya mountains, where he had his abode, by followers of a number of sects two of which were the Bhāgavatas. and Pāncarātras.

In the Dasāvatāra temple at Ellora there is a figure of Viṣṇu on the body of a serpent with Lakṣmī rubbing his feet and Brahmā seated on a lotus coming out of his navel. There are also images of the Narasimha, Vāmana and Varāha incarnations, as well as of Kṛṣṇa holding the Govardhana Mountain over the flocks of the cow-settlement. This temple was constructed about the middle of the eighth century in the time of Dantidurga of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race. There are similar figures of Avatāras in the Kailāsa temple scooped out in the latter part of the eighth century, in the time of Kṛṣṇa I, uncle of Dantidurga. Among these is also the scene of the destruction of Kāliya by Kṛṣṇa.

There is an Inscription in a cave at Pabhosa, about 32 miles south-west of Allahabad, which probably had a human figure above and runs thus: "The maker of the images of Sri-Kṛṣṇa and

Vide my 'Peep into the Early History of India', JBBRAS, Vol. XX. p. 395;
 = Volume I of this Edition, p. 45 N. B. U.]

the milk-maids". The date is uncertain, but the Inscription is referred to the seventh or eighth century by Bühler.

At Sirpur in the Raipur district, C. P., over the front of a shrine-door there is a sculpture of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa reclining on the folds of the serpent Śeṣa, and from his navel springs a lotus on which is seated Brahmā. Down the two outer sides of the shrine-door are some of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, one of which is that of Rāma and another of Buddha, whose image is in the usual meditative attitude. The temple belongs probably to the eighth century.

At Osia, 32 miles north of Jodhpur, there is an old temple adjoining to the house of the local Jahagirdar. On two pilasters, projecting from the shrine into the Sabhāmandapa, are two images of deities both seated on Garuda. Both have four hands, but one of them holds a conch-shell, the discus, the mace and the lotus, and the other bears a plough-share and a mace in his two hands, the other two being empty. The last has his head canopied by a five-hooded serpent. They are apparently Vāsudeva and Samkarsana. The temple cannot be later than the ninth century.

In a work called Dharmapariksā, Amitagati, the author, who was a Digambara Jaina, says that there were according to the legendary lore current among the Jainas sixty-three eminent men: the twelve supreme sovereigns, the twenty-four Arhats (Jinas), and nine Rāmas, nine Kesavas, and the nine enemies of these nine. The last of the Visnus (Kesavas) was the son of Vasudeva, and his Brāhmaṇa devotees call him the pure, the supreme being. They say: "He who meditates upon the god Visnu, who is all-pervading, a whole without parts, indestructible and unchangeable, who frees a man from old age and death, is free from misery". He is traditionally known to have ten forms or incarnations. These ten forms are the same as mentioned in the Varāha and Agni-Purāṇas and which are now generally accepted. Thus Buddha had come to be recognised as an incarnation of Visnu before

^{1.} Ep. Ind., Vol. II. p., 482.

Annual Progress Report of Archæological Survey, Western Circle, for 1903-04, p. 21.

See the forthcoming Annual Report of the Arch. Surv. of India [This note is printed as in the original Edition.—N. B. U.]

^{4.} See above [p. 59 N. B. U.]

the date of the Dharmapariksā, which is Vikrama 1070, corresponding to 1014 A. D. If the approximate date assigned to the temple at Sirpur is correct, Buddha must have been admitted into the Brāhmapic pantheon before the eighth century. Amitagati also speaks of the mighty Visnu having become a cowherd in Nanda's Gokula and of the all-knowing, all-pervading protector of the world (Rāma) as being oppressed by the fire of separation from Sītā like a mortal lover.

Hence, we have evidence of the existence of the cult of Visnu, principally in accordance with the mode professed by the Bhagavatas from the fourth to the eleventh century. The doctrine of the incarnations had also become an article of ordinary faith, and the founder of Buddhism and the first Tirthamkara of the Jainas also came later to be recognised as incarnations of Visnu.

XIII. The Cult of Rama.

§ 43. The architectural remains passed under review contain only figures of the incarnations of Visnu and are not to be taken as proving the existence of the cult of any of these incarnations. But at the present day the cult of Rama exists over a pretty wide area. In the temples and other religious structures hitherto noticed. there is none dedicated to his worship nor any flag-staff like those erected in honour of Janardana or Vasudeva-Krsna. Rama. however, was considered as an incarnation of Visnu even in very early times. There are passages in the Ramayana pointing to this, but there is good reason to believe that they are spurious or interpolated. But the passage in the Nārāyaniya, which we have frequently referred to, contains his name, and so do all the Puranas that have been noticed. These in themselves are not sufficient to enable us to determine approximately the period in which he came to be regarded as an incarnation. But in the tenth chapter of the Raghuvamsa the story of the birth of Rama is preceded by the usual appeal to Visnu or Nārāyana lying on the body of the great serpent, with Laksmi rubbing his feet, in the milky ocean and his promise to be born as a son of Dasaratha for the destruction of Ravana.

¹ For Amitagati's work, see Vol. II of this edition, pp. 308ff. [N. B. U.]

P [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

Amitagati also speaks in 1014 A. D., as we have seen', of Rama's being regarded as the all-knowing, all-pervading protector of the world. The Vayu-Purana, which is the earliest work of that class, must have been written about the fifth century; so that the belief in Rāma's being an incarnation of Vișnu existed in all probability in the early centuries of the Christian Era. But there is no mention of his name in such a work as that of Patañjali, nor is there any old Inscription in which it occurs. Amarasimha, too, has no place for him in his scheme of Brahmanic gods. These circumstances, as well as those mentioned above, show that, though he was regarded as an Avatāra, there was no cult in his honour. Still, as depicted by Valmiki, Rama was a high-souled hero, and poets, including those nameless ones who wrote Puranas in the names of old Rsis, particularly Bhavabhūti, still more highly exalted his character. Rāma, therefore, won a place in the heart of the Indian people, and that must have soon led to the foundation of the cult. But when this took place it is difficult to say. Madhva or Anandatirtha, the founder of a sect to be noticed hereafter, is represented to have brought the image of Digvijaya Rāma from Badarikāsrama and sent Naraharitirtha to Jagannatha about the year 1264 A. D. to bring what was called the original idols of Rāma and Sītā. The cult of Rāma. therefore, must have come into existence about the eleventh century. There exist manuals giving the modes of worship by means of Mantras or formulae and magic circles, like those prescribed in the Satvata-Samhita for the worship of Vasudeva. The ceremony in connection with his birth on the 9th of the bright half of Caitra is given in his Vratakhanda³ by Hemādri, who flourished in the thirteenth century. That writer, as well as Vrddha-Hārīta', gives the modes of worshipping him as an incarnation along with others on certain occasions, so that it appears that his worship as an incarnation has been of a longer duration than that based on terms of equality with Vasudeva-Krana.

Twenty-four images, differing from each other in the order in which the four objects, viz., the conch-shell, discus, mace

¹ Ante, p. 64 [N. B. U.] 2 See below.

³ P. 941 (Bibl. Ind.).

⁴ Vratakhanda pp. 1034ff.; Vrddha-Harita-Smrti (Anandasrama Sanskrit Series), chap. X, v. 145,

and lotus, are placed in the four hands of the principal god Vāsudeva or Visnu, are mentioned by both those authors. and the twenty-four names corresponding to the twenty-four Kesava, Nārāyaṇa, Govinda, etc., which include those of the four Vyuhas, are repeated by us at the beginning of every ceremony that we perform at the present day; that is, obeisance is made to the twenty-four forms of the god by using the word Namah (salutations) after the dative of each of the names, and the sense is 'Saluations to Kesava. Nārāyana, etc.'. The name of Rāma, however, is not included in them, while two other Avatāras, Narasimha and Vāmana. are mentioned. Every Śrāddha ceremony is wound up by the expression "May Janardana-Vasudeva, who is a form of the ancestors, or the father, grandfather and great grandfather, be satisfied by this act". All this shows that Vasudevism has penetrated into every one of our ordinary ceremonies, which include a repetition even of Vedic Mantras, while this is not at all the case with the cult of Rāma, which is, therefore of a modern growth.

There is a work, entitled the Adhyātma-Rāmāyana, which Ekanātha², a Mahārāstra saint, who flourished in the sixteenth century, calls a modern treatise, composed of excerpts from older writings and having no pretence to be considered as emanating from the old Rsis. The object of this work throughout has been to set forth the divinity of Rāma. The first book of it comprises what is called Rāmahrdaya, which was narrated to Hanūmat by Sitā, who says that as the original Prakrti, she does every thing and did all the deeds mentioned in the Rāmāyana, while Rāma as the only existing soul is inactive, unchangeable and blessed, and is a mere witness of her deeds. After she has concluded, Rāma explains the threefold nature of the knowing spirit, viz., (1) the original, (2) that conditioned by Buddhi or

^{1 (1)} Keśava, (2) Nārāyaṇa, (3) Mādhava, (4) Govinda, (5) Viṣṇu, (6) Madhusudana, (7) Trivikrama, (8) Vāmana, (9) Śrīdhara, (10) Hṛṣīkeśa,

⁽¹¹⁾ Padmanābha, (12) Dāmodara, (13) Samkarṣaṇa, (14) Vāsudeva,

⁽¹⁵⁾ Pradyumna, (16) Aniruddha, (17) Purusottama, (18) Adhoksaja,

⁽¹⁹⁾ Narasimba, (20) Acyuta, (21) Janerdana, (23) Upendra, (23) Hari, (24) Śrikręņa.

^{- 2} See his Bhavartha-Ramayana, Aranyakanda.

finite intelligence, and (3) the appearances, the last two of which are fictitious. The fifth canto of the last book is styled Ramagita, which is meant to correspond to the Bhagavadgita of Vasudeva and which is narrated by Rama to Laksmana, who takes the place of Arjuna. The doctrine is thoroughly adualistic as that of the previous portion. The world and the individual soul are illusory, and one spirit alone exists. There is another book called Ramagita published in Madras, which represents itself to be contained in a larger work called Sattvapārāyana and is composed of eighteen chapters like the genuine Bhagavadgita. It is narrated to Hanumat by Rama. In the beginning it professes itself to be based on the one hundred and eight Upanisads, some of which are manifestly very recent. This work, therefore, must be a very modern compilation. Thus the works designed to give importance to Rama as a religious teacher are of recent origin.

XIV. Vasudevism or Vaisnavism in the South.

§ 44. We have seen that Samkarsana and Vasudeva had come to be worshipped as gods in the Maratha country by about the first century B. C. The cult must have spread further south up to the Tamil country, but there is no evidence to show at what time it was introduced there. The Bhagavata-Purana (Book XI, chap. 5, vv. 38-40) says, in the usual prophetic style, that in the Kali age there will be found men here and there devoted to Nārāyana, but in large numbers in the Dravida country, where flow the rivers Tamraparni, Kaveri and others, and that those who drink the water of these rivers will mostly be pure-hearted devotees of Vasudeva. When the Purana goes out of its beaten track to make such a statement as this, the fame of the devotees of Vasudeva, who had flourished in the Tamil country, must have spread over either parts of India when the Purana was compiled. The Purana was regarded as sacred in the thirteenth century, when Anandatirtha, who flourished between about 1199 and 1278 A.D., places it on the same level as the Mahabharata and devotes a treatise to the determination of its drift, as to that of the latter. About the same time Bonadeva prepared an abstract of it at the request of the councillor Hemādri. The Bhagavata, therefore, must have been composed at the least

two centuries before Anandatirtha to account for the reputation of the sacred character which it acquired in his time. It cannot be very much older, for its style often looks modern and in copying from the older Purānas it falls into mistakes, such as the one pointed out by me in another place. The Dravida devotees, therefore, noticed in the Bhāgavata, must have mostly flourished before the eleventh century.

These devotees, who are known by the name of Alvars, are generally reckoned as twelve in number and are divided into three classes by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar^a in accordance with the received chronology which he follows to determine their sequence, though in itself it assigns a preposterously high antiquity to them. Their names, Tamil and Sanskrit, are as follows:—

Class	Tamil name	Sanskrit name
Ancient	Poygai Āļvār Bhūtattār Pēy Āļvār Tirumaļišai Āļvār	Saroyogin Bhūtayogin Mahadyogin or Bhrāntayogin Bhaktisāra
Later	$\left\{egin{array}{l} \mathbf{Namm} \ \ ar{\mathbf{A}} \mathbf{l} \mathbf{v} ar{\mathbf{a}} \mathbf{r} \ \ \mathbf{Periy} \ \ ar{\mathbf{A}} \mathbf{l} \mathbf{v} ar{\mathbf{a}} \mathbf{r} \ \ \ \mathbf{A} \mathbf{p} \mathbf{d} ar{\mathbf{a}} \mathbf{l} \end{array} \right.$	Śathakopa Madhurakavi Kulaśekhara Visnucitta Goda
Last	Tondaradippodi Tiruppān Ālvār Tirumangai Ālvār	Bhaktāṅghrireņu Yogivāhana Parakāla

The date of the first, ordinarily given, is B. C. 4203 and of the last, B. C. 2706, and the others range between these two. Not only are these dates fanciful, but even the sequence shown above is unreliable. Krishnaswami places the last in the earlier half of the eighth century A. D., and all the preceding ones impliedly before that date. But there is distinct evidence to show that Kulasekhara flourished much later. He was a king of Travancore, and one of

¹ Early History of the Deccan (Second Edition), pp. 32-33. [=Vol. III, p. 46 of this Edition.—N. B. U.]

^{\$} Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXV, p. 228.

the works composed by him styled Mukundamālā contains a verse from the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa (XI. 2. 36)¹.

Again in an Inscription on a tablet, existing in a temple at Naregal in the Dharwar district, translated by Dr. Fleet², it is stated that Permadi of the Sinda dynasty vanquished Kulasekharanka, besieged Chatta, pursued Javakesin, and seized upon the royal power of Poysala and invested Dhorasamudra, the capital of the Poysala dynasty. In another Inscription3 this Permadi is represented to be a vassal of Jagadekamalla II, whose dates range between A. D. 1138 and 1150. While the former was in power as Mahamandalesvara in the seventh year of Jagadekamalla, i. e., in A. D. 1144, a certain grant was made by a body of sellers of betel leaves and nuts. The Kulasekharanka, mentioned as being vanquished by this Permadi, must be a prince reigning on the western coast, as the others, Jayakesin, the Kadamba prince of Goa, the Hoysala king, and so forth, were. Putting this statement and the quotation from the Bhagavata-Purana together, it appears highly probable that the Alvar Kulasekhara lived in the first half of the twelfth century. The sequence, therefore, given above cannot be implicitly believed in.

Still it may be admitted that the earliest Alvars flourished about the time of the revival of Brahamanism and Hinduism in the North, which extended up to the Maratha country, as we have shown from Inscriptions and antiquarian remains, and must have extended still farther to the South. The earliest Alvars may be placed before about the fifth or sixth century, but there is nothing to show that Vaisnavism had not penetrated to the Tamil country earlier, i. e., about the first century. But an impetus, such as the rise of the Alvars indicates, could in all probability come only from the energy of the revival. The hostile relations into which the Alvars and the Saiva saints, Nayanmars, came with the Buddhists and Jainas, lend support to the view we have advocated.

The Alvars composed mostly in Tamil, what are called Prabandhas or songs in praise of the deity full of piety and devotion and

¹ Kayena vaca manasendriyair va, etc.

² JBBRAS, Vol. XI. p. 244.

³ Ibid. p. 251.

containing also religious truth. They are considered as very sacred and spoken of as the Vaisnava Veda. The reverence paid to the Alvārs is very great, and their images are placed by the side of the god representing Visnu or Nārāyana in some form and worshipped. It may be noted here that Kulasekhara-Alvār's favourite deity was Rāma, the son of Dasaratha.

XV. Rāmānuja.

§ 45. There were two classes of teachers among the Vaiṣṇavas of the South, viz, the Ālvārs and the Ācāryas. The former devoted themselves to the culture of the feeling of love and devotion for Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, and composed songs, while the object of the latter was to carry on disputations and controversies and seek to establish their own theories and creeds. The first class we have already noticed briefly. The first of the second class appears to have been Nāthamuni. His successor was Yāmunācārya or Yāmunamuni. Rāmānuja succeeded Yāmunamuni, one of whose last directions to his successor was to compose a commentary on Bādarāyaṇa's Brahmasūtra. The necessity for such a work was felt by the leaders of the Vaiṣṇava faith, since they found it not possible to maintain the doctrine of Bhakti or love in the face of the theory of Advaita or Monism of Spirit set up by Samkarācārya as based upon the Brahmasūtras and the Upaniṣads.

During the period of the revival of Brahmanism and Hinduism there was such a fermentation of thought as that which existed when Buddhism, Jainism and other heterodox systems on the one hand, and Vasudevism on the other, arose. The present fermentation, however, did not rest on independent thought, but was based upon the sacred works that had been handed down from the earlier times. The Pali Buddhism made way for the Sanskrit Mahāyānism, and against this last, controversies were carried on by the School of Nyāya founded by Gautama and by the Mimamsakas, especially by Sabarsvāmin and Kumārilabhatta. But the Mimāmsakas attacked not only the Buddhists, but the Aupanisadas. or a school of thought based upon the Upanisads. They maintained the efficacy of the sacrificial religion alone and denied it to the faith and practices of the latter school. The efforts of this school were therefore directed towards the maintenance of their position that their system alone can lead to supreme bliss.

The person who appeared prominently on the scene on this occasion was Gaudapādācārva and some time after him the pupil of his pupil. Samkarācārya. The theory that this latter set up, was that there exists one spirit alone, and the feelings of individuality and other attributes of the animal spirit and the variety of the inanimate world, owe their origin to a principle of illusion, and are consequently unreal. This doctrine left no room for the exercise of love and piety in the world of reality, though its followers allow it in the ordinary illusive condition of the human souls. and therefore it laid the axe at the root of Vaisnavism. The great wish of the Southern leaders of the latter faith was the overthrow of this doctrine of illusion, or Maya, on the same Aupanitada grounds on which it was set up. And this wish of his predecessor was carried out by Rāmānuja, and henceforward every Vaisnava system, and even, in one or two cases, Saiva systems had to tack on Aupanisada or Vedantic theories to their own doctrines.

\$46. Ramanuja was born in Saka 938 corresponding to 1016 or 1017 A. D. In his youth he lived at Kancipura or Conjecuaram and was a pupil of Yadavaprakasa, who was an Advaita philosopher and therefore professed spiritual monism. Rāmānuja whose inclinations were towards Vaisnavism, was dissatisfied with the teachings of his master, and the ultimate result was his seperation from him. He applied himself to the study of the Prabandhas of the Alvars and drank in their spirit. When he became a successor of Yamunacarva, he lived at Srirangam, near Trichinopoly, and did his life's work there. He is said to have gone on a pilgrimage to the noted holy places of Upper India. In the latter years of his age he was subjected to persecution by the Cola Forince of his time, who wanted him to renounce Vaisnavism for Saivism, in consequence of which he took refuge in 1096 A. D. in the dominions of the Hoysala Yadava princes, who reigned in Mysore and whose capital was Dvarasamudra, the modern Halebid. There he converted Vitthala Deva, popularly called Bitti Deva. Bitti being, in all likelihood, the corruption of Vitthala or Vitthi. This took place in 1098 A. D. Vitthala Deva was not the reigning prince, but administered some of the frontier provinces in the name of his brother Ballala, who was on the

throne! Vitthala Deva or Bitti Deva was called Visnuvardhana after his conversion to Vaisnavism. This is the ordinary account. But what appears true is that his name was originally Visnu, which was corrupted into Bittu or Bitti in the Kanarese, the vernacular of the district, so that his original name Bitti Deva is the same as Visnu Deva which he is represented to have assumed after his conversion. He reigned from 1104 to 1141 A. D.² Rāmānuja composed the following works:— Vedāntasāra, Vedārthasamgraha, Vedāntadīpa, and commentaries, or Bhāsyas, on the Brahmasūtras and the Bhagavadgītā³.

§ 47. The Vedantic theory, or the theory based upon the Brahmasūtras and the Upanisads, which Rāmānuja set up to provide scope for the feeling of Bhakti, or love for God and the spirit of worship, was that there are three eternal principles, the individual or animal soul (Cit), the insensate world (Acit), and the Supreme Soul (Isvara).

There are Upanisad texts to support this, and one of them is that in the SU. (I. 12) to the effect that all Brahman, regarded as composed of the enjoyer or sufferer, the objects from which enjoyment or suffering springs, and the controller or mover, is threefold. But the Brahmasūtras lay it down on the authority of the Upanisads that Brahman is the material as well as the efficient cause of the world. To make this possible in his system, Rāmānuja resorts to the passage in BU. of the Mādhyamdina school, beginning from III. 7. 3, in which the Supreme Soul is stated to be the internal controller (Antaryamin) of the individual soul as well as of the external world. The form that he gives to his theory is that the individual soul and the insensate world are the attributes of the Supreme Soul. They constitute his body, as stated in the Upanisad also, and thus, they with the controlling inward Supreme Soul constitute one entity called Brahman, just as the body and the in-dwelling soul constitute the human being.

¹ See Krishnaswami Aiyangar's paper in No. 8 of the magazine Visistadvaitin for most of these facts.

³ Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XVIII, p. 173.

³ See Krishnaswami's paper alluded to above.

^{10 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

Before creation the body of the Supreme Soul exists in a subtle form, and when creation takes place, it develops in the form of the existing universe; thus Brahman is the material cause of the external world. It is also the efficient cause, when, as the internal controlling soul, it wills to creat. The subtle form of the insensate world is the Prakrti, a term first invented by the original author of the Sāmkhya doctrine. It develops under the guidance of the in-dwelling Supreme Spirit until the mundane egg is produced. The successive stages of Mahat, Ahamkāra, etc., are like those of the Sāmkhya system, which has been adopted by the Purānas also in the account of the creation. And the creation after the production of the mundane egg is also made by Išvara as the internal controller of Brahmadeva, Dakṣa, etc.

Isvara or God is free from all faults or defects. He is eternal, pervades all living and non-living things, is the internal controller of all, is pure joy or blessedness, is possessed of the auspicious qualities of knowledge, power, etc., is the creator, protector and destroyer of the world, and is resorted to by those who are afflicted, who wish to gain knowledge, who seek to attain a certain end, and who are already enlightened. He confers the fourfold fruit of existence. He is possessed of a wonderful celestial body of unsurpassable beauty and has for his consorts Laksmi, Bhū (the earth), and Lilā (sport).

This Isvara appears in five different modes:-

I. Para or the highest, in which mode, Nārāyana, called also Para-Brahman and Para-Vāsudeva, lives in a city called Vaikuntha, which is guarded by certain persons and which has door-keepers; seated in a pavilion of gems on a couch in the form of the serpent Sesa, placed on a throne having the eight legs, Dharma and others; attended by Sr!, Bhū and Lilā; holding the celestial weapons, conch-shell, discus, and others; adorned with celestial ornaments, such as a tiara and others: possessed of numberless auspicious attributes, knowledge, power, and others;

¹ These are the four, Arta. Jijāāsu, etc., mentioned in BhG. (7.16).

² Artha, or worldly prosperity. Kāma, or the objects of desire. Dharma, or religious merit, and Mokşa, or final deliverance, are the four objects of existence.

³ From the Tattvatraya of Lokacarya.

and his presence being enjoyed by the eternal spirits, such as Ananta, Garuda, Visvaksena, and others, and by delivered souls.

II. Vyūha, in which the Para himself has assumed four forms, Vāsudeva, Samkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha for convenience of worship, and for purposes such as creation, etc. Of these Vāsudeva is possessed of the six qualities; Samkarṣaṇa has two, viz., omniscience and sustaining power; Pradyumna two, viz., controlling power and unchangeableness; and Aniruddha, creative power and all-overcoming prowess.

III. Vibhava which mode consists of the ten Avatāras, fish, tortoise, etc.

IV. Antaryamin, in which mode he dwells in the heart and is to be seen by Yogins and accompanies the individual souls even when they go to heaven or hell.

V. Idols or images set up in houses, villages, towns, etc., made up of a material chosen by the worshipper, in which he dwells with a body not made up of matter.

Other authorities leave out Vāsudeva from the Vyūhas and have the other three only. The Arthapañcaka has another form of the Antaryāmin, in which form he dwells in everything and rules over all, is bodiless, all-pervading and store of all good attributes, and is called Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva³, etc.

Self-consciousness, knowledge, union as a soul with a body, agency, are attributes common to the supreme and individual souls. The latter is self-illumined, joyous, eternal, atomic, imperceptible to the senses, unthinkable, devoid of parts, unchangeable, the substratum of knowledge, subject to God's control, depending on God's existence for his own existence and an attribute of God⁵. This description of the individual soul differs a

¹ These are translations of the words Jaana, Bala. Aiśvarya, Virya, Śakti, and Tejas, according to the definitions in the Yatindramatadipikā.

² Yatindramatadīpikā, 9.

³ See my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during 1883-84, p. 69. [= Volume II of this Edition, p. 184-N. B. U.]

⁴ Yat. 8.

⁵ Tattvatraya,

great deal from that of Śamkarācārya, who attributes no agency or substantiality to it; and the dependence on God in a variety of ways cannot, of course, be thought of under the doctrine of spiritual monism. The soul's being an atom is also denied by Śamkara's school and various others. The souls are many and are divided into:—

- (1) Baddha or tied down to the circle of existences from Brahmadeva to the vilest worm, as well as the vegetable souls;
 - (2) Mukta or finally delivered; and
 - (3) Nitya or eternal.

Of the first class, those that are rational, that is, not brutes or vegetables, are of two sorts; (1) desirous of enjoyment; (2) desirous of final deliverance. Of those that are desirous of enjoyment, some devote themselves to the acquisition of wealth and the satisfaction of carnal desires, and others, who seek to attain the happiness of heaven, perform all rites and sacrifices, make pilgrimages to holy places and give in charity. Some of these devote themselves to Bhagavat and others to other deities.

Some of those who desire final deliverance seek the consciousness of their pure soul only (Kevalin), and others eternal bliss. Of these latter, some are Bhaktas, who seek to attain God by resorting to Bhakti with all its details, having first of all studied the Vedas and acquainted themselves with the Vedanta and the philosophy of rites (Karman). The three upper orders alone can practise Bhakti, but not the Sudras. Others are Prapannas, who are those who take refuge in God, feeling themselves poor and helpless. Of Prapannas, some seek the first three objects of life, while the rest. finding no happiness in these, renouncing everything worldly. desire eternal bliss (Moksa) alone, and, seeking the advice of a preceptor and acquiring from him the impulse to action, fling themselves on the will of God, not having the power of going through the Bhakti process and being helpless. This Prapatti or surrender to God can be practised by all orders, including Sūdras.

What are necessary for the efficacy of the method of Bhakti,

are Karmayoga or the performance of actions, and Jñānayoga or the acquisition of knowledge. Karmayoga is the performance of all acts, rites and ceremonies without regard for the fruit resulting from them. These are the worship of the deity, practice of austerity, pilgrimage to holy places, giving in charity and sacrifices.

This Karmayoga purifies the soul and leads to Jāānayoga, or acquisition of knowledge. This knowledge consists in seeing oneself as distinct from Prakrti, or matter, and as an attribute of God himself (Sesa). This Jāānayoga leads to Bhakti.

Bhaktiyoga, or the method of Bhakti, consists in continuous meditation accompanied by the practice of the eight Yoga processes, Yama, Niyama, etc. This is to be attained by (1) the purification of the body by the use of unpolluted and unprohibited food, (2) chastity, (3) constant practice, (4) the performance of five great rites and ceremonies according to one's means, (5) virtues such as truth, uprightness, compassion, charity, non-destruction of life, (6) hopefulness or absence of despondency, and (7) absence of elatedness. Bhakti, as promoted by these seven means, assumes the form of actually seeing (God) and produces the final mental perception.

Prapatti consists in the resolution to yield, the avoidance of opposition, a faith that God will protect, acceptance of him as saviour or praying him to save and sense of helplessness resulting in throwing one's whole soul on him. Prapatti thus comes to self-surrender.

The Arthapañcaka mentions a fifth way called Acāryābhimānayoga, which is for one who is unable to follow any of the others, and consists in surrendering oneself to an Acārya or preceptor and being guided by him in everything. The preceptor goes

¹ The two expressions thus translated have also been otherwise explained as bearing good-will to all and the absence of ill-will.

² There is another reading here which should be translated as "throwing one-self upon him and a feeling of helplessness." Thus there are six constituents of Prapatti. These are; (1) Anukūlyasya sanikalpah (2) prātikūlyasya varjanam, (3) rakṣiṣyatīti viśvāso (4) gōptṛtvavaraṇam tathā, (5) ātmani-kṣepa- (6) kārpaṇye saḍvidhā śaraṇāgatih.

³ Yat. 7.

through all that is necessary to effect his pupil's deliverance as a mother takes medicine herself to cure an infant.

Sixteen modes of worship are to be practised by the devotees of Visnu, as stated in a passage quoted from the Padma-Purāna by a recent writer of the Rāmānuja school. Eight of these are the same as those included in the nine modes of Bhakti enumerated in a previous Section as mentioned in the Bhāgavata-Purāna, Sakhya, or friendship or companionship, being omitted. The other eight are: (1) imprinting the marks of the conch-shell and the discus and other weapons of Hari on the body; (2) the making of a vertical mark on the forehead; (3) repeating of Mantras on the occasion; (4) drinking the water used in washing the feet of Hari; (5) the eating of the offerings of cooked food made to him; (6) doing service to his devotees: (7) the observance of fast on the 11th of the bright and dark halves of each lunar month; (8) laying Tulasi leaves on the idol of Hari.

A text from the Hārītasmṛti is also quoted giving nine modes of worship (Bhakti), three of which are common to it with the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. The other six are the same as the eight in the above, the first two being combined and the third being omitted. The vertical mark on the forehead mentioned above consists of two lines made with white earth and a connecting cross line at the bottom, with, in the middle, a yellow line made with turmeric powder or a red line composed of the same material reddened by mixing it with lime.

§ 48. In Northern India there are not many followers of Rāmānuja; in Southern India there is a very large number. There are two Schools among them, known by the names of Vadakalai or northern learning, and Tenkalai or southern learning. The essential difference between them is brought out by the different illustrations that they give of the connection between God's grace and man's effort in bringing about final deliverance. The illustration used by the former, or the northern, is that of a female monkey and her cub. The cub has to hold fast its mother on the abdomen to

¹ Ante, p. 57. [N. B. U.]

² The following remarks are based on Visistadvaitin, Vol. I, No. 8, pp. 200ff., and Mr. Govindacharya's article, JRAS, 1910, pp. 1103 ff.

be conveyed to a safe place. The southerners use the illustration of the cat and its kittens. The female cat catches hold of the kitten, without any effort on its part, and takes it to a place of safety. In the first case the doctrine is that the process of deliverance must begin with an act of a person seeking it. In the other case the process begins with God himself.

In keeping with this distinction is the idea of Prapatti or selfsurrender held by the two Sects. The first maintains that Prapatti is one of the ways resorted to by the devotee and begins with him. The southern School holds that it is not one of the ways, but it is a frame of mind which characterises all those who seek absolution. and reject all other ways in favour of this. Those who resort to other ways have not arrived at the right mood which leads to When a soul is in this frame of mind, God himself takes entire possession of him, while by the other ways, man, as it were, makes approaches towards him. The Vadakalai lays down that Prapatti is for those who cannot follow other ways, such as Karmayoga, Jñānayoga and Bhaktiyoga, while the Tenkalai holds that it is necessary for all, whether able or not, to follow the other The first School says that one should give himself up to God when one finds other ways, which have been resorted to, to be fruitless. The second holds that self-abandonment to God should precede the trial of other ways. Self-assertiveness is the characteristic of the first, but it is forbidden by the second and selfabandonment is enjoined. The northerners say that the six ways of Prapatti or self-surrender given above are preliminaries to the Prapatti which results from them. The southerners say that Prapatti must take place first and then the six follow as results.

The nothern School teaches that a person belonging to an inferior caste should be treated well only so far as conversation by words is concerned. The southerners say that they should be admitted to an equal treatment in all respects and no distinction be made. The syllable Om should be omitted from the eight-syllabled Mantra, according to the Vadakalai, when taught to others than Brāhmanas; the Tenkalai does not make this distinction and provides for the teaching of the whole Mantra in the same form to all.

¹ This Mantra is "Om Namo Nārāyaņāya".

§ 49 It will be seen from the short summary here given that Ramanuja derives his metaphysical doctrines from texts in the Upanisads and from the Brahmasūtras, while his theory of the external world is that adopted by the Puranas and based on the twenty-four elements of the Sāmkhya system. His Vaisnavism is the Vasudevism of the old Pancaratra system combined with the Nārāyana and Visnu elements. The last name does not occur often in the literature of his school. The most prominent name is Nārāyana, though Vāsudeva takes his proper place when the Supreme Soul and the Vyūhas are spoken of. The name of Gopālakrsna is conspicuous by its absence, and Rāmānuja's system is free from that repulsive form which Vaisnavism assumes when Radha and other cowherdesses are introduced. Rama too does not appear to be a favourite deity. Rāmānuja's doctrines as to the way of reaching the Supreme Soul are the same as, or amplified forms of, those in the Bhagavadgītā. But in this system Bhakti is reduced to the form of a continuous meditation on the Supreme Soul. It thus corresponds to the Upāsanās, or meditations, described by Bādarāyana, and does not mean a boundless love for God, as the word is commonly understood, though the meditation that is enjoined implies tacitly a feeling of love.

The tendency of Rāmānuja's system seems to be to give an exclusive Brāhmanic form to the traditional method of Bhakti, or devotion to God, and this is distinctly seen in the doctrines of the Vadakalai; while Tenkalai, or southern learning, is more liberal and so shapes the doctrines of the system as to make them applicable to Śūdras also. But we shall find the Śūdras asserting themselves when we come to the disciples of Rāmānanda and to the Maratha saints and teachers, Nāmdeva and Tukārāma.

The fifth Upāya, or way to God, given in the Arthapaficaka, of surrendering oneself completely to a teacher or preceptor, doing nothing oneself and the preceptor doing all that is necessary for one's redemption, seems suspicious. It has a striking resemblance to the Christian doctrine of Christ suffering, or in the words of our author, going through the processes necessary for redemption, the believer doing nothing but putting complete faith in his saviour. If the prevalence of Christianity in and before the time of Ramanuja in the country about Madras is a proved fact, this

doctrine as well as some of the finer points in the theory of Prapatti may be traced to the influence of Christianity. Rāmānuja's system is known by the name of Śrīsampradāya or the tradition springing from Śrī.

XVI Madhya or Anandatirtha

§ 50 The great object of the Vaisnava teachers of the eleventh century and upwards was to confute the theory of Māyā, or the unreality of the world, and establish the doctrine of Bhakti, or love and faith, on a secure basis. Rāmānuja effected this by the system which he promulgated and which we have already noticed. But in order to reconcile his doctrine with the theory set forth in the Brahmasutras on the basis of the Upanisads, that God is the material as well as the efficient cause of the world, he propounded the doctrine of God's being a composite person, having for his body the individual souls and the inanimate world. Even this Madhva considered objectionable as having a tendency to depreciate the independent majesty of God, and therefore he denies his being the material cause of the world. All the Sutras of Badarayana which set forth that doctrine have been interpreted by him in an entirely different way. Probably he would have set aside the Brahmasūtras altogether; but he could not do so, since the work had acquired an uncontested authoritativeness as regards religious truth before his time. He had therefore to show that his system did not go against the Brahmasūtras, and therefore accepted them and interpreted them in almost a fantastic manner. Texts from the Upanisads, too, which do not agree with his doctrines, he treats similarly.

In opposition to the pure monism of Samkara and the qualified monism of Rāmānuja, Ānandatīrtha sets forth five eternal distinctions or individualities, viz., the distinction between

- (1) God and the individual spirit,
- (2) God and the inanimate world,
- (3) the individual spirit and the inanimate world,
- (4) one individual spirit and another,
- (5) one inanimate object and another.

According to the Madhvavijaya, or the history of the triumphs of Madhva, by Nārāyaṇa, the son of Trivikrama, there was in the

11 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

town of Rajatapītha a family known by the name of Madhyageha. Madhva's father was called Madhyagehabhatta¹; the name given to Madhva after his birth was Vāsudeva. After Vāsudeva had received the usual education of a Brāhmana, he was initiated as an anchorite by Acyutapreksācārya who thus became his Guru. After his initiation he went to Badarikāśrama in the Himālaya and brought back the idols of Digvijaya Rāma and Vedavyāsa. He was raised to the seat of high priest in the presence of kings.

Anandatirtha went from country to country, putting down the advocates of the doctrine of Māyā and others, and established the Vaisnava creed. He had for his pupils Padmanābhatīrtha, Naraharitīrtha, Mādhavatīrtha, and Aksobhyatīrtha. Naraharitīrtha was sent to Jagannātha in Orissa to bring the original idols of Rāma and Sītā. Ānandatīrtha's other names were Pūrnaprajña and Madhyamandāra, or wish-giving tree of the family of Madhya.

The date of his death given in the list preserved in several of the Mathas, or establishments of the sect, is Saka 1119, and as he lived for seventy-nine years, the death of his birth has been given as Saka 1040. But these statements are open to serious doubts. There is an Inscription in the Kūrmešvara temple at Śrikūrmam in the Chicacole Taluka of the Ganjam District, in which Naraharitirtha is represented to have constructed a temple and placed in it an idol of Yogānandanarasimha in the year Śaka 1203.² The first person therein mentioned is Purusottamatīrtha, who is the same as Acyutaprekṣa³, then his pupil Ānandatīrtha, and the last is Naraharitīrtha, the pupil of Ānandatīrtha. This Naraharitīrtha is considered by some to have been the ruler of Orissa. But this arises from a confusion between him and a king bearing the same name, in the slightly modified form of Narasimha, who was the actual ruler of the country from about Śaka 1191 to

Kallianpur in the Udipi Taluka of the district of South Kanara is stated to be the birth-place of Madhva. It was probably the same as the Rajatapitha of the Madhvavijaya. (Imp. Gaz., Vol. XIV, page 314.)

^{2,} Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, pp. 260 ff.

^{3.} Madhvavijaya, VI, 33.

1225. He is mentioned in an Inscription at Śrikūrmam of Naraharitīrtha himself, bearing the date Śaka 1215, which is represented as the eighteenth year of the king's reign¹. He was Narasimha II, and was the prince panegyrised in a work on rhetoric, the Ekāvali². Naraharitīrtha's other dates gathered from other Inscriptions range between Śaka 1186 and 1212³. All these epigraphical records confirm the truth of the tradition that Naraharitīrtha was sent by Anandatīrtha to Orissa. He appears to have held a very high position there.

Now if Naraharitīrtha's active period extended from Śaka 1186 to 1215, his master could not have died in Śaka 1119, i. e., fully 67 years before. It seems, therefore, reasonable to take the date given in Madhva's Mahābhāratatātparyanirnaya, which is, 4300 of the Kali age, to be the correct date of his birth. It corresponds to Śaka 1121, which, bearing in mind the fact that some use the current year of an era and some the past, we must regard as equivalent to Śaka 1119, the date given in the lists for Anandatīrtha's death. But instead of taking it as the date of his death, we shall have to regard it as the date of his birth. He lived for 79 years according to the current account, so that his death must be placed in Śaka 1198. The two dates may, therefore, be taken as settled.

Anandatirtha thus lived in the first three quarters of the thirteenth century. He was succeeded, according to the list, by Padmanābhatīrtha who held the pontificate for seven years, i.e., up to Śaka 1205. He was succeeded by Naraharitīrtha who occupied the pontifical seat for nine years, i.e., up to Śaka 1214, or, if we regard 1121 as the date of the first pontiff's birth according to the strict interpretation of the Kali date, up to Śaka 1216; and, as we have seen, his latest date in the Inscriptions is Śaka 1215.

§ 51. The Mādhvas follow the method of Vaisesikas and divide all existing things into the categories of substance, qualities, etc.,

^{1.} Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, page 262, note.

See my note in Trivedi's edition of the work, BSS. [= Volume II of this Edition, pp. 439ff. N. B. U.]

^{3.} Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 266.

^{4.} This agrees with the tradition existing in the Matha at Phalmaru, near Mulki in South Canara, to the effect that Anandatīrtha was born in Śaka 1119 and died in Śaka 1199; Ep. Ind., VI, p. 263, note.

with some modifications of their own 1. God is a substance. The supreme soul possesses innumerable or an infinite number of qualities. His functions are eight, viz., (1) creation, (2) protection, (3) dissolution, (4) controlling all things, (5) giving knowledge, (6) manifestation of himself, (7) tying beings down to the world, (8) redemption. He is omniscient, expressible by all words, and entirely different from the individual souls and the inanimate world. He possesses the holy form made up of knowledge, joy, etc., independent of every thing, and one only, assuming different forms. All his forms are his full manifestations, and he is identically the same with his incarnations in qualities, parts, and actions. Laksmi is distinct from the Supreme Soul, but entirely dependent on him. She is eternal and blessed (Makta) like the Supreme Soul and is his consort. She has various forms, but no material body, and is thus like the Supreme Soul, and like him is expressible by all words. She possesses the same extension in space and time as the Supreme Soul, i. e., is concomitant with him.

Jivas or individual souls go through the usual succession of existences and are characterised by ignorance or other defects. They are innumerable individually, or as members of groups, such as Rjus ^g who are fit for attaining Brahmahood, and others who are fit for the attainment of the dignity of Rudra, Garuda, Asuras, or demons, etc. They are of three kinds: (1) fit for attaining final bliss, (2) always going through the circle of existences, and (3) fit for the conditon of darkness. The gods, Rsis, and the manes, and the best of men, belong to the first class, ordinary men belong to the second class, and demons, ghosts, and the vilest of men, etc., to the the third class. All these individual souls are distinct from each other and from the Supreme Soul.

Creation begins when the Supreme Soul disturbs the equilibrium of the Prakrti, which then develops into all the other principles of the Sāmkhya system, as modified by the Purāṇas, until the mundane egg is produced. Then placing the sentient and non-

This account of the system is abridged from a work called Madhvasiddhāntasāra by Padmanābhasūri, printed in Bombay by Javaji Dadaji, irnayasagara Press, published at Kumbhakonam in Saka 1815, corresponding to 1883 A. D. The tedious details are omitted.

^{2.} Rjus are a class of gods.

sentient objects into his inside, he enters into the mundane egg. Then, at the end of a thousand celestial years he produces from his navel a lotus, which is the seat of the four-faced Brahmadeva; and from this last after a long time the ordinary creation takes place.

All knowledge springs from Paramatman, whatever the means by which it is produced. It is of two kinds—that which leads to worldly existence, and that which leads to Moksa. Visnu bestows knowledge on the ignorant, and Moksa on those who have knowledge. The knowledge, or feeling which creates an attachment to the body, child or wife, leads to a worldly life. This is not true knowledge, but ignorance from which results that worldly life, and that ignornce is dispelled by the knowledge of God.

Moksa is attained by the direct knowledge or perception of Hari by means of a method of service possible to oneself and in a body fitted for it. That direct perception is possible to all good individual souls from Brahmadeva to the best of men. This direct perception is to be attained by many means.

What are necessary for direct knowledge, which leads to Moksa. are: (1) Vairagya, or the disgust of enjoyments of this world or the next, generated by seeing the vanity of the world by the company of good persons; (2) equanimity (Sama) and self-control (Dama), etc.; (3) acquaintance with the lore; (4) self-surrender (Saranagati), in which the mind is devoted to God, as the best of all beings, and is full of the highest love and in which everything is resigned to God and he is worshipped with devotedness in the three ways, and which is accompanied with the faith that He will unfailingly protect and the feeling that the devotee is His: (5) attendance on a Guru, or preceptor, and propitiation of him, which is necessary for Moksa or redemption; (6) acquisition of knowledge from the Guru and not from books, or, in the absence of a Guru, from a good Vaispava, and, in rare cases, from books also; (7) reflection over what has been taught; (8) devotion, in the order of their merits, to a preceptor and persons better than oneself and deserving respect; (9) love of God (Paramatmabhakti) consequent on the knowledge of God's greatness and his being the best of all. This love should be firm and higher

than that for all others, and this leads to Moksa or eternal bliss: (10) sympathy for those who are inferior, but good men, love for those who are equal, as if they were the same as themselves, and respectful love or reverence for superiors; (11) performing rites and ceremonies deliberately without any desire, which has the effect of purifying the soul; (12) the avoidance of prohibited deeds, i. e., sins great and small; (13) resigning every act to Hari as done by him and not by oneself; (14) the knowledge of the comparative position of beings and of Visnu as the highest of all; (15) knowledge of the five distinctions already mentioned; (16) distinguishing Prakrti from Purusa, all beings (from Nārāyana down to men, with their consorts) being Purusas, and the inanimate world being the Prakrti: (17) reprobation of false doctrines; (18) Upāsanā or worship. This last is of two kinds, viz., (1) the learning of the Sastras. (2) meditation. Meditation (Nididhyāsa) is placing Bhagavat before the mind's eye to the exclusion of everything else. meditation is possible for one who has a distinct knowledge of a thing acquired after the removal of ignorance, doubt and delusion by means of reading or hearing something read and reflection. Some people meditate on Bhagavat as a single spirit and others on him as having four phases as Sat (existence), Cit (knowledge), Ananda joy), Atman (spirit). Then are given meditations resorted to by gods and some of those mentioned in the Brahmasūtras.

All these eighteen ways lead to the direct knowledge of God, which is possible for all from Brahmadeva to man. The direct knowledge of God attained by men is comparable with the coruscation of lightning, and that attained by gods to the bright disk of the sun. Garuda and Rudra have that knowledge in the shape of a reflection, while Brahmadeva has the knowledge of the whole with all its parts, and some have the knowledge of Him as dwelling in the universe and limited by the universe. The direct knowledge is simply mental.

§ 52. The followers of Madhya wear a mark on the forehead composed of two white perpendicular lines made with an earth called Gopicandana above the bridge of the nose, and a dark line in the middle with a reddish spot in the centre. The two white lines are joined by a cross line on the bridge of the nose. They

wear on the shoulders and on the other parts of their body prints, made with the same white earth, of the conch-shell, the discus, and other weapons of Visnu. These are impressed occasionally with a heated metallic stamp on the skin, so as to leave a permanent scar. Members of this sect exist in pretty large numbers in the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency, Mysore, and on the Western Coast from Goa to South Kanara, and there are only scattered adherents in Northern India. There are eight establishments, or Mathas, for the dissemination and preservation of the creed in South Kanara and three in the inner country. Some of these were founded by Anandatirtha himself.

Ānandatīrtha composed thirty-seven¹ different treatises. He includes among the authorities enumerated by him in support of his system the Pāncarātra-Samhitās; but it will be seen from the account given above that in his creed there is no place for the Vyūhas, Vāsudeva and others, and the name by which the Supreme Spirit is spoken of is mostly Viṣṇu. Some of His incarnations, especially Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, are also adored. But the Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa element seems to be entirely absent from his system, and Rādhā and the cowherdesses are not mentioned.

It thus appears that the Pāñcarātra or Bhāgavata system has been set aside by Ānandatīrtha or thrown into the background. The old traditional Vāsudevism of the Bhāgavata school gradually disappeared about his time and made room for general Vaisnavism.

XVII. Nimbārka.

§ 53 We have thus noticed the form which Vaisnavism assumed in the South from the middle of the eleventh century to the middle of the thirteenth. A strong feeling of Bhakti, or love, and a fear of the dangerous consequences of the doctrine of Maya, or illusion, were the guiding principles of the new development. The influence of this last extended itself to the North, and we can distinguish between two classes of founders of sects, viz.,

(1) those who wrote in Sanskrit,

¹ For the names of these, see the Granthamalikastotra in my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during 1882-83, p. 207. [= Volume II of this Edition, p. 24f. N. B. U.]

and (2) those who used the vernacular for the propagation of their creed.

The first of the former class we have to notice is Nimbārka. Nimbārka is said to have been a Tailanga Brāhmaṇa by birth and to have lived in a village called Nimba', which perhaps is the same as Nimbāpura in the Bellary District. He was born on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaisākha, and his father's name was Jagannātha, who was a Bhāgavata, and his mother's Sarasvati. He is believed by his followers to be an incarnation of the Sudarsana, or the discus of Viṣṇu. As to when he flourished we have no definite information, but he appears to have lived some time after Rāmānuja. Nimbārka composed the Vedāntapārijāta-

¹ Manuscript No. 706 of the Collection of 1884-7. Nimbarka was the "Sun of Nimba".

² Introduction to the commentary on Dasasloki by Harivyāsadeva. It is to be regretted that the commentator does not give the year of Nimbārka's birth.

³ In my Report On the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for the year 1882-83, I have given two succession lists of spiritual teachers, one of the sect of Anandatirtha (p. 203) and another of that founded by Nimbarka (pp. 208-12). This contains 37 names. There is another list in Manuscript 709 of the Collection of 1884-7, which contains 45 names. The two lists agree to No. 32 Harivyāsadeva. After that, while the first has only five names, the second has thirteen names, and none of these agrees with any of the five, so that after Harivyasadeva, the line appears to have divided itself into two branches. No. 709 of the same Collection was written in Samvat 1806 corresponding to 1750 A. D., when Gosvāmin Dāmodara was living. He was the thirty-third after Nimbarks in the new branch line. The thirtythird after Anandatīrtha died in 1876 A. D. Anandatīrtha according to our revised date died in 1276 A. D., so that thirty-three successors occupied 603 years. Supposing that the thirty-three successors of Nimbarka occupied about the same period, and allowing about fifteen years of life to Damodara Gosvāmin, who was living in 1750 A. D., and subtracting from 1765 A. D., 603 years, we have 1162 which is about the date of Nimbārka's death, so that he lived after Ramanuja. This calculation of ours is of course very rough, and, besides, the date of the Manuscript No. 706, which is read as 1913 by some, but which looks like 1813, conflicts with this calculation, as nine more Acaryas flourished after Damodara. And, if 1813 is the correct date, seven years cannot suffice for these, though 107 may, if the date is read 1913.

saurabha, which is a short commentary on the Brahmasūtras, and also a small work containing ten stanzas of the name of Siddhāntaratna, usually called Dasaslokī, from the number of stanzas contained in it. Śrīnivāsa, the immediate follower of Nimbārka, wrote a commentary called Bhāṣya on the first, and Harivyāsadeva, the thirty-second in the list of succession, wrote on the second. The thirteenth in the list, Devācārya, wrote the Siddhāntajāhnavī, and his successor, Sundarabhaṭṭa, wrote a commentary on it, called Setu. The thirtieth in the list composed a commentary, or Bhāṣya, on the Brahmasūtras. His name was Kešava Kašmīrin.

§ 52. Nimbārka's Vedāntic theory is monistic as well as pluralistic. The inanimate world, the individual soul and God are distinct from one another as well as identical. Identical they are in the sense that the first two have no independent existence, but are dependent on God for their existence and action. The theory of the Brahmasūtras that Brahman is the material cause of the universe, is thus understood: To be the material cause of an effect is (1) to possess the capacity of assuming the form of that effect, and (2) to be fitted to do so. Brahman possesses various capacities which are of the nature of the animate and inanimate worlds. These in a subtle form constitute its natural condition. This satisfies the first of the two requirements. The capacities again contain in them the rudiment of the effect, i. e., the world, in a subtle form. This meets the second requirement. By realising these capacities and bringing the subtle rudiment into a gross form, Brahman becomes the material cause of the world. Rāmānuja's theory of Brahman forming with the animate and inanimate world a composite personality and of its being the material cause in so far as the bodily portion of the composite personality becomes developed, is rejected by the school. For a further knowledge of the system. I will here give a translation of the Dasasloki.

I. Jiva, or the individual soul, is knowledge, dependent on Hari, and is in a condition to be associated with, or dissociated from, a body; is an atom, different in different bodies, and is a knower and numberless.

It is called knowledge here to show that it is able to know

^{1.} See Kes'ava's commentary, Br. S. I. 4. 23.

^{12 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's works Vol. IV.]

without the organs of sense, and it is not to be understood here that the soul is the mere phenomenon of knowledge, and not a substance, which is the doctrine of Śamkarācārya.

II. The individual soul has his form distorted by its contact with Māyā, or the constituent principle with the three qualities which has no beginning. Its true nature becomes known by the grace of God.

Individual souls are of two sorts: (1) those delivered or in a supremely blissful condition; (2) those tied down to the circle of existences. The first are of two kinds: (1) those who are eternally in a supremely blissful condition, such as (a) Garuḍa, Viṣvaksena, and (b) the crown, ear-ornaments and the flute considered as living beings; and (II) those who are freed from the trammels of life. Of these last some attain to the likeness of God and others are content with the perception of the nature of their own soul. Corresponding to these two last are two kinds of Mumukṣu, those who seek deliverance of either kind.

III. The inanimate objects are of three kinds: (1) not derived from Prakṛti; (2) derived from Prakṛti; and (3) time. In the things derived from Prakṛti we have the ordinary material objects having the three colours, viz., red, white, and dark.

The first class consists of those which are spoken of figuratively by the use of the names of objects belonging to the second class, such as the sunlike refulgence of the Supreme Soul. It is a refulgence not arising from the Prakrti. Similarly the body, hands, feet, and ornaments of God, as well as all the surroundings, such as garden, palace, etc., belong to the first class and are of an inanimate nature, though they are not made of matter, i. e., not derived from Prakrti.

IV. I meditate on the highest Brahman, viz., Kṛṣṇa, who has eyes like the lotus, who naturally is free from all faults, is the store of all beneficent attributes, who has Vyūhas for his parts, and who is adored by all.

The physical attributes, given to God by Rāmānuja and the rest and to, which the word 'celestial' is sometimes prefixed, are to be understood in this sense.

The Vyūhas here mentioned are those usually referred to in the Pāñcarātra and Rāmānuja systems. The commentators understand the incarnations also by this expression. One gives a large number of these, divided into classes on certain principles. Kṛṣṇa is called Varenya or adored by all, because he has a holy celestial body and bodily qualities, such as beauty, tenderness, sweetness and charm. All these are of course non-material (Aprākṛta), though inanimate according to Stanza III.

V. I reflect on the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu (Rādhikā), who shines with a corresponding beauty on the left side (of Kṛṣṇa), is attended on by thousands of female friends, and who always confers all desired objects.

VI. This Parabrahman should be always worshipped uninterruptedly by men in order to be free from the darkness in the shape of ignorance, in which they are enveloped. So was Nārada, who directly perceived the whole truth, taught by Sanandana and others.

VII. All things having Brahman for their souls in accordance with the Śrutis and Smṛtis, the knowledge that [Brahman] is all is true. This is the doctrine of those who know the Vedas, and at the same time the three forms are true as determined from the sacred precepts (Smṛtis) and the Sūtras.

Here is laid down the unity of all things in so far as Brahman is the inner controlling soul of all and is concomitant with them, and their existence and actions are dependent on it, and also pluralism, since there are three distinct substances, which are called forms of Brahman in the Stanza, v.z., the inanimate world, the individual soul and the Supreme Soul.

VIII. There appears no way to salvation except the lotus-like feet of Kṛṣṇa, which are adored by Brahmadeva, Śiva and others-Kṛṣṇa, who, at the desire of a devotee, assumes a form easy of meditation and whose power is unthinkable and whose essence cannot be comprehended.

IX. His grace extends itself to those who have a feeling of helplessness and other qualifications, and by that grace is generated Bhakti, or devotion, consisting of special love for Him, Who has no superior lord. This Bhakti is of two kinds: the highest is one, and the other is that which leads to or is instrumental to it.

By the feeling of helplessness and other qualifications are meant the six modes of Prapatti given in connection with Rāmānuja's system. The Bhakti which is instrumental to that which is the highest, is of the nature of the six or nine modes mentioned in previous Sections.

X. These five things should be known by the devotees: (1) the nature of the being to be worshipped; (2) the nature of the worshipper; (3) the fruit of Gods's grace; (4) the feeling of enjoyment consequent on Bhakti, or love; (5) obstructions to the attainment of God.

The first is the knowing of the nature of the Supreme Being as existence, intelligence and joy (Saccidananda), of his possessing a celestial body (non-material), of his dwelling in such places as the cow-settlement (Vraja), which is called the celestial city (Vyomapura), of his being the cause of all, omnipotent, tender. merciful, gracious towards his devotees, and so forth. The second consists in knowing the worshipper as an atom, possessing knowledge and joy, and as the servant of Krspa, etc. The third is the self-surrender and the giving up of all actions except the service of God, which results in self-surrender. The fourth arises from serenity, servitude, friendliness, affection, and enthusiasm. These states of mind are consequent upon the peculiar relation to God of each individual, as affection was the feeling of Nanda, Vasudeva and Devakī, and enthusiasm, of Rādhā and Rukminī. The fifth are such as regarding the body as the soul, dependence on others than God and one's preceptor, indifference to the commands of God contained in the sacred books, worshipping other gods, giving up one's own peculiar duties, ingratitude, spending one's life in a worthless manner, vilification of good men, and many others.

§ 55. These ten Stanzas contain the quintessence of Nimbārka's system. This appears to have Rāmānuja's doctrines for its basis and is a sidewise development of it. It gives predominance to Prapatti or self-surrender of the six kinds, alluded to above, and then, by the grace of God, love for Him is generated. His Sādhana

Bhakti comprehends all the Yogas of Rāmānuja's system. Rāmānuia, as we have already remarked, changes the original sense of Bhakti and renders it equivalent to the Upasana, or the meditation prescribed in the Upanisads. But Nimbarka keeps to the original sense. His doctrines make a nearer approach to the Tenkalai, or Southern Learning, of the Rāmānujīyas. But the great difference between the two teachers is, that, while Ramanuja confines himself to Nārāyana and his consorts Laksmī, Bhū and Līlā, Nimbarka gives almost an exclusive prominence to Krsna and his mistress. Rādhā, attended on by thousands of her female com-Thus the fourth element of Vaisnavism which we panions. have mentioned rises to the surface in Vaisnavism about this time, and retains its place in Northern India, including Bengal, except in the case of those sects whose favourite deity is Rāma and not Krsna; and to these for the present we will now turn our attention, coming back again to Krsnaism later on.

Nimbārka's system is known by the name of Sanakasampradāya, or the tradition originating with Sanaka. Though Nimbārka was a Southerner, he lived at Vṛṇdāvana near Mathurā, which accounts for the preference given by him to the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa form of Vaiṣṇavism. His followers are scattered over the whole of Northern India, and exist in large numbers near Mathurā and in Bengal. They wear two perpendicular lines of Gopicandana with a black spot in the middle on the forehead, and use a necklace and rosary of the wood of the Tulasi plant. They are divided into two classes, the ascetics and householders. This distinction appears to have originated at the time of Harivyāsadeva, after whom, as I have observed in a note, the successors of Nimbārka were divided into two branches. The reason for the division was probably this new distinction.

XVIII. Rāmānanda.

§ 56. A spirit of sympathy for the lower castes and classes of Hindu society has from the beginning been a distinguishing feature of Vaisnavism. Still, so far as we have advanced, the great teachers kept these castes and classes into, what might be

^{1. [} Ante, p. 80. N. B U.]

^{2. [}Ante, p. 49. N. B. U.]

called, an outer court, though they were admitted to the benefits of the new dispensation. They had not, as the pure Vedāntins assert, to do the duties prescribed for their mean position, and rise in succeeding lives until they were finally born as Brāhmanas, when alone they could avail themselves of the methods laid down for the attainment of Mokṣa or deliverance. They could attain this even as members of the lowest caste by resorting to devotion, but the Brahmanic teachers, Rāmānuja and others, made the methods based on the study of the Vedic literature accessible only to the higher castes, leaving other methods to the rest.

But Rāmānanda now began a radical reform and made no distinction between Brāhmaṇas and members of the degraded castes, and all could even dine together, provided they were the devotees of Viṣṇu and had been admitted into the fold. Another reform, which must be traced to Rāmānanda, was the use of the Vernaculars for the propagation of the new creed. And a third very important reform made by him was the introduction of the purer and more chaste worship of Rāma and Sītā instead of that of Krsna and Rādhā.

Mr. Macauliffe mentions Mailkot as the place of his birth and says that he must have flourished in the end of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century, which, he states, corresponds with a reckoning which gives 1398 A D., as the date of the birth of Kabir. This would rather make Rāmānanda live long before the end of the fourteenth century, as Kabīr was his successor, and ordinarily believed to be his pupil! The authority I have consulted states that he was born at Prayāga as the son of a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa, named Puṇyasadana, and his wife Suśilā. The date of his birth is given as 4400 of the Kali age, equivalent to 1356 of Vikrama-Samvat. This corresponds to 1299 or 1300 A. D., and is more consistent with the traditional statement that there were three generations between him and Rāmānuja. The

^{1.} The Sikh Religion, etc., by M. A. Macauliffe, Vol. VI, pp. 100—1. 1908 A. D. is said by Macauliffe to correspond to the 510th year of his era. By his he must mean Kabīr's.

Chapters from the Agastya-Samhitā with a Hindi translation by Rāma Nārāyaņa Dāsa, completed in Samvat 1960, corresponding to 1904 A. D.

date of Rāmānuja's death is usually given as 1137 A. D., though it makes him out as having lived for 120 years. The lapse of three generations between 1137 and 1300 A. D., is a more reasonable supposition than between 1137 and the end of the fourteenth century. This last date, therefore, given for Rāmānanda is manifestly wrong, and that occurring in the book I have consulted appears to be correct in all probability.

From Prayāga Rāmānanda was sent to Benares for the usual education of a Brāhmaṇa. After he finished this, he became a disciple of Rāghavānanda, a teachar of the Visiṣṭādvaita school of Rāmāruja. After some time he gave up some of the restrictive practices of the sect, such as that of taking food without being seen by anybody, and separated himself from his preceptor, and himself became the founder of a school. As indicated above, he took pupils from the degraded castes also. Thirteen of them became noted and their names are:1. Anantānanda, 2. Surasarānanda, 3. Sukhānanda, 4. Naraharlyānanda, 5. Yogānanda, 6. Pīpā, 7. Kabīr, 8. Bhāvānanda, 9. Senā, 10. Dhannā, 11. Gālavānanda, 12. Rāidās, and 13. Padmāvatī.

Of these Pipā was a Rajput, Kabir was a Śūdra and spoken of also as a Mahomedan following the profession of a weaver. Senā was a barber, Dhannā a Jāt, Rāidās belonged to the degraded caste of curriers or workers in leather, and Padmāvati was a woman. With the first twelve he went about the country visiting holy places, conducting disputations with the advocates of the Māyā doctrine, Jains, Buddhists, etc., establishing his own Visistadvaita theory, and converting men to his views and admitting them as his disciples. Rāmānanda is stated to have died in 1467 of Vikrama-Samvat, corresponding to 1411 A. D. This gives him a life of 111 years, which is rather improbable. of his pupils became the founders of different schools, and through them the worship of Rama spread over an extensive portion of Northern and Central India, successfully competing with that of Gopāla-Krspa.

XIX. Kabir.

§ 57. The few particulars that have come down to us about the birth and life of Kabir are these. He was the son of a

Brāhmana widow who cast him away as soon as he was born, to hide her shame, near the Lahar Tank in Benares. A Mahomedan weaver of the name of Nirū was passing by the way with his wife Nimā, when the latter saw the child and carried it home. He was nurtured and brought up by her and her husband Nirū, and Kabir when he had grown up, followed the occupation of a weaver. He showed leanings towards the Hindu faith, and the idea of making Rāmānanda his Guru, or preceptor, arose in his mind. But he conceived it not possible that that sage should receive a Mahomedan as his disciple and therefore had recourse to a contrivance. He laid himself down on the Ghata, or pavement on the Ganges, at which Ramananda bathed very early in the morning. On the way Ramananda trampled on the boy and exclaimed: "Rāma, Rāma! What poor creature is it that I have trampled upon?". Kabir rose up and received the exclamation "Rāma, Rāma" as a Mantra communicated to him by Rāmānanda, and he understood that he had thus been made a disciple.

Another account is that, being trampled on, Kabīr rose up and cried aloud, when Rāmānanda told him to be quiet and go on uttering the name of "Rāma". Considering that he had thus been accepted as a pupil, Kabīr went on with his adorations of God, proclaiming that he was the disciple of Rāmānanda. Some Hindus went to the latter and asked him whether he had initiated Kabīr. Thereupon Kabīr was sent for and asked by Rāmānanda, when it was that he had been initiated. Kabīr mentioned to him the incident of his having been trampled upon the Ghāta. Then Rāmānanda remembered the matter and clasped Kabīr to his breast. Since that time Kabīr regularly attended at his master's Matha and joined him in his disputations with the Pandits.

For some time Kabir lived at Manikapur, as is mentioned in one of his Ramainis. There he heard of the fame of Shaikh Taqqi and of twenty-one Pirs. He heard their discourses, condemned their teachings and said: "O Shaikhs, of whatever name! listen to me. Open your eyes and see the origin and the end of all things and their creation and dissolution". In one of the books of this sect, Shaikh Taqqi is represented as an enemy of Kabir, and a Pir, or the religious guide, of Sikandar Lodi. At his advice the emperor persecuted Kabir and used various methods to destroy

him. But Kabir miraculously escaped death and was eventually reconciled to Sikandar Lodi, who received him into his favour.

Kabir died at Maghar, and there was a dispute between the Hindus and the Mahomedans as to the disposal of his dead body, which was covered by a sheet of cloth. When the sheet was removed, the body had disappeared, and in its stead there was a heap of flowers. The Mahomedans took one-half of the quantity and buried it at Maghar and erected a tomb over it, and the Hindus took their share to Benares, where it was burnt. Kabir had a wife of the name of Loi, a son of the name Kamāl, and a daughter of the name of Kamāl! But there are miraculous stories as to how Kabir came by them.

As to how much of this account is historical and how much legendary, it is difficult to say. But that he was a Mahomedan weaver at the beginning may be accepted as a fact. And that Shaikh Taggi, a Mahomedan Pir, who is mentioned in of the Ramainis, as stated above, was his rival and that Kabir lived about the time of Sikandar Lodi may also be regarded as historical. As to whether Kabir was a disciple of Rāmānanda, there is some question, as will be presently mentioned. Mr. Westcott considers it not impossible that he should have been both a Mahomedan and a Sūfi¹, but all his writings show a complete familiarity with the names occurring in Hindu religious literature and Hindu manners and customs, so that it appears to me that there is little or nothing in Kabir's writings calculated to show that his teachings had a Mahomedan basis. The basis appears to be purely Hindu, though Kabir was a bold and uncompromising reformer and hurled anathemas at the Pandits, the Brahmanas proud of their caste, and the teachers of the existing sects of the Hindus, and thus appears to have come under the influence of Mahomedanism.

The dates given by various writers for the birth and death of Kabir are conflicting. Mr. Westcott makes him live for 78 years, from 1440 to 1518 A. D., and according to Mr. Macauliffe he

J. Kabir and the Kabir Panth by Rev. G. H. Westcott. Cawnpore, 1907, p. 44.

^{3.} Ibid, Chronological Table, p. VII.

^{13 [}R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

was born in Samvat 1455, corresponding to A. D. 1398, and he died in A. D. 1518°, having lived for 119 years, five months and twenty-seven days. In a footnote he quotes from an original work the date Saka 1370, corresponding to 1448 A. D., as the date of his death. Sikandar Lodi was on the throne of Delhi from 1488 to 1517 A. D. The last of the three dates does not harmonise with this, and so it must be given up. Rāmānanda, we have seen, is spoken of as having been born in 1298 A. D. and died in 1411 A. D. If Mr. Westcott's date for Kabīr's birth is true, Kabīr cannot have been a disciple of Rāmānanda. If that of Mr. Macauliffe is accepted, it is just possible that he should have so become, for at the time of Ramananda's death, Kabir must have been thirteen years of age, and he is represented in one of the legends to have been but a boy when he was accepted as a disciple by the old sage. The date 1518 A. D. given by both the writers for his death may be accepted as correct. But if that of his birth given by Mr. Macauliffe is also accepted, we shall have to suppose that Kabir lived for 119 years; Rāmānanda also according to the dates given in the last section lived for 113 years. Whether both of them lived such long lives might we'll be questioned. But, until we have more evidence, the dates for Rāmānanda already noticed, and for Kabir as given by Mr. Macauliffe may be provisionally accepted, and thus Kabir might be considered to have really been a disciple of Rāmānanda, though of course, being a boy of thirteen, he could not have taken part in his master's disputations with Pandits. In Kabir's works, however, so far as I have seen them, Rāmānanda's name does not occur, though the name Rama as that of the Supreme Being and also the relation of the individual soul with Rāma, as well as his refutation of the doctrine of God's being Videha or Nirguna, i. e., without attributes, must have been borrowed from Rāmānanda's doctrines, which again are based on Rāmānuja's system.

§ 58. We now give a translation of a few passages illustrative of the teachings of Kabir³.

^{1.} The Sikh Religion, &c., Vol. VI, p, 122.

^{2.} Ibid. pp. 139-40.

The edition consulted is that published with a commentary under the orders of Raghurajasimha, Maharaja of Rewah, in Samvat 1924.

First Ramaini.1

1. There was in the inside a substance called Jiva or individual soul; the Internal Light illuminated [it]. 2. And then followed a woman of the name of 'desire'; and she was called Gāyatrī. 3. That woman gave birth to three sons; Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahesa. 4. Then Brahmā asked the woman who was her husband and whose wife she was. 5. (She replied:) "Thou and I, I and thou, and there is no third. Thou art my husband and I am thy wife." 6. The father and son had a common wife; and one mother has a two-fold character; there is no son who is good son and who will endeavour to recognise his father.

Second Ramaini.

1. In the light there was sound, which was a woman. 2. And of the woman were Hari, Brahmā and the enemy of the three cities (Siva). 3. Then Brahma created an egg and divided it into fourteen regions. 4-6. Then Hari, Hara and Brahma settled in three regions, and thus they arranged the whole Brahmanda and the six philosophies and ninety-six heresies. Nobody then taught the Veda for his sustenance; and Turuk did not come for making 7. The woman brought forth from her womb circumcision. children. They became distinct individuals and followed different courses of action. 8. Therefore I and thou are of one blood and are one life. Distinctness arises from ignorance. 9. From one woman all sprang, and what knowledge is it that brought about distinctness between them? 13 (Sākhī). Kabīr proclaims: All this ordinary world is destructible; without knowing the name of Rāma all individuals are drowned in the ocean of existence.

Kabir's account of creation seems to be this. In the light of Rāma there existed a substance which was the subtle element, the sum total of all individual souls. And then that substance was illuminated by that light. Then followed a desire in the shape of a woman, which was at the same time called Gāyatrī and sound (Śabda), and from her the creation took its rise. His idea thus

^{1.} Ramainī is a piece of composition consisting of several Caupāīs (Sk. Catu-spadī), which are stanzas consisting of four lines with the ends of the first two and of the last two rhyming with each other, and a Sākhī (which is another species of metre) at the end.

seems to be that individual souls came into being, or were developed out of a substance which was their subtle form, at the will of the Supreme Soul, which (will) was uttered in the form of a sound. That is to say, the Supreme Soul was not the material cause of the world, but a distinct subtle entity. What, in the language of the Upanisads, became many was this entity and not the Supreme Soul himself. Kabir's philosophy is thus not a monism, but dualism. All individuals sprang into existence from the same cause, there was one blood and one life, and consequently the distinction of castes and races was a later fiction. Kabir thus appears to be an opponent of this distinction.

Fifth Ramaini.

The substance of the first five Caupāls seems to be that Hari, Hara and Brahmā, taking the two letters (Rāma), laid the foundation of all learning, and gradually the Vedas and Kitābs (books) came to be composed. 6—8. In all the four ages the devotees devised systems, but were not aware that the bundle they had tied up was torn. Men ran in all directions for salvation, being afraid. Abandoning their lord they ran towards hell.

Eighth Ramaini.

1. The precept "Tat tvam asi" (that thou art) is the message of the Upanisads. 2. They lay great stress upon it, and those who are qualified explain it (at great length). 3. Sanaka and Nārada became happy by regarding the highest principle to be distinct from themselves, 4. The colloquy between Janaka and Yājāavalkya comes to the same effect, and that same sweet sentiment was tasted by Dattātreya. 5. Vasistha and Rāma sang together the same thing, and that same thing was explained to Uddhava. 6. That same thing was substantiated by Janaka, and though he had a body, he was called bodiless (Videha). 7 (Sākhī). No mortal becomes immortal without abandoning the pride of birth. That which one cannot see by experience is to be considered as "unseen" or "unperceived".

In this Ramaini Kabir shows acquaintance with the Upanisads and other branches of Hiudu sacred literature, so that he cannot have been a mere "Sufi and Mahomedan". He rejects the theory of the identity between the Supreme and the individual souls.

which is regarded as being laid down in the expression "That thou art" of the Chandogya Upanisad. The commentator says that by "that" is to be understood the subtle body of sixteen parts and the expression means "Thou art that subtle body". Kabir takes all the individuals he has named in this Ramaini to have preached duality.

In the fourteenth Ramain! there is a condemnation of the several systems of religion-that contained in the Purāṇas, that of Brahmā, Hamsa, Gopāla, Śambhu, ghosts and goblins and various forms of worship upto the Nevāja of the Mahomedan.

Thirty-fourth Ramain!.

1. The Pandits were misled by the study of the Vedas which are based on the Gunas, or qualities, and did not know their own nature and their true friend (God). 2. They practise Samdhyā, Tarpaṇa, the six rites and various other such ceremonies. 3. In all the four Yugas Gāyatrī has been taught; ask who obtained salvation (Mukti) by its means. 4. When you are touched by other people, you bathe; tell me who is more degraded than yourselves. 5. You are very proud of your virtues. Too much pride is not good. 6. How can he whose name destroys all pride bear this proud behaviour? 7 (Sākhī). Giving up the traditional mode of worship of the family, they seek the place of Nirvāna; having destroyed the seed and sprout, they became an entity without attributes (Videha or Nirguna).

Kabir here condemns the rites, ceremonies and other practices of the Brāhmaṇas, the pride that is generated in them by these, the contempt in which they hold people of other castes, and also their search of Nirvāṇa, or a condition without any attributes, i. e., the Advaita, or adualistic, system which they follow.

Fortieth Ramaini.

1. The sea, which is a collection of waters, is a ditch, and in it are the sun, the moon, and the thirty-three crores of brothers.

2. In the whirlpools (of such a universe) they (men and gods) have seated themselves and desire happiness, but have not shunned the touch of misery.

3. Nobody knows the secret of misery, and the world has become mad in a variety of ways.

4. Everybody is a fool or a sage in himself and nobody knows Rāma who dwells in the heart. 5. (Sākhī). They themselves are Hari (God), they themselves are lords, they themselves are the slaves of Hari. When there is no guarantee, the lady (Mukti or salvation) goes away disappointed.

Here again there is a condemnation of various systems and of the self-confidence which has given rise to them and the neglect of God dwelling in the heart.

Sākhīs.

I.

31. The crowds went by the path traversed by the Pandits. Lofty is the ascent to Rama. Kabir has climbed it. 135. The whole world has gone astray by partiality for one's own system. He who, becoming free from partiality, adores Hari, is a wise sage. 138. The great ones are lost in their own greatness; pride peers out through every pore; when they are not familiar with a wise preceptor, all the orders of men are of the Camar caste, i. e., the degraded caste of curriers. 182. The Kali is a wicked age; the world is blind and nobody believes in the true word. He to whom a salutary advice is given, becomes an enemy. 211. Three things went to a holy place (the body, the fickle heart, and the mind which is a thief). They did not destroy a single sin, but on the contrary the mind contracted ten others. 260. The Kabirs (men in general) polluted the path of Bhakti, or faith, by washing pebbles and stones. Keeping poison within, they have thrown out the nectar. 358. "I am the author of the whole creation, there is no other who is superior to me." (This is what some people think). Kabir says that, when one does not know what one is oneself, one thinks everything to be contained in oneself. 365. In this world all have passed away considering themselves to be Rama, but no one actually became Rama. Kabir says that, those who know Rama as he truly is, attain all their objects. 366. This world has become mad and has conceived a love for something which can be no matter of experience; and denying all authoritativeness to actual experience, they attach themselves to a soul without attributes (Videha). 372. Seeing a void, men were misled

and went about searching in all quarters till they died, but did not find a form without attributes.

II.

91. The bee loiters in the garden, being enticed by the innumerable flowers in it. In the same manner the individual soul loiters among the objects of sense and at the end goes away disappointed. 95. The soul is to the mind as a monkey is to a showman. Making it dance in a variety of ways, it (mind) finally retains it in its own hands. 96. The mind is fickle, a thief and perfect swindler. The gods and the sages fell off in consequence of the mind and mind finds a hundred thousand openings. 136. If a man gives up his belongings, it does not mean much. Egotism, or self-pride, cannot be given up. Self-pride, which led astray the great Munis, devours all. Running after gold and women, men are burnt by the passion generated by an illusion. Kabir says, how can they be saved, being like cotton which has come in contact with fire? All became subject to the power of illusion: Brahmā, Visnu, Mahesa, and the four, Nārada, Sārada, Sanaka, and Gaņesa, the son of Gauri. 209. Do not kill a poor living creature; the life of all is the same. You will not be free from (the sin of) killing, even if you hear crores of Puranas.

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122. He to attain whom the great sages (Munis) go through austerities and whose virtues the Vedas sing, himself gives instruction, but nobody believes. 208. One single poor soul is bound up by many fetters. If the father (God) will not liberate him, what power has the soul himself to do so? 243. I (God) instruct him; but he does not understand and sells himself into the hands of others. I pull him towards myself; but he runs away to the city of death (Yama). 282. If you endeavour to acquire one thing (God), every other thing will come to you; but if you endeavour to acquire every other thing, that one thing will be lost. If you water the root of a tree, you will obtain a sufficiency of flowers and fruits. 310. If you want me (God), give up your desire for every other thing and become mine, and then everything will be yours. 236. He has entered into every body and remains there fully watchful. When one wants a certain accomplishment, he

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inspires him with the corresponding thoughts (calculated to enable him to achieve success).

Here the first group contains a condemnation of the current religious doctrines; the second gives a specimen of Kabir's moral teachings; and the third explains the way in which God's grace operates towards the deliverance of man. Kabir, therefore, was as much a constructive reformer as destructive. In Sākhi 260 of the first group, Kabir, it will be seen, condemns the worship of idols. The religion which he promulgated, therefore, was a pure spiritual theism. The mode of worship used by his followers up to the present day consists of prayers and praises only.

Kabir founded a Pantha, or a sect, and the Mathas, or establishments of that sect exist in several parts of India. The principal one is at Benares, with a branch at Maghar in the Gorakhpur District, where he died. This last is said to be in the charge of a Mahomedan Mahant, or superior. The second was established by Dharmadās, his chief disciple, in the Chattisgarh District of the Central Provinces. The followers of Kabir's sect are to be found principally among the lower castes, but the sage is highly venerated by all Vaisnavas of whatever caste or class.

XX. Other Ramanandins.

§ 59. Malukdas, who lived about the end of Akbar's reign, i. e., about the end of the sixteenth century, was a worshipper of Rama. The tradition that he belonged to the school of Ramananda appears to be correct. Like Kabir, he seems to have been a non-idolater, since in a hymn which I have seen, he ridicules men and women who hammer valuable metals into gods, worship them, and, whenever there is a necessity, sell them for the price of the metal, and says that the true way was shown to him by his wise preceptor. The sect founded by him has seven Mathas, or establishments, and its adherents follow the occupation of householders.

Dadu was a cotton cleaner at Ahmedabad. At twelve he removed to Sambhar and finally settled at Naraina, about twenty Kosas from Jaipur. He flourished about 1600 A. D., at the end of Akbar's reign. His doctrines appear to be similar to those of Kabir. The only mode of worship was Japa, or the repetition of

^{1.} For details, see Rev. G. H. Westcott's Volume on Kabir referred to above.

the name of Rāma. The sect does not worship images of Rāma and it erects no temples. Dādu inculcates faith in, and love of, Rāma and meditation on him. His followers are divided into three classes: (1) Viraktas, (2) Nāgas, and (3) Vistaradhārins. The first live the life of ascetics, the second are bearers of arms and enter into the service of princes as soldiers, and the third lead an ordinary life.

Rāidās, a pupil of Rāmānanda, was a founder of a sect the followers of which are to be found in the caste of Camārs. or leather-workers. Nābhāji in his Bhaktamālā tells many legends about him. Under the name of Rohidās he is known and revered even in the Maratha country, and Mahīpati, the Maratha writer on saints, devotes a chapter to him.

Senā the barber, a follower of Rāmānanda, is also reported to have founded a sect. He too is known in the Maratha country.

XXI. Tulasidas.

§ 60. Another person who contributed to the propagation of the cult of Rāma over Northern India, was the famous Tulasidās, whom we will now briefly notice. Tulasidās belonged to the Saravaryā or Sarayūparina caste of Brāhmanas and was born in Samvat 1589, corresponding to 1532 A. D., under an inauspicious constellation. He was abandoned by his parents and was picked up by a Sādhu, or a pious man, in whose company he visited many places in India. His father's name was Ātmārāma Sukla Dūbe, his mother's Hulasi, and his own Rāma Bōta. His fatherin-law was a man of the name of Dinabandhu Pāthaka, and his wife was called Ratnāvali. His son's name was Tāraka.

Tulasidās commenced the composition of his great work, Rāma-caritamānasa, usually known as Rāmāyana, at Ayodhyā in 1574 A. D., and finished it at Benares. He wrote eleven other works, six of which were smaller. Tulasidās was not a sturdy reformer like Kabir and does not seem to have founded a sect or even to have promulgated a definite Vedāntic theory. In this respect he appears to have been, like a host of other persons who flourished in the country, a teacher of the Bhaktimārga, or the path of devo-

^{1.} See Wilson's Hindu Religions.

^{14 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

tion, which is based upon a dualistic philosophy with a leaning towards spiritual monism of the Advaita system. Tulasidas died in 1623 A. D.¹

§ 61. I will now give a short specimen of Tulsidas' teachings from his Rāma-Satasai, the composition of which, as stated in Dohā 21 of the first chapter, was commenced on Thursday, the ninth of the bright half of Vaisākha, Samvat 1642 = 1585 A. D.

Chapter I.

(Dohā 3) The highest soul, the highest excellent place, than whom or which there is no other, Tulasi understands and hears to be Rāma, the blessed. (Dohā 4) "Rāma whose attributes confer blessings upon all is himself free from all desires. He fulfils all desires, is the benefactor of all. The sages assert this."-So says Tulasi. (Dohā 15) Tulasi sees plainly that in every pore of Rāma there is an endless universe. He is pure, is unchangeable and is irresistible. (Dohā 6) The blessed Jānakī is the mother of the world, and Rama the father. Both are beneficent. Their grace destroys sin, and creates conscience (confers the knowledge of distinguishing good from evil). (Dohā 44) Where there is Rāma, there is no [evil] desire; where there is [evil] desire. there is no Rāma. Oh Tulasī! the sun and the night do not exist in one place. (Dohā 45) When Rāma is afar, Māyā (illusion or temptation) is strong. When he is known, it becomes tiny or thin. When the sun is at a distance, the shadow is long; when he is on the head, it is below the feet. (Dohā 48) Says Tulasi: "If there is no love for Rāma, all learning is thrown into an oven; and Yama takes away knowledge and devours it; everything burns away and the very root is destroyed". (Dohā 57) All things by which a man is surrounded, serve as hindrances. and none proves a help (towards the way of bliss); and, in such circumstances, if the end is good, it can become so only through Rāma's grace.

Chapter II.

(Dohā 17) Says Tulsi: "Through the disobedience of God, man brings evil on himself and all his associates. The king of

^{1.} For details, see Dr. Grierson's articles in the Indian Antiquary, Vel. XXII.

the Kurus, while governing his kingdom, was reduced to dust along with his army and family". (Dohā 18) Says Tulasī: "From sweet words results good on all sides. This is a spell that overcomes everything; avoid all harsh words". (Dohā 19) "A man attains happiness by the grace of Rāma, and it escapes one without it", says Tulasī, "though they know this, bad men neglect to adore Rāma."

Chapter IV.1

82 (89 B. I.). The excellent retentive faculty is called Girā or Sarasvatī, and the immutable Dharma is a Vaṭa tree. Dharma consists of a triad of confluent rivers destroying sin. Oh Tulasī, conceive no dislike for these and accept these.

The triad is given by the commentator as action, knowledge, and Bhakti, or devotion.

83 (90 B. I.). One becomes clean by bathing (in these three confluent rivers), i. e., grasping the triad by the understanding. The dirt in the shape of immortality is washed off, and then there is no doubt as to the easy attainment of the place of Rāma. 84 (91 B. I.). Forgiveness is holy Vārāṇasī. Bhakti, or devotion, is like the river of gods (Gaṅgā) and clear knowledge is like Visveśvara. These together with compassion, which is power (Pārvatī), shine.

The commentator remarks that just as Benares with the other three brings about deliverance, so do forgiveness, devotion, knowledge, and compassion.

85 (92 B. I.). Vārāṇasī is not far from him whose heart dwells in the house which is Kṣamā (forgiveness) — Vārāṇasī, in which shines, oh Tulasī! the celestial river in the shape of Bhakti, which results in numerous virtuous deeds. 86 (93 B. I.). Kāsī is the bright half of a month and Magaha, or Magadha, is the dark half in which dwell covetousness, infatuation, intoxication, and lust. Oh Tulasī! considering which is beneficial and which is injurious, do [choose where to] reside during all the watches of the day.

The editions consulted are those published by Navalkiśora at Lakhnau in 1886 and in the Biblirtheca Indica in 1897.

Kāśī is associtifed with the four virtues mentioned above, and Magadha with the vices noticed here. So one is told to practise what is beneficial and to avoid what is injurious.

87 (94 B. I.). What has gone away will not come again. Therefore do acquire knowledge. The same thing that you have to-day you will have tomorrow; therefore, oh Tulas! geve up all infatuation.

The idea seems to be: Do not waste time by procrastination; begin your devotions at once.

88 (95 B. I.). The past and the future Kang together on the present. Oh Tulasi! do not entertain any doubt; get through that which is before you at present.

89 (96 B. I.). A good soul is like the Mānasa (lake), and in it is the pure water of the sweet glory of Rāma. Sin is washed off and the heart becomes pure (by bathing in that water); and this calm water is not inaccesible to the wise.

The idea seems to be that in a good soul a taste for devotion to Rāma springs up, and when it is cultivated, the soul becomes pure.

From these extracts it will be seen that according to Tulasidas Rāma is the supreme God, and that through his grace man becomes holy and blessed. He should, therefore, be adored; where he is, sin is not, and therefore, for the purification of the mind, he should always be thought of and meditated on. The ways to God usually followed are, he says, inefficacious and as such may be thrown into the fire.

XXII. Vallabha.

§ 62. We will now turn our attention to the more extensive and almost exclusive cult of the Kṛṣṇa of Gokula. The founder of it was Vallabha. He was the son of a Tailanga Brāhmana named Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, who was a student of the Black Yajurveda and lived at a village named Kānkarava in the Telugu country. On one occasion Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa went on a pilgrimage to Benares with his wife, Elamāgāra. On the way she gave birth to a son on the eleventh of the dark half of Vaisākha of the Vikrama year

1535, corresponding to 1479 A. D.¹ That son was known as Vallabha.

Vallabha lived for some time in Vrndavana and for some time at Mathura. About that time it is alleged that Gopala-Krana manifested himself on the Govardhana Hill by the name of Devadamana, called also Śri-Nāthaji. The God told Vallabha in a dream to come and see him, informing him that his companions in the cow-settlement, when he became incarnate as Kṛṣṇa, were born again in the present age, and commissioned him to make them his attendants, that he might sport with them as in the former age. Accordingly, Vallabha went and saw Devadamana or Šrī-Nāthajī. Śrī-Nāthajī commanded him to erect a shrine for himself and to promulgate the method of worshipping him, without which a man would not be admissible to the Pustimarga, or the path of divine grace, which Vallabha had founded. The meaning of this seems to be that Vallabha connected his system with a special manifestation of Krsna known by the name of Śri-Nāthaji⁸.

Vallabha's Vedāntic theory is the same as that of an earlier author of the name of Viṣṇusvāmin. This Viṣṇusvāmin is said to have been the son of the councillor of a Dravida chief dependent upon the Emperor of Delhi³. Nābhājī in his Bhaktamālā makes Jāānadeva, Nāmdeva, Trilocana, and lastly Vallabha his successors⁴. The first was Jāānadeva, who is represented as a follower of his system (Sampradāya). He was one of three sons born to a man, who became a householder after he had assumed the order of an ascetic. He was, therefore, excommunicated and was not allowed to learn the Vedas. But he himself by his miraculous power made a male buffalo repeat the Vedas. This story is the same as that related of the Jāanadeva of Mahārāṣṭra, the author of a Vernacular commentary on the Bhagavadgitā. But the Marathas do not know of Visnusvāmin as his Guru, or teacher.

Yajñeśvara, Āryavidyāsudhākara.

See Harirāya Mahārāja's Govardhanaprākaţyakī Vārtā, published in Samvat 1935, p. 11.

^{3.} Yajñeśvara, Āryavidyāsudhākara, p. 228.

^{4.} Ed. by Khemaraj, Bombay, Saka 1827 (1905 A. D.), pp. 95-98.

or of Jäänskieva being his successor or follower. If, however, the tradition reported by Nābhājī is correct, Viṣṇusvāmin must have lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. The date of the commentary above alluded to is Śaka 1212, corresponding to 1290 A. D.

The Vedantic theory of Visnusvāmin which is the same as that of Vallabha is as follows. The one primeval soul was not joyful, because he was alone (BU. I. 4. 3), and, desiring to be many, he himself became the inanimate world, the individual soul, and the inward controlling soul. These sprang from him like sparks from a burning fire and are his parts (MU. II. 1). By his own inscrutable power he rendered the properties of intelligence and joy imperceptible in the first, and his joy alone in the second, while the third has all the attributes perceptible in it. Simple Brahman as such has perceptible joy prevailing in it.

§ 63. The following particulars have been gleaned from two works belonging to Vallabhācārya's sect?. The whole world has Brahman for its material cause. The perception of forms apparently different from the Brahman is due to ignorance or delusion and to the true nature of Brahman being rendered imperceptible. The individual soul is identical with Brahman, a part of Brahman and atomic. From the Aksara composed of existence, intelligence, and joy (Saccidananda) particles come out as sparks from fire. From the predominance of the Sat portion in them the joy portion is concealed, and thus we have the individual souls possessing Sat, existence, and Cit, intelligence. The individual soul is not a form of the Supreme Soul altered by a third thing being involved in it, such as the Māyā (illusive power), but is itself the same substance as the Supreme Soul with one attribute rendered imperceptible. The relation between the two is thus that of identity (Advaita), both being in the pristine unchanged form, i. e., identity of untransformed souls (Suddhadvaita).

The individual soul is of two kinds: (1) going through the circle

^{1.} Sakalācāryamatasamgraha by Śrīnivāsa, Chowkh. Series.

Śuddhādvaitamārtanda by Giridhara, and Prameyaratnārņava by Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, Chowkh. Series.

of existences, and (2) delivered from the trammels of life. The first is subject to misery in consequence of his delusion that his body and senses are his soul. He remains in this condition till he acquires knowledge, sees the vanity of the world and devotes himself to meditation and the love of God, when he is delivered. The delivered souls are: (1) those who have become so while in their previous condition, by the termination of ignorance or delusion, such as Sanaka and others; and (2) those who dwell in the world of the Bhagavat, other than the pervading Vaikuntha!, where they attain the condition of pure Brahman by the favour of the Bhagavat; (3) there are others, who, having the divine nature in them, and coming in contact with good men, resort to various ways of Bhakti, or the propitiation of God, until perfect love alone for Him comes to dwell in their heart, and finally become the associates of the Bhagavat in His eternal sports and amusements. This last is the Moksa, or deliverance.

That class of worldly souls who have no divine nature in them, and in whom evil predominates, are ever moving in the circle of existences. The souls who have the divine nature in them are of two kinds: (1) those who subject themselves to certain moral discipline (Maryādājīva), and (2) those who depend entirely on God's grace (Puṣṭijīva). Both attain final deliverance, but there is a difference which corresponds to that between (2) and (3) above and which will be further explained below.

Śri-Kṛṣṇa is the highest Brahman. He has hands and feet not made up of ordinary matter (Aprākṛta), but celestial. His body consists of Sat, existence; Cit, intelligence; Ananda, joy. He is called Purusottama, as the most excellent of all beings, and has all attributes which are not ordinary, but celestial. All his sports

^{1.} I translate the word Vyāpi-Vaikuntha thus. The Vyāpi-Vaikuntha is above the Vaikuntha of Viṣṇu, the protector of the world. There dwells Puruṣottama, who manifests himself variously to his various devotees. To those in whom Bhakti has risen to the highest pitch and has become a haunting passion he manifests himself as the sportive Kṛṣṇa. In a portion of the Vyāpi-Vaikuntha there is the Goloka with Vṛndāvana in which there are extensive trees, bowers of creepers, and the river Yamunā. The highest Bhaktas are transferred to this Vṛndāvana, and Kṛṣṇa sports with them there.

are eternal. He, with his four arms or two arms, sports with his various devotees, or Bhaktas, in the extensive Vaikuntha, which contains Vrndavana with its large forests. Kṛṣṇa is, therefore, the hight joy (Paramananda). By his will, his Sattva portion overcomes the Ananda or joy portion, and, becoming Aksara, or unchangeable, he is the cause of all causes and creates the world. Then Aksarabrahman is of two kinds: (1) that which is recognised by the devotees as the place of Purusottama, which has the attributes of the extensive Vaikuntha and others; (2) to the enlightened it appears in the form of existence, intelligence and joy, infinite in time and space, self-manifesting and devoid of all qualities. Therefore, in the form in which the enlightened see it, all the positive qualities are hidden or rendered imperceptible by the inscrutable power referred to above, and therefore they are not to be regarded as non-existing. When Brahman is spoken of as devoid of all qualities, what is meant is just this. There are thus three forms of the Supreme Being, Purusottama and the two kinds of the Unchangeable here mentioned.

To explain the controlling of all by Purusottama, that form of his that dwells in the sun, the gods, the earth, etc., is called Antaryāmin (the inward controller). It is this inward controller that becomes incarnate in the various forms usually mentioned. The celestial Sattva quatity of Kṛṣṇa becomes Viṣṇu, and in this form he becomes the protector of all. Similarly the qualities of Rajas and Tamas assume the forms of Brahmadeva and Śiva for discharging the functions of creation and destruction.

Pusti is the grace (Anugraha) of God which is to be inferred from its fruit or the results, which are ordinary, or of this world, and extraordinary, or of the next world. Mahāpuṣṭi, or the highest grace, is that which removes great obstacles and conduces to the attainment of God himself. Puṣṭi enables one to attain the four objects of life. Extraordinary, or special Puṣṭi, conduces to Bhakti, which leads to the attainment of God. The Bhakti, or devotion generated by this special grace, is called Puṣṭibhakti. The frame of mind generated by this kind of devotion is the desire of the attainment of God to the exclusion of everything else.

This Puştibhakti is of four kinds: (1) Pravāha-Puştibhakti,

(2) Maryādā-Pustibhakti, (3) Pusti-Pustibhakti, (4) Suddha-Pusti-The first is the path of those who, while engaged in a worldly life with its me and mine, which is compared to a stream (Pravāha), do acts calculated to bring about the attainment of God. The second is of those who, withdrawing their minds from worldly enjoyments, devote themselves to God by hearing discourses about him, singing his name, and such other processes. The third is of those who already enjoying God's grace are made by another grace competent to acquire knowledge useful for adoration; and thus they come to know all about the ways of The followers of this path have to depend on their own efforts for the acquisition of knowledge referred to. The fourth is of those who through mere love devote themselves to the singing and praising of God as if it were a haunting passion. This Bhakti is generated by God himself and does not depend upon man's will as the third, mentioned above, does. liking for Himself is generated by God in the mind of a man to whom his grace extends. Then a man sets about acquiring knowledge about God, and all this is called Premabhakti (love-adoration). Now the stages in the development of this are as follows: (1) love or liking (Preman), (2) attachment or addictedness (Asakti), (3) a haunting passion, which is the mature condition of the first two (Vyasana).

The haunting passion leads to attainment of the end, that is, the highest bliss. Those in whom Bhakti has attained to this pitch reject with scorn the four kinds of Mukti and choose the eternal service of Hari, as noticed in the section on the Pāncarātra system. By the haunting passion about Hari he is seen everywhere, and therefore everything becomes an object of love, and the devotee identifies himself with everything. Then the inner and the outer world is, for the devotee, full of Purusottama, or the highest soul.

The final fruit of this devotion is admission to the eternal sports of Kṛṣṇa. The Bhaktas join in these sports, assuming the forms of cows, beasts, birds, trees, rivers, etc., and enjoy the company of Purusottama, which confers boundless joy. These eternal sports are like those which Kṛṣṇa went through when he

^{15 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's works, Vol. IV.]

became incarnate in Vraja and Vrndāvana. Some of the devotees become, in the celestial Vrndāvana, Gopas and Gopis and join in the sports. The Maryādābhaktas attain Mukti called Sāyujya, which consists in being one with Hari. The Pustibhaktas reject it with scorn and seek for participation in the sports of Hari.

§ 64. These are the doctrines of the school of Vallabha. We will now proceed to give a short description of the practical modes of worship. Vallabha had a son named Vitthalesa, and they are spoken of respectively as Acārya and Gosāim or Gosvāmin. The latter had seven sons of the names of Giridhara, Govindarāya, Bālakṛṣṇa, Gokulanātha, Raghunātha, Yadunātha, and Ghanaṣyāma. The Gurus of this sect ordinarily called Mahārājas are descendants of these seven. Each Guru has a temple of his own, and there are no public places of worship. The devotee should visit the temple of his Guru at stated intervals, which are eight in number during the day. The mode of worship is as follows.

The conductor of the worship should rise early in the morning, utter the name of Bhagavat and rinse his mouth and drink a little of the washings of the feet [of Bhagavat], and, with his face to the north or the east, should utter the name of the Acārya and pray to him and make a bow. The same should be done to Vitthalesa and the names of his seven sons should be uttered, as well as of one's own Guru, and then a bow should be made to Kṛṣṇa after uttering the names Govardhana and others. Then the river Yamunā should be remembered and bowed to, and six stanzas of a poem called Bhramaragītā should be repeated; and then the Gopīs, or cowherdesses, should be adored.

After this the worshipper should answer the call of nature, wash his hands, feet and face, and then drink a portion of the washings of the feet of Kṛṣṇa, and eat the residue of the betel leaves supposed to be eaten by Kṛṣṇa. Then he should besmear his body with oil and bathe. After bathing he should drink in a little water, after repeating the name of Nārāyaṇa. Then he should make a perpendicular mark on his forehead with white earth, the mark of a lotus on the bosom and of a bamboo leaf on the arms, etc., twelve in all, to represent the twelve

forms of Visnu, Kesava, Nārāyana, Mādhava, etc. He should then print the forms of the various weapons of Visnu on his body, and then, saluting Vallabhācārya, should adore Kṛṣṇa with the Gopis. He should then open the door of the temple, and going into the sleeping apartments, bring out the wreaths of flowers and all other things used on the previous day, and then sweep and clean the apartments. He should then brush the throne and make all the arrangements necessary for the reception of Kṛṣṇa awakened from sleep.

He should then approach the bed-room and sing a song calling upon Kṛṣṇa to rise from sleep, to take the refreshments prepared for him and to go with his companions to the forest for grazing the cows. Kṛṣṇa should be brought out and placed on the throne. Rādhā should be placed to his left hand, and then the worshipper should prostrate himself before her. The refreshments already prepared should then be placed before them, and they should be requested to eat them. Then the bed should be dusted and cleaned and then Kṛṣṇa should be made to wash his mouth. Other refreshments should be then placed before the two. And at the end of all an Aratī, or waving of lamps, should be gone through with a song. Vallabhācārya should then be saluted.

Then comes the bath of Kṛṣṇa. After bathing saffron paint should be applied. Then he should be dressed and milk given to him. Afterwards by the churning of milk, froth should be prepared and offered to Kṛṣṇa. He should be then told to wash his mouth with water. Then betel leaves should be offered to him. Then a cradle should be adorned and Kṛṣṇa should be told to get into it, and then it should be rocked and toys should be got ready for the divine boy.

Afterwards the mid-day dinner should be prepared. A Caukā, or a small four-legged table, should be placed before him and viands of all kinds in cups should be put on the table. The lord should then be told to eat them. A little rice should be placed in a small plate and, mixed with ghee, five or seven mouthfuls should be held before him. Then lamps should be waved about him. Subsequently all the other dishes should be offered. In this manner the ceremonies go on. A meal is again prepared

at night and Kṛṣṇa is laid on the sleeping cot and made to sleep again.

Thus the order of the ceremonies is as follows: (1) the ringing of the bell; (2) the blowing of the conch-shell, (3) awakening of the Lord (Thākurjī) and offering morning refreshments, (4) waving of lamps, (5) bathing, (6) dressing, (7) Gopivallabha food, (8) leading the cows out for grazing, (9) the mid-day dinner, (10) waving of lamps; (11) after the last, the screen is drawn up and the God cannot be seen; this interval is called Anosara or Anavasara,-i. e., no time for seeing him,-(12) the finishing up, (13) the evening meal, (14) going to bed.

Besides the ordinary worship detailed above, the followers of this sect hold a number of feasts and festivals, some of which are in honour of Vallabhācārya, his son and seven grandsons. The influence exercised by Vallabha and his successors over their adherents seems to have been immense, and this has come down to their descendants or existing Gurus of the sect also. This is kept up by the fact that the God cannot be worshipped independently in a public place of worship, but in the house and temple of the Guru or the Mahārāja, which therefore has to be regularly visited by the devotees with offerings. The followers of this system consist principally of the trading classes of Gujarāt, Rājputāna and further to the north about Mathurā. The principal doctrine which these latter are taught is that all their belongings should be dedicated to their Guru; and this doctrine is not seldom carried to an extreme.

Among the different kinds of Bhakti mentioned above there is only one which contemplates non-attachment to worldly objects. The highest Bhakti as well as the others are generated in the heart of man by the grace of God; and the first even ripens into a haunting passion. This grace of God one may enjoy even while engaged in a worldly life. The Maryādā-Pusti, which is one of the four forms and requires the restraint of passions, does not conduce to the attainment of the highest bliss, which consists in joining in the eternal sports of Hari in the Goloka. The spirit of this system, therefore, seems to be sportive enjoyments and it connot but be expected to influence the ordinary life of its

followers. Moral rigidity culminating in indifference to worldly enjoyments and self-abnegation does not appear to be a characteristic of this school. Vallabhācārya himself was a married man, and so were all his successors and so are all the Gurus of the sect, who are as much men of the world as their followers.

§ 65. From the account we have given, it will be seen that the fourth element of Vaisnavism, that we have described in a preceding section, alone constitutes the religion of Vallabha. The sportive boy Kṛṣṇa of the cow-settlement with all his pranks is the highest god of this school; and his mistress Rādhā, who is mentioned only in the later books and dignified into his eternal consort, as will be mentioned further on, is the object of the deepest adoration. This sportive Kṛṣṇa with his Rādhā is, transferred to a heaven which is in a region higher than the ordinary Vaikuṇtha of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, and is called Goloka. The highest aim of man's life is to get to this place and join in the sports. Thus the doings of Kṛṣṇa in Gokula, and his relations with the men and women as well as the inferior animals, trees, and even the river Yamunā, constitute the basis of Vallabha's system and also its goal when transferred to Goloka.

XXIII. Caitanya.

§ 66. About the same time as Vallabha, there flourished in Bengal another propagator of the religion of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, who is known by the name of Caitanya. The prominent distinction between the two appears to be, that while Vallabha and those who followed him developed the ceremonial side of the religion, Caitanya and his successors devoted themselves to the cultivation of the emotional side. Caitanya endeavoured to win the hearts of man, by instituting Kirtanas or the fervent singing of songs about the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and other devotional matters. The love of the cow-herd god and his mistress had already become the subject of bewitching songs by Jayadeva in Sanskrit and by other poets in the Vernacular.

Caitanya also was a more courageous reformer in so far as he cried down the mechanical religious ceremonial of the prevalent Hinduism, and preached spiritual devotion and at the same time

condemned the distinctions of castes, and admitted all, including even Mahomedans, as his pupils.

§ 67. Caitanya's original name was Bisambhar (Viśvambhara) Miśra, and his father's name was Jagannātha Miśra and mother's Sacī Debi. The father lived originally in Sylhet in Eastern Bengal, but had emigrated to Nadiya (Nabadvīpa) before the birth of Bisambhar, his youngest son. The eldest son's name was Bisvarūpa, who is called Nityānanda in the history of Caitanya. These were the only two sons of Jagannātha, and between these were eight daughters, who died young.

Caitanya was born on the full-moon day of Phalguna in the year 1407 of the Saka era, corresponding to 1485 A.D. He was afterwards called Krsna Caitanya and was considered by his disciples an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa himself. As such he is reported to have played pranks with the women of the village, which, however, cannot be considered as historically true. Caitanva is also known by the name of Gauranga, i. e., possessed of a fair and not a dark body, and Gauracandra, or a fair moon. When he was eighteen years of age, he married a wife of the name of Lachmi Debi and began to live the life of a householder, taking pupils and giving them secular instruction. Soon after he took to a wandering life and visited many places in Eastern Bengal. Begging and singing were his occupation, and he is said to have collected a great deal of money. During his peregrinations his wife died, and on his return home he married another. When he was about twenty-three years of age, he went to Gaya to make offerings to his manes and on his return he began the mission of his life. He condemned the ritualistic system of the Brahmanas and preached faith in Hari and the love of Him as well as singing His name as the only effectual ways to salvation. He also preached the doctrine of the brotherhood of men, denouncing the system of castes.

It is stated that the doctrine of faith and love had been preached before Caitanya by a person of the name Advaitācārya, whose practice it was, after the performance of the usual Brahmanic rites, to go to the banks of the Ganges and call out for the appearance of God to substitute the doctrine of faith and love for

that of the performance of various rites. It is also said that this Acārya was at first the instructor of Caitanya and afterwards became his pupil. Whatever it may have been, the new doctrine was first publicly proclaimed to the exclusion of others by Kṛṣṇa Caitanya. He was assisted by his brother Nityānanda, who was regarded as an incarnation of Balarāma, the brother of the god Kṛṣṇa.

Caitanya now began to hold meetings for the singing and glorification of the name of Hari. These were at first private and held in the house of a pupil named Sribāsa. The doings of these devotees met with scorn and ridicule, especially at the hands of the worshippers of Kāli, one of whom put red flowers and goat's blood on the steps of the door of the house in which the Vaisnava meetings were held. The fervour displayed at these Kirtanas, or singing of the name of Hari, gradually increased in intensity, until the loud singers, and principally Caitanya himself, swooned away and dropped senseless on the ground.

In the year 1510 Caitanya became a Samnyāsin, or an ascetic, and was initiated into the order by Kesab Bhāratī of Katva. After this he first went to Puri to visit the shrine of Jagannatha. and thence wandered about the country for six years preaching his new faith. On one occasion he went to Benares, where he is reported to have held a disputation with Prakasananda, a teacher of the monistic Vedanta of Samkarācārva. condemned Samkara's commentary on the Vedantasutra and said that it mystified the sense of the original. Samkarācārva did not give the plain ordinary sense of the words of Bādarāyana but forced his own views into them. The doctrine of development (Parinamavada) was held by the author of the Sutras, while Samkarācārya rejects it and brings in his doctrine of illusion (Vivartavada). The former alone is true according to Caitanva. After these wanderings he returned to Puri, where he spent the last eighteen years of his life, and died in Saka 1455, corresponding to 1533 A. D.

§ 68. Some of the doctrines attributed to Caitanya are as

^{1.} The above is an abstract of the account given by J. Beames in his paper published in Ind. Ant. Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.

follows. Kṛṣṇa is the highest god and is so beautiful that he excites love for himself even in the heart of the God of love, and is enamoured of himself. His Parabrahmaśakti (power) pervades the universe and assumes a corporeal form by his wondercreating power (Māyāśakti), though he is the soul of all. He possesses a self-multiplying power (Vilāsaśakti) which is of two kinds. By one of these, in sporting with the cowherdesses, he became as many Kṛṣṇas as were sufficient to give one to every two of them (Prābhavavilāsa). By the other self-multiplying power (Vaibhavavilāsa) he assumes the forms of the four Vyūhas, or forms of Vāsudeva, Saṃkaṛṣaṇa, etc., Vāsudeva representing intelligence, Saṃkaṛṣaṇa, consciousness, Pradyumna, the love, and Aṇiruddha, sprotiveness.

Here, it will be seen, the functions of the four Vyūhas are changed, and the principle of love is attributed to Pradyumna, instead of that of the mind as in the older system, and that of sportiveness, instead of self-consciousness, which is transferred to Samkarṣaṇa, is attributed to Aniruddha. This change is in consonance with a system of which love and sport form the distinguishing characteristics. All the usual incarnations spring from one or other of the Vyūhas. According as the quality of Sattva, Rajas, or Tamas predominates, Kṛṣṇa becomes Viṣṇu, Brahmadeva, or Śiva, respectively.

The sports of Kṛṣṇa go on always, as the rising and setting of the sun. His eternal sports are carried on in the Goloka. Kṛṣṇa has three powers: the internal which is intelligence, the external which generates appearances, and the differentiated which forms the Jiva, or individual soul. His chief power is that which creates dilatation of the heart, or joy. This appears to be the power of love. When this love becomes settled in the heart of the devotee, it constitutes Mahābhāva, or the best feeling. When love attains to the highest pitch, it constitutes itself into Rādhā, who is the most loveable of all and full of all qualities. She was the object of the highest love of Kṛṣṇa, and being idealised as love, some of the agreeable feelings of the heart are considered her ornaments. The sports of the cowherdesses were due to simple love (Preman), and this it was that Uddhava and other devotees sought to attain.

The Supreme Soul (Paramatman) is boundless and is full The individual soul is an atom having intelligence itself. intelligence. They are necessarily connected together and this connection can never be destroyed. Kṛṣṇa is the support (Aśraya) and live rests on him (Asrita). The relation between the two is identity as well as difference. Thus the Vedantic theory of Caitanya's system is the same as that of Nimbarka. As the bee is distinct from the honey and hovers about it, and, when it drinks it, is full of it, i. e., is one with it, so the individual soul is at first distinct from the Supreme Soul, seeks the Supreme Soul consistently and continuously, and, when through love he is full of the Supreme Soul, he becomes unconscious of his individual existence, and becomes, as it were, absorbed in him. Herein is described the ecstatic condition in which the individual soul becomes one with God, though they are really distinct. Krsha is the ford of the power of delusion or ignorance (Māyā), and Jiva is the slave of it. When the latter cuts off its shackles, he distinctly sees his own nature and his true relation to God. Kṛṣṇa is to be approached and attained by Bhakti alone.

§ 69. Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, Nityānanda and Advaitānanda are celled the three Prabhus, or masters of the sect. The descendants of Nityananda live at Nadiya, and those of Advaita at Santipur. They are the spiritual heads of the sect. Nityananda was appointed by Caitanya himself as the superior of the church. His female descendants live at Balegor, and male ones at Khordu near Barrackpur. There are temples belonging to Caitanya's followers at Mathura, Vrndavana, and three principal ones in Bengal: one at Nadiya dedicated to Caitanya, the other at Ambikā, to Nityānanda, and the third at Agradvīpa, to Gopinātha. There is a shrine dedicated to Caitanya in the vicinity of Dhakadeksine in Northern Sylhet, where his father originally lived. It is visited by pilgrims from all parts of the district and even from Bengal. At Khetur, in the Rajasahi district, a temple is arected in his honour, where a religious fair is held in the month of October, which is attended by about 25,000 persons.

See Gaurāngatattvasaha Gaurāngacarita by Prasanna Kumāra Vidyāratna, printed at Calcutta.

^{16 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV]

The sectarian marks worn by the followers of Caitanya are two white perpendicular lines on the forehead joined together at the bridge of the nose and a line continued up to the tip of the nose. They also use necklaces of three strings of Tulasi beeds and a rosary of the same, as a help in the muttering of Hari's name. The worship of Gurus, or spiritual heads, as gcds characterises this system. Most of Advaita's followers observe caste distinctions, but a minority consists of Bairāgis, or recluses. In one branch of the sect there are monks as well as nuns. They live in the same convent. And there is only a platonic relation between them.

A person of the name of Rām Saram Pāl of the Sadgopa caste founded about two hundred years ago a branch of the sect called Kartābhājas, or worshippers of the Kartā, or headman. It admits of recruits from all castes and observes no distinction. The founder, also called Kartā Bābā, died at Ghosapur, and his votaries assemble periodically to do honour to him. The spiritual teachers of Caitanya's sect, whether male or female, are celibates.

The three Prabhus, or masters, did not leave any compositions. But Caitanya's pupils, especially Rūpa and Sanātana, wrote a great deal. A work by the latter entitled Rasāmrtasindhu contains an analysis of the feeling of love, or Bhakti, explaining the states of mind which lead to it and its various forms. A considerable body of literature has grown up round this system of religion.

XXIV. Debasement of Vaisnavism.

§ 70. The worship of Rādhā, more prominently even than that of Kṛṣṇa, has given rise to a sect, the members of which assume the garb of women with all their ordinary manners and affect to be subject even to their monthly sickness. Their appearance and acts are so disgusting that they do not show themselves very much in public, and their number is small. Their goal is the realisation of the position of female companions and attendants of Rādhā; and hence probably they assume the name of Sakhibhāvas (literally, the condition of companions). They deserve notice here only to show that, when the female element is idolised and made the object of special worship, such disgusting corrup-

tions must ensue. The worship of Durgā in the form of Tripurasundari has led to the same result.

Though the Vaisnava systems of Nimbārka, Vallabha and Caitanya are based on the fourth element of Vaisnavism that we have pointed out in a preceding Section, still that element has undergone an important modification. Before, Kṛṣṇa was a person who had amorous dalliances with the Goris generally. But now Kṛṣṇa had a definite consort in Rādhā, who had a large number of female companions, who were probably the original Gopis. She is indissolubly united with him in the creed of worshippers.

This Radha is not mentioned by name in the Harivamsa. Visnu-Purana and the Bhagavata. In the last, however, among the cowherdesses engaged in Krsna's amorous sports in Vrndavana on an autumnal moonlight night, there was one with whom the youthful god carred on his dalliance further. after he had become invisible to the rest. This woman became proud of Kṛṣṇa's special attachment for her, whereupon the god disappeared from her also. Here was contained a suggestion which probably led to the creation of Rādhā in later times. In the apocryphal Nāradapañcarātra-Samhitā, as mentioned before,1 the one single lord is represented to have become two, one a woman and the other a man, who was he himself. He then had amorous intercourse with her. The woman was Rādhā. In the Brahmavaivarta-Purāna she has been made to spring from the primordial body of Krsna forming its left side, and is eternally associated with him in his amorous sports in this world as well as the world of cows (Goloka). The name of Rükmini occurs in the ordinary form of Krsnaism, but in the systems named shove it is entirely absent. The introduction of Rādhā's name, and her elevation to a higher position even than Krsna's, operated as a degrading element in Vaisnavism, not only because she was a woman, but also because she was originally a mistress of the cowherd god, and her amorous dealing were of an overt character.

In the Rāma cultus, Sitā is a dutiful and loving wife, and is

^{1. [} Ante, p. 58 N. B. U.]

benignant towards the devotees of her husband. She holds a position entirely subordinate to Rāma, while Rādhā is often preferred to Kṛṣṇa. There is no amorous suggestion in her story as in that of Rādhā, and consequently the moral influence of Rāmaism is more wholesome. Kabīr does not, so far as I know, mention the name of Sītā at all. He was a strict monotheist, and his Rāma was the supreme lord (Sāheb) only. Those other teachers who followed him maintain the same attitude, so that the Rāma cultus represents a saner and purer form of Hindu religious thought than Rādhākṛṣṇaism.

XXV. Nāmadev and Tukārām.

§ 71. The popular Vaisnavism of the Maratha country centres itself round the shrine of Vithobā at Pandharpur, which is a city situated on the banks of the Bhima or Bhimarathi. The full name of the god is Vitthal, which is not a Sanskrit name, but the etv. mology is clear enough. It is stated that the corruption of the Sanskrit name Vișnu in the Canarese language is Vitthu, and this looks probable, since Krsna is corrupted into Kusta in the Goanese dialect and Kutta, Kitti, or Krsta in the Canarese: and we have seen that Visnu, the first portion of the name of the Hoysala prince Visnuvardhana, was corrupted to Vitti or Bitti'. The terminations ba and la are appended to the name Visnu or Vittu to indicate additional sense such as tenderness or reverence. When the shrine was established, we have not the means of determining, but we have clear evidence of its being in existence in the middle of the thirteenth century. In a copperplate Inscription of the reign of Krsna of the Yadava dynasty of Devagiri, it is stated that Mallisetti, a general and vicercy of the king, made, while engaged on a military expedition, the grant of a village in the Belgaum district at Paundarikaksetra, a holy place situated on the Bhimarathi, in the vicinity of the god Vienu, in the year 1171 of the Saka era corresponding to 1249 A. D. Now if the Paundarikaksetra was situated on the Bhimarathi or Bhima river. it is certainly not unreasonable to suppose that is was the same as Pandhari which is the alternative name of Pandharpur: and

¹ See above, p. 72.

² Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, p. 68ff,

the god in whose vicinity the grant was made must therefore have been Vitthal, or Vithobā, here mentioned by his Sanskrit name and not the popular Canarese corruption. In another Inscription on stone, existing at Pandharpur itself and dated 1192 Saka, which corresponds to 1270 A. D., Bhānu the son of Kesava, is represented to have performed an Aptoryāma sacrifice in Pāndurangapura, in consequence of which crowds of people, and Vitthala together with the gods, were greatly gratified. Here we have another name of Pandharpur, and that was probably given to it because it was the city of Pānduranga.

Pandaranga, or Panduranga, is according to Hemacandra a name of Rudra or Siva. And we have a temple of Siva at Pandharpur, and pilgrims have to visit it first before going to that of Vithobā or Vithal. Pānduranga, which is the same as the Panduranga of Hemacandra, is however in modern times a popular name for Vithal. Whether then the city was called Pāndurangapura on account of it containing the temple of Visnu or Vithal, or that of Siva is doubtful. But from the wording of the Inscription, in which Vithala and Pāndurangapura are mentioned independently, it would appear as if Vithal had no connection with the name, and it was given to the city on account of its containing a Siva temple. But when Vithobā's importance increased in later times so vastly that Siva was thrown entirely into the shade, Pānduranga became identical with Vithala.

The name Paundarika occurring in the first Inscription seems to owe its origin to a man named Pundarika, the popular legend about whom is to the following effect. The region about Pandharpur was, it is said, a forest of the name of Dindiravana. There lived a man of the name of Pundalika, who spent all his time in the service of his aged parents, and the god Kṛṣṇa was pleased with his devotion to them. In the meantime, while Kṛṣṇa was living at Dvārakā, he remembered Rādhā, who was the object of

^{1.} Early History of the Deccan, Second Ed., p. 115, in which, however, Keśava, the father of Bhānu, is by mistake represented as the sacrificer.

[== Volume III of this Edition, page 161.—N. B. U.]

^{2.} Deśinamamala, VI, 23.

his fervent love while he was in Gokula. Rādhā, who had, after Krsna's leaving Gokula, betaken herself to a residence in the Himālaya mountain, for the practice of austerities in consequence of her separation from Krsna, came to know of this through her innate cognitive power, and came at once to Dvaraka and sat on the lap of Krsna. Some time after Rukmini, the wedded wife of Krsna, came to the place, and Rādhā did not rise up to honour her, as every other woman in similar circumstances did at her approach. Krsna even did not take Rādhā to task for this dishonour of Rukmini, and Rukmini got offended, left Dvārakā and wandered about, until she came to Dindiravana, and rested there on the site of the modern Pandharpur. Krsna was filled with sorrow at the disappearance of Rukmini and went about in quest of her to all parts of the country, until he came to the place where Rukmini was lying. After some explanations she was reconciled to him. and Krsna then went to the hut of Pundalika to neward him for his devotion to his parents by personal manifestation. Pundalika being engaged in attending to the wants of his father and mother, was not able to greet him at once, and threw back a brick (Marāthi: vit) and asked him to stand on it and wait for him until he finished what he was engaged on. Krsna stood on the brick and there he was joined by Rukmini, and thus the shrine of Pandharpur grew up.

Puṇḍalīka has been referred to as the originator of the Viṭṭhal cult of devotion both by Nāmadev and Tukārām, and that is the popular belief. The legend points to this fact, and we may therefore take him to be the person who promulgated the cult of Viṭṭhobā, or Viṣṇu, in the Maratha country. He established himself at Paṇḍharpur and it must be on that account that the city is called the holy place (Kṣetra) Pauṇḍarīka, which I identify with the modern name Paṇḍharī in the first Inscription. The Pāṇḍurangapura of the second may have become the later Paṇḍharpur.

There is another historical significance in this legend, and that appears to be this. At first, no woman was connected with the Kṛṣṇa worship, as we have seen in the case of the pure Pāācarātra or Bhāgavata system. Then came Rādhā to be associated with him in the North, as we have seen, in the systems of

Nimbārka, Vallabha and Caitanya, while Rukmini, the lawful wife, was united with him in the Maratha country. The Kṛṣṇa of Paṇḍharpur is almost exclusively known by the name of Viṭṭhala or Viṭhobā, and Rukmini by the name of Rakhamāi or Rakhamābāi. In the religious literature of the country, Viṭṭhala, or Kṛṣṇa, is almost exclusively spoken of as Rukminipati or Rukminivara, the lord or husband of Rukmini, and not as Rādhāvallabha, or the lover of Rādhā. Thus the Vaiṣṇavism of the Maratha country, associated as it is with these two names, is more sober and purer than that of the three systems named above. Rāhi the Marathi form of Rādhikā, is not unknown, but an insignificant place is assigned to her. The sports of Kṛṣṇa in Gokula are also represented occasionally in the mode of worship, but very little importance is attached to them.

This Vaisnavism of the Maratha country found a fertile soil among the lower classes, though it has had followers among Brāhmanas and other higher classes also. Like the Vaisnavism of the disciples of Rāmānanda, it had no learned or Sanskrit-knowing promulgators, but its prophets were Śūdras, who, however, had the true religious instinct and possessed a clear spiritual insight. Such were Nāmdev and Tukārām.

§ 72. The family of Nāmdev originally lived at the village called Narasi Vāmanī, situated near Karhad in the Satara District, and now known by the name of Bhayē-Narsingpur or Kolem-Narsingpur. It belonged to the tailor caste and followed that occupation or of dealers in cloth. The name of Nāmdev's father was Dāmā Śet, and that of his mother, Gonābāl. They migrated to Pandharpur, where Nāmdev was born in the Śaka year 1192, corresponding to 1270 A. D. Nāmdev received ordinary education, but showed little capacity for the usual occupation of his family. He became a devoted worshipper of Vithobā and had for his Guru a person named Visobā Khecar, who appears to have been a non-idolater. For Nāmdev says of him that he gave him the following instruction:—

No.1911. "A stone-god never speaks. What possibility then of his removing the disease of mundane existence? A stone

^{1.} Tukaram Tatya's edition, published in Bombay in 1894.

image is regarded as God, but the true God is wholly different. If a stone-god fulfils desires, how is it he breaks when struck These who adore a god made of stone, lose everything through their folly. Those who say and hear that a god of stone speaks to his devotees, are both of them fools. Those who extol the greatness of such a god and call themselves his devotees, should be regarded as worthless persons and their words should not be heard by the ear. If by chiselling a stone, a god is made of it and is worshipped with care for many years, will he be of use at any time? Do reflect on this well in your mind. Whether a holy place is small or large, there is no god but stone or water. In the village of Dvādaši (Bārsi) instruction was given that there is no place which is devoid of God. That God was shown to Nāmā in his heart, and thus Khecar conferred a blessing on him."

The omnipresence of God and his being neither stock nor stone are well brought out here. The omnipotence of God Namdev brings out in the following:—

No. 151. "The Veda has to speak by thy might and the sun has to move round; such is the might of thee, the lord of the universe! Knowing this essential truth, I have surrendered myself to thee. By thy might it is that the clouds have to pour down rain, mountains to rest firm and the wind to blow. Nothing moves at all (without thee). Oh lord Pandurang! thou art the cause of all."

It will thus be seen that, though Namdev worshipped the idol at Pandharpur, he had full knowledge of the true nature of God, as given in treatises like the Upanisads; and this God it was that he tried to attain.

No. 1029. "Your mind is full of vices. What is the use of the pilgrimages you make? What is the use of austere practices, if there is no repentance? The sins resulting from a mental act cannot be effaced by the highest holy place (literally: the father of the holy places). The essence of the matter is very simple: Sin is effaced by repentance ", so says Nāmā.

^{1.} Bärsi is a town near Pandharpur.

No. 887. "Vows, fasts, and austerities are not at all necessary; nor it is necessary for you to go on a pilgrimage. Be you watchful in your hearts and always sing the name of Hari. It is not necessary to give up eating food or drinking water; fix your mind on the feet of Hari. Yoga or sacrificial ceremonies or giving up objects of desire is not wanted. Realise a fondness for the feet of Hari. Neither is it necessary for you to contemplate (lit. dwell in) the one without attributes. Hold fast to the love of the name of Hari; says Nāmā, be firm in singing the name and then Pāndurang will render himself manifest to you."

In these two songs Namdev urges upon his hearers the total inefficacy of the usual modes of purification and of the attainment of God, such as pilgrimages, vows, fasts, or meditation on the absolute, and sacrifices.

No. 245. "Recognise him alone to be a righteous man, who sees Vāsudeva in all objects, eradicting all pride or egoism. The rest are entangled in the shackles of delusion. To him all wealth is like earth and the nine species of gems are mere stones. The two, desire and anger, he has thrown out and cherishes in his heart (lit. house) quietude and forgiveness. He constantly repeats the name of Govinda, not desisting even for a moment."

No. 1004. "Firmly grasp the truth which is Nārāyana. Purity of conduct should not be abandoned; one should not be afraid of the censure of people and thus accomplish one's own purpose. Surrender yourself to your loving friend (God), giving up all ostentation and pride. The censure of people should be regarded as praise and their praise not heeded. One should entertain no longing for being respected and honoured, but should nourish in oneself a liking for devotion. This should be rendered firm in the mind and the name of God should not be neglected even for a moment."

In these songs Nāmdev describes the holy condition of him who is a devotee of Vāsudeva and sees him everywhere, and preaches self-surrender to him, regardless of the criticism of the world.

This is a short specimen of the teachings of Nāmdev. Purity of heart, humility, self-surrender, forgiveness, and the love of God

17 [R.G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

form the sum and substance of it. Nāmdev wrote songs in Hindi also and some of these are incorporated in the Grantha—Sāheb, or the Bible of the Sikhs. I will here translate two of these!—

No. 2352. "He is one, [but] fills and encompassess many; wherever you look you find him there. There is scarcely one who understands him, all being deluded by the variegated picture drawn by Māyā (delusive power). Everything is Govinda, everything is Govinda, there is nothing without Govinda. Just as there is one thread and on it are woven breadthwise and lengthwise hundreds of thousands of beads, so is everything woven in the lord. The waves, the foam, and the bubbles of water are not different from water. All this extent of the universe is the sport of Parabrahma, and when we think of it, is not different from it. Illusive phantoms and the objects seen in dreams are regarded as real. When by the instruction of my Guru my mind awoke, I accepted the truth. Reflecting in your mind, see this all to be the creation of Hari, says Nāmdev; in the inside of every individual thing there is one Murāri alone without any interstice."

No. 2353. "The pitcher is filled and the water brought to bathe the god. There were forty-two hundreds of thousands of animals in it; there was already Vitthal in them. Whom shall I bathe? Wherever we go there is Vitthal and he ever sports in joy. Flowers have been brought and wreaths woven of them for worshipping God. First of all the flowers were smelt by the bees, there was Vitthal there; what shall I do? Milk has been brought and cooked for the offering of Khir² to God. The milk was first tasted by the calf, in it was Vitthal, what shall I do? Here is Vitthal, there is Vitthal, there is no world without Vitthal. This place and that, thou hast filled. Thou hast filled the whole world, says Nāmā humbly".

In these hymns God's omnipresence is described by Nāmdev.

¹ Tukaram Tatya's edition.

² A preparation of milk and rice mixed with sugar.

³ These two hymns have been translated by Macauliffe in Vol. VI, pp. 41-42 of the Sikh Religion. The readings in the Bombay Ed. have been compared with those in the Grantha-Säheb, pp. 427-28 of the Lucknow Ed. of 1893.

\$73. The date assigned to the birth of Nāmdev is, as we have seen, Śaka 1192, that is 1270 A. D. This makes him a contemporary of Jāāndev, the author of the Jāāndev!, which was finished in 1290 A. D. But the Marāthī of the latter work is decidedly archaic, while that of Nāmdev's writings has a considerably more modern appearance. Nāmdev's Hindī too looks more modern than that of the thirteenth century, when the poet Canda flourished!. What this is due to, it is difficult to say. But it appears probable that the traditional date of Nāmdev's birth—Śaka 1192-has been pushed backwards and that he is represented as a contemporary of Jāāndev. We have seen in a former section that Nābhājī in naming the successors of Viṣnusvāmin places Jāāndev first and Nāmdev afterwards. If we are to judge from Nāmdev's Marāthī and Hindī, his date must be put later by about a century.

Some conception, however, of the time when Namdev flourished may be formed from the strong and definite sentiments as to the futility of idol-worship, which his instructor is represented (in one of the hymns translated) to have expressed. Khecar, or Visoba Khecar as he is usually called, appears to have been an uncompromising opponent of idol-worship from the accounts given of him in the existing biographies. All previous writers, including Rāmānuja, as well as a great many that followed, excused idolworship in some way or other. If then Khecar's attitude towards it was definitely hostile, he and his pupil Namdey must have flourished when the Mahomedan influence had for the first time become very powerful. The Mahomedans established themselves in the Deccan in the beginning of the fourteenth century of the Christian era, and their hatred of idol-worship must have taken about a hundred years to make its way into the understanding of religious Hindus.

But a more direct evidence for the fact that Namdev flourished after the Mahomedans had established themselves in the Marāthā country is afforded by his mention in a song (No. 364) of the

¹ See my Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS, 1887-1891, page LXXX.

^{[=} Volume II of this Edition, p. 343.—N. B. U.]

^{2 [} Ante, p. 109,-N. B. U.]

destruction of idols by the Turaks, i. e., Turks. The Mahomedans were often called Turaks in early times by the Hindus. Nāmdev, therefore, probably lived about or after the end of the fourteenth century.

It will thus be seen that the date of Nāmdev's birth given with such details is quite wrong. Unfortunately the historical spirit has by no means been the distinguishing feature of the intellectual life of us Indians, and we often confuse different persons together, and attribute to one what belongs to another. Some such confusion must have taken place in the present case.

Tukaram

§ 74. Tukārām was born and lived at a village called Dehu, which is about fourteen miles to the north-east of Poona. The name of the family to which he belonged was More. It was a family of the Marāthā caste, which caste may have sprung from the old order of Ksatriyas, but is considered to belong to the Sūdra order. Nothing specific is known about the date of his birth, but there is no reason for doubting the truth of the date traditionally assigned to his death, which is Saka 1571, corresponding to 1649 A. D. His biographer, Mahipati, represents him to have become a bankrupt at the end of the first half of his life, when he was twenty-one years of age. From that it is inferred that he lived for 42 years, and he is thus understood to have been born in 1607-8 A. D.

Seven of Tukārām's ancestors were devoted worshippers of the god Vithobā. Of these Visambhara was the first who made regular pilgrimages to Pandharpur, but after some years he constructed a temple in his own village, and placing the idols of Vithobā and Rukmāī in it, dedicated it to their worship. Tukārām's father's name was Bolhoji and he followed the occupation of a petty trader. When he became old, he proposed to entrust the affairs of his family and his business to Sāvjī, his eldest son. But Sāvjī was a man for whom a worldly life had no interest, and he declined to undertake the business. It was, therefore, made over to Tukārām, who was then thirteen years of age. Tukārām managed the affairs somehow, till he became seventeen years old, when his father died. He naturally felt desolate when this occurred, and being a man of simplicity and liable to be imposed upo aby designing persons, his affairs got into disorder and he incurred loss in his trade.

Tukārām was at first married to a wife who was sickly, and some time later he married another of the name of Jijābāi or Āvalī, the daughter of a well-to-do trader in Poona. When his affairs got into confusion, Āvalī procured a loan for him and set him up again. A short time after, he made a profit in his new trade, and, while coming back from the place to which he had gone for the sale of his goods, he met a man whe was being carried about by the agents of his creditor, and who was crying out for assistance to relieve him from his debt and the impending imprisonment. To this man Tukārām gave all that he possessed—the capital, and the profit that he had made. He returned to Dehu empty-handed, and soon after there was a famine, which made him a thorough bankrupt, and his first wife died of hunger.

Tukārām then made up his mind to renounce his business, but his younger brother Kānhyā protested against it. Then, sitting on the banks of the Indrāyanī, he told his brother to bring all the documents, deeds and bonds relating to their business, divided them into two parts, gave one to Kānhyā, and told him to live separately from him, and his own share he threw into the river.

Henceforward he devoted himself to the contemplation of God and singing his praises, spending the day on the top of a hill near Dehu and the night at the temple of Vithobā in the village.

He read the Marāthī works on religious subjects of the saints and sages who had flourished before him. The idea of giving expression to his thoughts and feelings by composing songs in Marāthī soon arose in his mind. The metre used by him was that which is known by the name of Abhang, the measure of which is by no means strict or regular, but which is characterised by the use of rhyming words at specific intervals. A single-minded piety and the desire to be of service to all, even by executing their errands, became settled points in his character. Family matters had to be attended to by his wife, Āvalī, who often found herself in great straits.

Tukārām's chief occupation was the performance of Kirtans, which consist of religious discourses interspersed with the singing of songs. These discourses gradually became very attractive and drew in crowds of people. The songs he sung at

these had been often prepared by himself, and some were composed by him extempore while engaged in the discourse.

Tukārām's fame spread about not only in his village, but in the surrounding country, and it evoked jealousy, especially in the minds of Brahmanas, who had set themselves up as religious teachers; and he was subjected to persecution. He, however, maintained an evenness of temper throughout, though there were struggles in the mind. His fame reached the ears of the rising prince. Sivaji, the future king of the Marathas. He was eager to hear Tukārām's Kirtans, and on one occasion invited him into his presence, sending him messengers with torches, umbrella and horses, as emblems of high honour. Tukārām, however, declined to go and sent him a letter written in his usual metre. On another occasion Sivail attended his Kirtan at Lohagaon, about six miles from Poons, and placed before him a plate full of golden coins. Tukārām, of course, declined to receive them, and they were distributed among the Brahmanas there. When his end approached, he is reported to have gathered together a large body of his followers and to have proceeded to the banks of the Indravani. all singing loudly and enthusiastically the praises of God and fully absorbed in it. When they approached the river, Tukārām suddenly disappeared. No further account of his death has been handed down.

§ 75. It has been already stated that Tukārām had acquired a great facility in composing Abhangs. He spoke in Abhangs and wrote in Abhangs. Some of these only could be written and were written, and others were neglected by him or his immediate followers, but retained in the memory of others. The collections, therefore, of his pieces cannot be expected to be of the same size. There are two such printed in Bombay, one containing 4621 pieces and the other 8441. This latter collection is uncritically made and oftentimes one same piece is given a second time with the opening lines omitted. Still, this is a larger collection and contains Abhangs which are not to be found in the first collection, but are quite in the style of Tukārām with the usual fervent devotion and purity of thought.

We will now give a few specimens:-

First collection, No. 2869. "When the auspicious juncture of Simhasthal comes, it brings fortune only to barbers and priests. There are crores of sins in the heart, but externally a man shaves the hair on the head and the beard. What has been shaved off, has disappeared. Tell me what else has changed. The vicious habits are not changed, which might be regarded as a mark of the destruction of sins; says Tukā, without devotion and faith everything else is useless trouble."

Second collection, No. 4733. "What hast thou done by going to a holy river? Thou hast only outwardly washed thy skin. In what way has the interior been purified? By this thou hast only added a feather to thy cap (lit. prepared a decoration for thyself). Even if the bitter Vṛndāvana fruit is coated with sugar, the settled quality of the interior (bitterness) is in no way lessened. If peace, forgiveness, and sympathy do not come in, why should you take any trouble?"

First coll., No. 90 (1-2). "Sesamum seeds and grains of rice thou hast burnt by throwing into fire, but desire and anger are as mischievous as before. Why hast thou taken trouble in vain, giving up the adoration of Pāndurang?"

Here Tukārām condemns religious practices which concern the body only, and mechanical rites, such as giving oblations, and enforces the necessity of striving for the attainment of spiritual virtue and of the adoration of God.

In No. 2383 (first coll.,) Tukārām condemns the worship of goddesses, Jākhāi Jokhāi, of gods like Bhairava and even Gaṇapati, and of ghosts and goblins, and earnestly recommends the adoration of him whose consort is Rakhamāi. Tukārām was thus a devotee only of Viṭhebā of Paṇḍharpur and a monotheist in this sense. Though he worshipped the idol at the place, still he had always before his mind's eye the great Lord of the universe, as the following will show:—

First coll., No. 4361. "Thy greatness is unsearchable. Even the Vedas became silent and the power of the mind becomes stunted.

¹ When Jupiter is in the sign of Leo, the period is considered favourable for the washing away of sins, and Hindus go to holy places, such as Nasik, shave their heads and mustaches and bathe in the river.

What possibility is there of my mental power reaching Him, whose light it is that the sun and the moon display? Even the thousand-tongued (the great serpent) is unable to expound thy greatness. How then shall I be able to do so? Says Tukā, we are thy children, thou art our mother: place us under the shadow (protection) of thy grace.'

Fist coll., No. 4419. "All the world says that there is not a space so minute as a sesamum seed without thee. The old Rsis, sages, poious and holy men said that thou art in the heart of all these things Thou hast filled up numberless universes and also a residue still remained. But to me thou hast become inaccessible."

First Coll., No. 1870. 'God is ours, certainly ours, and is the soul of all souls. God is near to us, certainly near, outside and inside. God is benignant, certainly benignant, and fulfils every longing even of a longing nature. God protects us, certainly protects us, and subdues strife and death. God is merciful, certainly merciful, and protects Tukā."

This great God is to be attained only by devoted love and by no other means:—

First coll., No. 810. "This thy nature is beyond the grasp of the mind or of words; and therefore I have made devoted love a measure. I measure the Endless by the measure of love; he is not to be truly measured by any other means. Thou art not to be found by processes of concentration (Yoga), sacrificial rites, practice of austerities, and any bodily exertions, nor by knowledge. Oh Kesava, accept the service which we render to thee in the simplicity of our hearts."

There is peace and pure indescribable bliss in seeing God:—

Second coll., No. 1411. "Oh Nārāyāna, the peace arising from rest is truly not to be attained without thy feet; even if modes and methods are followed for crores of Kalpas,' bliss will not ensue. The bliss of bliss, which is interminable and boundless, which is enjoyed by Hari and Hara, manifest to me, oh thou! the

^{1.} A long fabulous period.

sustainer of my soul, oh omniscient, those feet of thine [which produce it]."

But this God is not to be seen by those whose passions are unrestrained:—

First coll., No. 4420. "The Endless is beyond, and between him and me there are the lofty mountains of desire and anger. I am not able to ascend them, nor do I find any pass. Insurmountable is the ascent of my (mountain-like) enemies. What possibility is there of my attaining Nārāyana, my friend? Pāndurang is lost to me; says Tukā, it is now plain that this valuable life of mine has gone for nothing."

To curb these passions becomes now his great and earnest aim. He examines his heart carefully and on all occasions in life finds them present there in one shape or another; with all his efforts he fails to restrain them; and addresses fervent prayers again and again to God to help him. The number of these is very large:—

Second Coll., No. 1430. "With whose support shall I gird up my loins? Oh Pāndurang, I feel depressed. All wicked persons abide in my frame and my mind is subdued by them. All my efforts have proved fruitless. What shall I do? Thou art the only mother of the helpless; says Tukā, those wicked persons will not leave my frame without thy might."

The wicked persons are passions.

When in the course of years, Tukārām became famous and was praised everywhere, he found a glow of satisfaction gathering strength in his heart. This he recognised as pride or conceit, and he was greatly afraid of it, and again and again prayed to God to free him from this pride and bestow humility of spirit:—

First coll., No. 1779. "I have become an expert in the unrestricted use of words. The root of the whole matter I have not attained. Therefore, oh king of Pandhari! my mind is afflicted. Who knows what is in my heart? I am respected or worshipped, and this has given rise to conceit; and my further progress (towards perfection) has been arrested; says Tukā, I do not know the true way and find myself in the hands of egotism." Again:

First coll., No. 1133. "What shall I do with fame and worldly

^{18 [}R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

honour and greatness? Do show me thy feet. Do not bring about this (result), that thy servant should go for nothing. If I become great and bear the burden of ostentatious knowledge, I shall go away from thy feet farther and farther. What possibility is there of people knowing the internal condition? A man is judged by his external appearances. Even adversity will be sweet to me, if it leads me to thy feet."

He thus goes on cultivating the virtue of humility, until at last he comes to speak of the death of the self in him as in the following:—

First coll., No. 3474. "I have surrendered my soul to thee and then I have abandoned my individuality (dwelling). Now thy might alone prevails here. I being dead, thou hast established thy station here. Now nothing like me and mine remains here."

Here he speaks of his having abandoned the self and God's having come to dwell in his heart instead of the self. And more distinctly:—

First Coll., No. 2668. "I have seen my own death with my eyes. The result is incomparable rapture. The three worlds are filled with joy. And I have enjoyed as the soul of al!. By my sense of individuality I was confined to one place and by its abandonment I have become all-reaching. The pollution arising from birth and death is at an end and I am free from the littleness resulting from the feeling of me and mine. Nārāyana has now given me a place to dwell in: putting my faith in him I have remained at his feet; Tukā says, the fulfilment of what I undertook I have manifested to the world."

Here he speaks of the dying of the lower man in himself and the coming to life of the higher man.

There is a large number of pieces conveying instruction to men seeking spiritual advance. A few specimens will now be given:—

First coll., No. 3800. "Therefore one should surrender oneself to God with all one's heart. He will carry one to the opposite bank of the river of life, which is difficult to be crossed. He

whose name is Ananta, or Endless, is very merciful; Tukā says, I have experienced this and therefore announce it to all."

Second Coll., No. 5383. "Fortunate, indeed, are those persons, in whose heart dwells forgiveness and to whom, when there is occasion, courage and strength do not fail; who do not criticise other people by calling them good or bad and who think nothing of worldly greatness or superiority; who internally and externally are alike pure like the Gangā and whose heart is tender; Tukā says, I will wave my body round them and place my head on their feet."

First coll., No. 2397. "For all beings entertain no hostile feeling. This one alone is the excellent way. Thus alone will Nārāyana accept thee. All talk without this is useless trouble. Relatives as well as the evil-disposed should be regarded as alike and the mind devoted to the doing of good to others; Tukā says, when the mind is pure everything becomes efficacious."

First coll., No. 1368. "Do not give up food; do not betake yourself to a forest-dwelling; in all your sufferings and enjoyments think of Nārāyana. A child sitting on the shoulders of its mother feels no trouble. Put an end to all thoughts different from this. Do not get entangled in worldly enjoyments nor abandon them; dedicate everything you do to God, and have done with it; Tukā says, do not ask me again and again; nothing else is to be taught but this."

Here Tukārām dissuades men from giving up the world and becoming recluses, and advises them instead to dedicate their lives to the service of God and do everything in a manner to propitiate him.

The question has often been discussed among Marathas whether Tukaram followed the Vedantic theory of Samkaracarya and regarded everything as an illusion except one soul. There are some Abhangs which exhibit the closest possible approach to that theory such as the following:—

First coll., No. 300. "What means crossing a mirage to reach the yonder bank? Children play with golden coins which are but pot-sherds. Is there any profit or loss by those transactions? Little girls perform marriage (of dolls). Is the relation thus established real? The happiness or misery experienced in a dream is seen not to be true when a man awakes. The expressions, one is born, one is dead, are all false; and the saying that persons are in bondage or are delivered is a mere waste of breath, so says Tukā."

Here the illusive nature of everything is set forth quite in the style of Samkarācārya's world-illusion. Again:—

First coll., No. 1992. "A sugar crystal and sugar powder differ only in the name. There is no difference when sweetness is to be judged. Tell me, oh Pāndurang, how thou and I are distinct. Thou hast moved the world, and me and mine are the results. Gold in the form of ornaments is worn on the foot, the hands, nose and the head. When all these are thrown into the crucible, where remains the distinction? Profit and loss are real in the dream when one goes to sleep; both vanish when one is awakened, so says Tukā."

Here there is a mixture of the two opposite theories, that of Parinama, or development, as in the case of gold and ornaments made of it, and that of Vivarta, or illusion, as in the case of things seen in a dream. The latter alone is held by Samkaracarya. Again:—

First coll., No. 2482. "When salt is dissolved in water, what is it that remains distinct? I have thus become one in joy with thee and have lost myself in thee. When fire and camphor are brought together, is there any black remnant? Tukā says, thou and I were one light."

Here the losing of self-consciousness in moments of ecstasy appears to be what is meant, and not quite a perfect identity of God and man. Nāmdev and Tukārām were not learned Pandits like Rāmānuja and Madhva and cannot be expected to formulate a consistent metaphysical theory of the relations between God, man, and the world. On the other hand, Tukārām was such a devout and sincere lover of God that the idea of such a distinctness between the three as would render such a love possible, was constantly present in his mind, and there are a great many

Abhangs in which he condemns the theory of spiritual monism as in the following:—

First coll., No. 1471. "His words should not be listened to, who expounds useless (unsubstantial) knowledge without Bhakti, or devotion. When monism is expounded without faith and love, the expounder as well as the hearer are troubled and afflicted. He who calls himself Brahma and goes on in his usual way, should not be spoken to and is a buffoon. The shameless one who speaks heresy in opposition to the Vedas is an object of scorn among holy men. Even an outcast is superior to him who cuts off the relation between God and his devotee (by asserting them to be identical); so says Tukā."

Here is an uncompromising denunciation of spiritual monism which leaves no scope for Bhakti, or devotion. It is considered as opposed to the Vedas and as a heresy. Again:—

First coll., No. 3753. "For me there is no satisfaction in the doctrine of monism. Sweet to me is the service of thy feet. Confer this gift upon me making it fit (to be given by thee). Thy name and the singing of it are dear to me. The relation between God and his devotee is a source of elevated joy. Make me feel this, keeping me distinct from thee. All this belongs to thee. Confer it upon me some day."

Here in his confutation of spiritual monism he takes his stand on the heartfelt charms of the love of God. He sets the innate feelings of his heart against the sophism of the advocates of the Advaita Vedānta.

First coll., No. 1589. "I will make the mouth of the knowers of Brahma to water (in longing) and make the delivered ones to abandon the pristine condition (attained in consequence of deliverance). In singing, the whole bodily frame becomes instinct with Brahma and the good fortune (resulting from it) consists in making God a debtor. I will bring indolence on him whose practice it is to repair to holy places, and make the enjoyment of a life in heaven bitter. I will make the man who practises austerities give up his pride and put to shame sacrificial rites and charities. I will accomplish the great object of life, viz., love and wealth of devotion, which constitutes the true treasure

time promulgated the worship of the grown-up Kṛṣṇa, for ever associated with Rādhā, who was idealised into an image of pure love. The increasing ardency in the love and devotion of God sought for realistic expression, and the conception of Rādhā deepened and acquired an exclusive prominence and importance. The devotion of Caitanya and his followers was sincere and fervent, and even bordered on the frantic; but that of Vallabha and his school was more dramatic than real. Ultimately this conception led to the degradation of Vaisnavism.

In the Marātha Country, Nāmdev, whose date is uncertain, but who probably lived about the end of the fourteenth century, and Tukārām, in the first half of the seventeenth century, preached the worship of Vithobā of Pandharpur as the supreme God, and, discarding Rādhā-Kṛṣṇaism, cultivated a more sober line of devotion. They also resorted to the Vernacular for the dissemination of their ideas. They, as well as Kabīr, and to a certain extent, Caitanya also, condemned the formalism, which prevailed in the religion of their day, and preached pure love of God. The two Marāthā saints and Kabīr also laid particular stress on the purification of the individual's heart and moral elevation as means to a single-minded and devoted love of God, and as necessary for the attainment of eternal bliss.

The points of contact between these various Vaisnava systems are that their spiritual elements are essentially derived from the Bhagavadgitā, that Vāsudeva as the name of the Supreme Being stands in the back-ground of all, and that spiritual monism and world-illusion are denounced by them equally. The differences arise from the varied importance that they attach to the different spiritual doctrines; the prominence that they give to one or other of the three elements that were mingled with Vāsudevism; the metaphysical theory that they set up; and the ceremonial which they impose upon their followers.

The Bhagavadgitā was supplemented in later times by the Pāñcarātra Samhitās and the Purānas such as the Visnu and the Bhāgavata, and other later works of that description. These occasionally elucidated some of the essential doctrines, laid down the ceremonial, and brought together a vast mass of legendary matter to magnify the importance of their special teachings, and render them attractive.

Part II.

SAIVISM AND MINOR RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS.

I. Introductory.

Formation of the Conception of Rudra-Siva.

§ 77. Some of the phenomena of external nature are pleasing, vivifying and benignant; others are terrible, dispiriting and destructive. In the dawn, the Aryas found the lovely goddess Usas, pursued by her lover Surya, or the Sun (RV. I. 115. 2). In the rising sun, they found Mitra, a friendly god, who roused them from sleep and set them to do the work of the day (RV. III. 59.1; VII. 36.2). And in the sun, who visibly at rising stretched forth his rays as if they were his arms, filling the heaven and the earth, vivifying the world at the end of the night and placing it in the course assigned to it by him, they found Savitr (RV. IV. 53. 3). The dreadful and destructive phenomena are usually the storms that uproot trees and even demolish houses, accompanied by the thunderbolt which strikes down men and beasts dead in moment; and the epidemics that rage and carry off numbers of men. In these the old Aryas saw Rudra, who went about howling with the stormy winds (Maruts), who were his sons (Rudriyas).

But human beings do not believe in a purely malignant power reigning in the universe. The dreadful phenomena are attributed to the wrath of a god, which, however, can be appeased by prayer, praise and offerings. Then the god becomes Siva, or the benignant. This appears to be the natural process by which a belief in such a god as Rudra-Siva became established in India in ancient times. We will now trace the development of the idea of this god until he became the supreme creator, ruler, and pervader of the universe, a knowledge of whom contributed to eternal bliss.

II. The Development of the Idea of Rudra-Siva.

§ 78. Rudra is represented as discharging brilliant shafts which run about the heaven and the earth (RW. VII. 46. 3) and

^{19 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's works, Vol. IV.]

as possessing weapons which slay cows and men (RV. I. 114. 10). Here the destructive agency of lightning seems to have been clearly in view. He is prayed to by the singers to keep these away from them and to protect the two-footed and four-footed beings belonging to them (RV. I. 114. 1). When, in consequence of the prayers or in the natural course of things, the cattle go unharmed, Rudra is represented to be Pasupa, or protector of the cattle (RV. I. 114. 9).

Rudra is prayed to not to afflict children with disease (RV. VII. 46. 2) and to keep all in the village free from illness (RV. I. 114. 1). Rudra was thus believed to cause diseases, and when men recovered from them or were altogether free from them, that also was attributed to the agency of Rudra; and he is consequently spoken of as possessing healing remedies (RV. I. 43. 4) and as the best physician of physicians (RV. II. 33. 4) and as possessed of a thousand medicines (RV. VII. 46. 3). The singers also pray for the acquisition of those pure and salutary remedies belonging to the Maruts and Rudra, which father Manu desired (RV. II. 33. 13).

The general character of the prayers addressed to Rudra is well brought out in the following: "Oh Rudra, do not, out of thy anger, injure our children and descendants, our people, our cattle, our houses, and do not kill our men. We invoke thee always with offerings" (RV. I. 114. 8.). By his power he perceives all earthly beings and by his universal sovereignty he perceives divine beings (RV. VII. 46. 2). Here even in the Rgveda, Rudra is raised to supreme power.

§ 79. The character of Rudra appears in a much more developed form in the Satarudriya (TS. IV. 5.1; VS. chapter 16). His benignant form (Sivā tanuḥ) is distinguished from its opposite, the malignant. He is called Girisa or Giritra, "lying on a mountain", probably because the thunderbolt that he hurls, springs from a cloud, which is often compared to a mountain and in which he was believed to dwell. The cowherds and the female bearers of waters see him as he creeps along with his blue neck and red complexion, that is, these simple folk working in the open field see a

black cloud tinged red by the soft glow of the lightning. Representing, as Rudra does, the darker powers of nature, he may be expected to dwell away from the habitations of men, and therefore he is called the !ord of the paths, of the forests, and of those who roam in them, of thieves and highway robbers, who frequent and move about in lonely places to prevent being detected, and also of outcasts who live away from the usual dwellings of men.

In his character as a healer, he appears here as the lord of medicinal herbs and is called a heavenly physician. Being the lord of the open fields or plains, he is the lord of cattle (Pasunām patih) which roam in them. Then Pasupati became in later times a special appellation of this God. In this manner the range of Rudra became so wide that he came to be called the "lord of the quarters". He is called Kapardin, or the wearer of matted hair, which epithet is probably due to his being regarded as identical with Agni, or fire, the fumes of which look like matted hair. The names Sarva (arrow-wielder), and Bhava also, occur, and when his wrathful nature is thoroughly appeared, he becomes Sambhu or beneficent, and Siva or auspicious, which names occur at the end of the Satarudriya. He is also represented as wearing a hide (Krttim vasanah). How the epithet arose it is difficult to say. But, being represented as roaming in forests and other lonely places, the idea of investing him with the skinclothing of the savage tribes may have suggested itself to a poet. The Nisadas, a forest tribe, are compared to Rudras, which fact lends support to this view.

The name Rudra has been generalised and many Rudras are spoken of, and a wish is expressed that they may be far away from the singer. Here the signification of the common name appears to be an evil spirit. In another place also the name is generalised, but the signification is much better. The Rudras are called Ganas or tribes, and Ganapatis or leaders of tribes, workmen, potters, cart-makers, carpenters, and Nisādas or men of the forest-tribes. Thus these followers of handicraft and also the forest-tribe of Nisādas are brought into close connection with Rudra; probably they were his worshippers or their own peculiar gods were identified with the Aryan Rudra. This last supposition appears very probable, since the groups of beings, whose

Pati, or lord, he is represented to have been, dwelt in or frequented open fields, forests and waste lands, remote from the habitations of civilised men.

§ 80. In AV. the conception of Rudra is further developed, and he is elevated to a higher platform. Several other names, by which he was known in later times, are also given, but the bearers of these are spoken of and addressed as separate gods. Bhava and Sarva are treated as two distinct deities and spoken of as ruling (Isathe) over two-footed and four-footed beings (IV. 28.1). They are styled the swiftest of all archers, and to them belongs what is near as well as remote. They are called thousand-eyed. Their range is far and wide (3). Their stroke can not be avoided by any man or god (5). They are invoked to launch their thunderbolt against the Yatudhana, or evil spirit (6). They are implored to deliver the singers from calamity (7). Sarva is called the archer, and Bhava the king (Rajan), and obeisance is made to them, and they are desired to remove their deadly poisons to other places (VI. 93, 2). Obeisance is made to Rudra who is in Agni, who is in the waters, who has entered into the herbs and who has formed all these beings (VII. 87.1). This verse occurs in AU. (VI) and also in SU. (II. 17), where, however, it appears in a somewhat altered form, the word Deva being used instead of Rudra.

In describing a particular ox Mahādeva is spoken of as his two arms (IX. 7.7). Bhava and Sarva are invoked to launch the lightning against the doer of wickedness (X. I. 23). They are called Bhūtapati (the lord of spirits) and Pasupati (the lord of beasts), (XI. 2.1). They are reverenced as being in their domains in the sky and in the middle regions (XI. 2.4). Five distinct species of animals, kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep, are marked off as belonging to Pasupati (XI. 2.9). To Ugra, the fierce, belong the four intermediate quarters, the sky, the earth, and the wide atmosphere, and that which has spirit and breathes on the earth (XI. 2.10). Bhava sees everything on earth. Nothing is far or near to him. He destroys things in the farther ocean, being himself in the preceding ocean (XI. 2.25). Rudra is implored not to bring on consumption, poison, and celestal fire (XI. 2.26). Bhava is the lord (Isa) of the heavens, the

earth, and fills the whole atmosphere (XI. 2. 27). Bhava is addressed as king (Rājan), (XI. 2. 28). A wish is expressed that the arrows of Bhava, Śarva, and Rudra, who is Paśupati (the lord of beasts) may be always propitious (Sadāśiva), (XI. 6. 9). Savitr is called Aryaman, Varuṇa, Rudra, and Mahādeva (XIII. 4. 4). All the stars and the moon are under Rudra's control (XIII. 4. 28). The gods made Bhava the archer, the protector of the Vrātyas, or outcasts, in the intermediate space of the eastern region, Śarva of the southern region, Paśupati of the western region, Ugra of the northern region, Rudra of the lower region, Mahādeva of the upper region, and Īśāna of all the intermediate regions (XV. 5.1-7).

§ 81. In SB. (VI.1, 3.7) and KB. (6.1.9), Rudra is mentioned as the son of Usas; and, after he was born, Prajapati gave him, as he grew up, eight names, seven of which are the same as those given above from the AV. and the eighth is Asani, or the thunderbolt. It would be seen that the AV. regards the seven as different though allied gods, though once Rudra is identified with Pasupati. As in the case of the sun-god, the several ways of looking at him gave rise to the conception of several sun-deities such as Savitr, Sürya, Mitra, Püsan, etc., so the same terrible and destructive agency in nature, with its benignant and gracious counterpart, looked at from different points of view, gave rise to the belief in the seven different gods mentioned in the AV. They are all regarded as the names of one god in the SB. and KB., and an eighth name is introduced. Of these eight names, four-Rudra, Sarva, Ugra and Asani, are indicative of the destructive energy, and the other four, viz., Bhava, Pasupati, Mahādeva or Mahān devah, and Isana, of its beginant counterpart.

It will have been observed that the AV. brings in a new element, that of poisons, which the terrific god was believed to send forth and of his shafts being unfailing and unavoidable by gods and men. On the other, or the benignant side, Bhava is represented to be a shining king (Rājan). Rudra is the lord of all creatures. His range is far and wide. He controls the stars and the moon. He reigns in the sky and the middle regions. He is in fire and water, in plants and herbs, and in all beings; and he is the protector of Vrātyas in all quarters; and he is pre-eminently the ruler (Īšāna).

Thus the terrible and the destructive God became, when he was propitiated by men in a variety of ways, a benignant God and attained to the whole majesty of the godhead by the time of the YV. and AV., and it is on this majestic form of the god that the theosophic speculations of SU., which we will notice further on, are based.

§ 82. But the darker side of the nature of this god was never forgotten. A sacrifice called Sulagava is mentioned in most of the Grhyasūtras. A bull is sacrificed to Rudra to appease him (AG. IV. 9). The rite should be performed beyond the limits of a village, and its remains should not be brought into it, which rule sufficiently indicates the inauspicious character of the rite. The Vapa, or omentum, should be sacrificed to Rudra by uttering twelve names, seven of which are the same as the first three in the first group given above, and the four in the second group. Asani is omitted, and we have the following five additional names. Hara, Mrda, Śiva, Bhima, and Śamkara. Or the Vapā may be thrown into the fire by uttering six specific names only or the single name Rudra. This Śūlagava sacrifice should be performed in a cow-shed when a cattle disease has to be averted. In PG. (III. 8) the names uttered in throwing the oblations are the wives, Indrani, Rudrani, Sarvani, and Bhavani, HG. (II. 3. 8) has the same deities as the eight above-mentioned. Bhima being substituted for Asani; and oblations are given to the wife of each by repeating the formula "Bhavasya devasya patnyai svāhā" (to the wife of God Bhava) etc., and not by uttering their proper names.

Directions are given in PG. (III. 15) to render obeisance to Rudra and pray for safe conduct when traversing a path, coming to a place where four roads meet, crossing a river, getting into a ferry-boat, entering a forest, ascending a mountain, passing by a cometery or by a cow-shed and such other places. Similarly HG. (I. 5. 16) directs that a traveller should adore Rudra by repeating the specific formula given by him, when he comes to the crossing of four roads or to a heap of cattle-dung, when serpents creep, and when he is overtaken by tornado, or is entering a river, or comes to a variegated scene, sacrificial site or an old large tree.

It will thus be seen that, in the time of the Grhyasutras, Rudra was still a terrible god, who had to be appeared. He was the god that held sway over regions away from home, over fields, wildernesses, cemeteries, mountains, old trees and rivers. Whenever a man came to anything which inspired awe and terror, Rudra was the god thought of and prayed to protect. Herein lies the reason which rendered him in later times the omnipresent supreme lord of the universe to the exclusion of all other Vedic gods except Visnu. Many are the occasions in the life of man, which excite fear; there are epidemic and other diseases, poisons, serpents, storms, thunderbolts and wild and awful scenes, and consequently, the god who brings on these occasions, and protects when appeased, will be thought of oftener than other gods. The lovableness of the works of God. his greatness and majesty and his mysterious nature, are also matters which strike the mind of man; and these appear to have operated in bringing Visnu into prominence.

What contributed to the formation of Vaisnavism were the appearances and occurrences which excited love, admiration and a spirit of worship; while in Rudra-Śaivism the sentiment of fear is at the bottom, howsoever concealed it may have become in certain developments of it, and this sentiment it is that has worked itself out in the formation of various Rudra-Śaiva systems of later times. In the monotheistic religions of other countries the same god is feared and loved; in India the god that is loved in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, while the god that is feared is Rudra-Śiva.

III. Svetāsvatara and Atharvasiras Upanisads.

§ 83. Before we proceed to the consideration of the Rudra-Siva sects, we must devote some time to the consideration of a religio-philosophic treatise which represents the farthest point in the development of the idea of Rudra-Siva as a god worshipped by the Indian Aryas generally. This is the Svetāsvatara-Upaniṣad. It does not appear to be composed in a sectarian spirit. The elevated notions about the nature of God and his relations to man and the world, which had been reached in the time of the early Upaniṣads, have been disentangled from

their connection with the impersonal Brahman and transferred to the God who had at the time when the Upanisads were written, acquired a living and active personality in the minds of the people. This god was Rudra-Siva, who, as we have seen, had by the time of AV attained to the dignity of the supreme god.

After the preliminaries, the doctrinal points that occur in the first chapter are these: that there are three unborn elements in the world; of these the all-knowing and the ignorant, the ruler and the ruled, are two, and there is a third which has in itself materials of enjoyment and suffering (9): Brahman is of three kinds, viz, the sufferer or enjoyer, what is enjoyed or suffered, and the dispenser or mover. There is nothing further to be known (12). Pradhana is changeable, the immortal is unchangeable; Hara, the one lord, rules over the changeable and the soul. By meditating on him, by devoting oneself to him, by realising him, the whole ignorance is dispelled (10). By making one's body the lower block of wood, the syllable "Om" the upper, and by the act of meditation, which is (like) the rubbing of the two blocks against each other, one should perceive the hidden god (14). One finds that soul in oneself who seeks him by means of truth and exertion, as oil in seeds, butter in curds, or water in a spring (15).

The three elements mentioned in 9 and 12 are adopted by Rāmānuja in his system, and these texts are quoted by writers of that school. What is set forth in the tenth is similar to that which occurs in the sixteenth and seventeeth verses of chap. 15 of the BhG.

In the second chapter there is first of all a short mention of the Yoga processes, which lead to the perception of the supreme soul and the purity of the self. When by the purified nature of the individual self, as by a lamp, is known the nature of Brahman, or the god who is unborn, unchangeable, pure in every way, one is free from all bondage (15). The chapter closes with the verse which we have noticed as occurring in the AV.

In the third chapter, we have in the beginning a stanza which sets forth that those become immortal who know him who possessing a net, rules by his ruling powers, rules over all the worlds by his ruling powers, who alone is the cause of production and growth (1). There is only one Rudra—and they do not recognise another-who rules these worlds by his ruling powers, who is the inmost soul of all men, who contracts everything on the final day, and, creating all beings, protects them (2). He has his eyes everywhere, his face everywhere, as in RV. X. 81. 3 (3). May Rudra, the cause of the production and growth of the gods, the lord of the universe, the great prophet, and who formerly created Hiranyagarbha, endow us with a holy will (4). Then follow two verses from the Satarudriya, praying Rudra to look at the singer with his gracious countenance and not to do harm to men, etc. (5, 6). Knowing the lord (Īśa), who is the highest Brahman and the greatest of all, who dwells in the inside of all beings whatever their form, and who encompasses the whole universe, men become immortal (7). Then follow similar verses expressive of the attributes of the supreme God and prescribing a knowledge of him as the door to immortality.

As formerly remarked, a verse and a half in this chapter occurs word for word in the thirteenth chap of the BhG. It also deserves remark that the proper names of the supreme being that occur are Īsāna, Īsa, and Śiva; and the epithet Bhagavat, that is used also, deserves notice (11, 12, 15, 17, 20). In verse 20, which occurs also in the MU., there is Īsam for Ātmanah which is indicative of the peculiarity of this Upanisad which we have noticed. There are two verses from the Purusasūkta (RV. X. 90).

The fourth chapter opens with the expression of the desire that he who, himself being without form, creates many forms with a certain purpose, in whom in the end as well as in the beginning the universe exists, may endow the adorers with a holy will. Then follows the identification of this supreme soul with fire, sun, wind, moon and a variety of other objects (2-4). We have then the metaphor of one male goat lying down with the female goat and another male goat abandoning her after enjoyment, which represents the soul in the worldly and the delivered conditions (5).

¹ Ante, p. 31. [N. B. U.]

^{20 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

We have next the verse about two birds, the friends and companions of each other, resting on the same tree, one eating the fruit of that tree, and the other simply looking on without eating, which occurs in the RV. (I. 164. 20) and in the MU. (III. 1. 1). The next verse about the weak soul being deluded and in grief and being delivered from his sorrows when he sees the other soul, who is the ruler (\bar{I} sa), occurs in the MU. also (III. 1. 2) but not in the RV.

After two verses there is another, in which Māyā is called Prakrti and he who uses this Māyā is called Mahesvara (10). Mahesvara is a name of Siva. Having known the boon-giver, Išāna, who presides over every productive organ and in whom and from whom are all things, one attains eternal peace or serenity (11). Then there is a repetition here of a verse in the previous chapter (III. 4), with an unimportant difference of reading (12). Then occurs the second part of the verse in RV., which represents Hiran-yagarbha to be the lord of two-footed and four-footed animals (X. 121.3), the first part of the latter being paraphrased here (13). This verse was probably suggested by the occurrence of the name of Hiranygarbha in the previous verse.

Having known Siva (the auspicious), who is minuter than the minute, the creator of the universe, of many forms, and who alone encompasses the universe in this medley of the world, one attains eternal peace (14). That same lord of the universe concealed in all objects is the protector of the world in time. Devoting themselves to him and knowing him thus, the Brahmarsis and the deities cut away the nooses of death (15). Knowing Siva, concealed in all beings, who is as subtle as the essence of milk, other than the butter, knowing the god who alone encompasses the universe, one is free from all nooses (16). This god—this great soul—whose work is the universe always dwells in the hearts of men. He is determined by the heart, the intelligence, and internal consciousness; those who know this become immortal (17).

When there was simple darkness and no day or light, no entity or non-entity. Siva alone existed. He was the one unchangeable thing, and he was the bright light of the sun,

and from him sprang all intelligence (18). Here appears an idea similar to that expressed in RV. X. 129. No one can seize him above, transversely or in the middle. There is not another like him. Great is his glory (19). His form is invisible. Nobody sees him with the eye. Those who see him, dwelling in the heart, by the heart and the internal consciousness, become immortal (20). This verse is the same as in KU. (VI. 9), excepting in the third line, which there is the same as the third line of v. 17 above. The chapter ends with two verses containing a prayer to Rudra to protect, the latter of which is the same as RV. I. 114. 8.

In the first verse of the fifth chapter are mentioned two indestructible beings, Brahman and the other, who are endless, in whom there lie, unobserved, knowledge and ignorance. Ignorance is destructible, knowledge is indestructible; and there is another who rules over knowledge and ignorance (1). In the next verse is mentioned the birth of Kapila and his being fed with knowledge by him who presides over every productive energy (2). Giving various forms to each group (lit. net), the god resolves everything into the original principle. Creating again the lords of beings. he, the great soul, the ruler, wields sovereignty over all (3). As the sun illuminates all quarters, upper and lower and transversal. so also the god, the Bhagavat, presides over the natures of all productive energies (4). The original cause of the world makes natural powers develop, and brings to a mature condition those who are capable of development. He presides over this universe and puts into operation all the qualities (5). That is concealed in Upanisads, which contain the secret of the Vedas. That origin of Brahman, Brahmadeva knows. All the ancient gods and Rsis, who knew that, being absorbed in it, became immortal (6).

The Upanisad then proceeds to mention the individual soul, the lord of the vital airs, who performs actions and enjoys or suffers their fruit, possesses three qualities and follows three ways, and goes through a succession of births in consequence of his actions (7). He is as big as the thumb, bright like the sun, is conscious of himself, and wills, is as minute as the hundredth part of the hundredth part of the point of a hair, and is endless. In himself he is not a female nor a male nor sexless. This depends on the body assumed by him (8, 9, 10). He assumes many gross and

subtle forms in accordance with his qualities and the qualities of his actions and of the self. But he who effects their union, is another (12). Then follows a verse similar to IV. 14 and the latter part of 16 (13). In the last verse Siva, the God, the creator and destroyer, is said to be knowable by Bhāva faith, love, or the pure heart (14).

The sixth chapter appears to be a sort of resumé of what precedes. Among other things it is stated that he who promotes virtue and dispels sin, should be known as existing in oneself (6); that the one God is concealed in all beings, is all-pervading, the internal soul of all beings, presiding over all actions, the support of all beings, the witness of all, the life-giver, absolute and without qualities (11); and that, knowing the cause which is to be understood by means of the Sāmkhya and the Yoga, a man is free from all nooses (13).

After this follows a verse to the effect: "nor the sun nor the moon nor the stars nor lightning illuminate him (i. e., make him known); when he shines, everything shines after him, and by his light all this is rendered visible, or is illuminated ''(14). This verse occurs in KU. (V. 15) and in MU. (II. 2. 10). The work ends with an expression of the author's self-surrender to the god, who shines forth in one's own intelligence, who first created Brahmadeva, and who sent forth the Vedas—the god who has no parts, who does not suffer change, who is all peace, has no defects and is unpolluted, the bridge for crossing over to immortality, and who is like fire that has burnt fuel (18. 19).

§ 84. From this short summary, it will be seen that this Upanisad contains verses from the Samhitās of the RV. and YV. and others, which must have been in a floating condition, and were appropriated by the Mundaka and Katha Upanisads as well as by this; and a great many others, which have not been traced elsewhere, are original. All these contain truths about the nature of God, the individual soul and the inanimate world and the relations between them. The way to redemption is meditation on the Supreme Soul, which way is characteristic of the Upanisad doctrine in general. Certain Yoga processes are prescribed to render this meditation effective, and the final result is a percep-

tion of the Supreme Soul as existing everywhere, and this perception constitutes eternal bliss.

This treatise contains the theism of the Upanisad period in its most mature form with a God distinctly personal at the centre. The attributes of the Supreme Soul are often given in very general terms, and he is referred to by the non-sectarian general name Deva, but as often that Deva is identified with Rudra, Śiva, Iśāna and Maheśvara, and his powers are spoken of as Iśānis; but there is no indication whatever that these names have been given for the purpose of raising Rudra-Śiva to the supreme godhead to the exclusion of another god. Names indicative of Rudra-Śiva appear to have been used, since he was invested with a personality perceived and acknowledged by all. This Upanisad, therefore, is not a sectarian treatise like others promulgated in later times, and is often quoted by Śamkarācārya, Rāmānuja and other writers of the different schools, and not by those of one school only.

It must have been composed before the BhG., since the latter contains, as already stated, a verse and a half from it, and the nature of the religio-philosophic speculations contained in it. though essentially Upanisadic, make a nearer approach to the later Bhakti School than those of any of the older treatises of the class. The description of the godhead and of the final pure serenity are instinct with the glow of love and admiration, and the treatise ends with an expression of self-surrender to the god. who makes himself manifest in one's own intelligence. Svetāsvatara-Upanisad, therefore, stands at the door of the Bhakti School, and pours its loving adoration on Rudra-Siva instead of on Vasudeva-Krsna, as the BhG. did in later times when the Bhakti doctrine was in full swing. Vāsudeva-Krsna had a historic basis; and the circumstances which led to his being invested with the supreme godhead, occurred in later times. while in the age, in which the Svetāśvatara-Upanisad was composed. Rudra-Siva was alone in the field as the supreme god, and the germs of Bhakti, or love, which manifested themselves at the time, were directed towards him; but when Vasudeva-Krsna also came into the field, he appealed more to the hearts of men as the

¹ Ante, p. 31, and p. 153. [N. B. U.]

god who had come to dwell amongst them; consequently the germs of Bhakti speedily developed, and he became the object of the heightened feelings in preference to the other.

Uma-Haimavati.

§ 85. Up to the time at which we have arrived, we meet with no mention of the wife of Rudra or Siva, but in the Kena-Uranisad, which is certainly one of the earlier Upanisads, the name of Umā occurs. She is called Haimavatī, or the daughter of Himavat, but she is not mentioned in the KnU. as the wife of Rudra or Siva, though in later times she was known to be so. The story is: Brahman conquered the enemies of the gods for them, but the gods took credit to themselves for the victory and were proud of their achievements. Agni, Vāyu and Indra were sitting together, engaged in joyous conversation, when there appeared at some distance a spirit. Agni first went out to see what it was. The spirit asked him the nature and extent of his power and laid down a blade of grass, which it asked him to burn away. Agni was not able to do this and returned baffled. Then went Vayu, who also was not able to blow away the blade of grass; afterwards went Indra, and at his approach the spirit disappeared, . Indra was disappointed, but he saw a beautiful woman of the name of Umā-Haimavatī and asked her who the spirit was. She said it was Brahman. The story represents that condition of things, in which the old Vedic gods had lost their power or hold over men, and Brahman had come into prominence as the supreme spirit. Since it was Uma that disclosed the nature of the spirit, it may be understood that the Brahman mentioned was Rudra-Siva and Umā was his wife. It would thus appear that she had come to be so regarded some time before the Upanisad was composed.

§ 86. The Atharvasiras is another Upanisad appertaining to Rudra. It is a much later work as is shown even by the very variant texts before me, commented on by Nārāyana and Samkarānanda. The gods, it is said, went to heaven and asked Rudra who he was. He said that he alone was, is, or will be, and nothing else. He is in all the quarters, he is Gāyatrī, man, woman, etc., and thus a number of things are mentioned with which he is identical. Then Rudra was invisible to them, and they raised their arms and praised him saying: "He who is Rudra, is

Bhagavat, and who also is Brahmadeva, a bow to him". In the similar sentences that follow, instead of Brahmadeva we have Visnu, Maheśvara, Umā, Skanda, Vināyaka, etc. The sun and the constellation are also included. Then Omkāra is mentioned, to which many epithets and epithets of epithets expressive of divine attributes are given, and lastly it is called the one Rudra who is Īsāna, Bhagavat, Maheśvara and Mahādeva. Then follow the etymologies of the epithets or names. The only Rudra he is called, because he alone creates and absorbs everything. He is called Īsāna, because he rules by the powers called the Īsānis. Then follow four or five verses from ŚŲ. with different readings in some cases.

The substance of what follows is thus given by Samkarananda. For the knowledge of Rudra one should use moderate food, devote himself to reading (Sravana), thinking (Manana), etc., become a Paramahamsa, or a single-minded devotee, and spend his time thus. One should undertake the Pāsupata vow (Vrata), which is of the following nature. Greed and anger should be given up. Forgiveness should be realised. The muttering of Om should be practised, and meditation resulting in Avagati, or perception, should be resorted to. The text, of which this is the explanation, may be generally rendered thus :--"In the inside of the heart exists the subtle body, in which there are anger, greed and forgiveness. Destroying greed, which is at the bottom of human motives, and concentrating the mind on Rudra, who is one and eternal, one should be moderate in eating and drinking ". Then follows a precept to besmear the body with ashes by repeating the words: "The ash is fire, the ash is water, the ash is earth, everything is ash, the ether is ash, the mind, the eyes and other senses are ash." This is the Pasupata vow (Vrata), enjoined for the removal of the noose with which the Pasu, or the individual soul, is tied."

Here the besmearing of the body with ashes after repeating a formula, or Mantra, is prescribed as a vow for the devotees of Pasupati, or Rudra-Siva, calculated to effect a deliverance from the trammels of life. The expression "Pasupāṣavimokṣaṇa", which means the loosening of the noose tied round the necks of beings, is a characteristic of the Pāsupata sect. This Upaniṣad

therefore belongs to that sect. Before, however, we pass on to the consideration of this sect, we must cast a glance at the position which Rudra-Śiva holds in the Mahābhārata.

IV. Rudra-Siva in the Mahabharata and Linga Worship.

§ 87. At the beginning of the Bhismaparvan Krsna advises Arjuna to make an obeisance to Durgā before the commencement of the battle and pray for success. Arjuna does so after repeating a hymn in honour of Durga, containing the names of Uma, mother of Skanda, Kātyāyani, Karāli and a number of others. In the Vanaparvan Arjuna is represented to have gone to the Himālaya and practised austerities there. Some time after. Siva appears dressed like a Kirāta, and a severe fight ensues between them. Arjuna is overpowered in the end and lies on the ground exhausted. He then praises Siva, and, having made an altar of earth, puts flowers on it in the name of Samkara. These, however, appear as placed on the head of the Kirāta, whereupon Arjuna makes him out as Siva the object of his adoration, and surrenders himself to him. Siva becomes pleased and offers him whatever he wishes. Arjuna asks for the weapon presided over by Pasupati (Pāsupatāstra), which possesses the power of destroying all formidable enemies (chaps. 38-40).

In the Dronaparvan again, (chaps. 80-81) the attainment of the Pāsupatāstra, which appears to be of another kind, consisting of a bow and arrow, by Arjuna, is mentioned. Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa are spoken of as having gone to the Himālaya in a vision and seen Samkara at his dwelling. They bow their heads before him, sing a hymn in his praise, in which they call him the unborn, the creator of the universe, the unchangeable and utter the names which we have given as occurring in earlier works, and thus propitiating him ask for the Pāsupata weapon. They are directed to a lake where the Astra had been thrown. There they saw two venomous serpents, which, however, assumed at the time the forms of a bow and an arrow, and these Arjuna took away.

In the Sauptikaparvan (chap. 7) Asvatthaman is mentioned to have propitiated Samkara and obtained a sword from him. Siva himself enters into his body, and Asvatthaman

carries havoc and destruction with the terrible sword in the camp of the Pandus, killing all their progeny, and even Dhrstadyumna, who had cut off the head of his father Drona. Yudhisthira asks Krsna how he was able to effect all this. Krsna says that he did it through the power of Samkara and relates another story about Brahmadeva once told Samkara not to create. Whereupon Samkara concealed himself under water for a long time. When, therefore, there was no creation for such a long period, Brahmadeva created another Prajāpati, who brought into existence a large number of beings. These beings, being afflicted with hunger, went to Prajāpati to devour him. He, being afraid, went to Hiranyagarbha, who created two kinds of food for those beings · and then they were quieted. After some time Mahadeva rose out of the water, and seeing that new beings had been created and were in a flourishing condition, he cut off his organ of generation as no more necessary, and it stuck into the ground. He then went away to perform austerities at the foot of the Munjavat mountain.

There is a similar story about Mahādeva's having ceased to create and become a Yogin in the Vāyu-Purāṇa (chap. 10). Brahmadeva told Nilalohita (Mahādeva) to create, and bringing to mind his wife Sati, he created thousands of beings exactly like himself, who were immortal. Thereupon he stopped and rendered himself incapable of procreation. He then resorted to all those processes of the Yoga, which in the Purāṇa is called the Pāsupata-Yoga.

In the Sauptikaparvan, Kṛṣṇa continues the story of Mahādeva and tells Yudhisthira that when the gods created the rite of sacrifice and assigned no oblation to Rudra, he was full of wrath and destroyed the sacrifice; whereupon they assigned him a portion and the god was pleased.

In the Anusasanaparvan (chap. 14), Kṛṣṇa is introduced as recounting the glories of Mahādeva. He says, Jāmbavatī, one of his wives, expressed a desire for as good a son as Rukminī, his chief consort, had. To procure such a son he had recourse to Mahādeva, through whose favour only his wishes could be fulfilled. He then went to the Himālaya, on which Siva lived. On the way he saw the hermitage of Upamanyu. Upamanyu

21 [R. G. Bhandarkar's works, Vol. IV.]

enters into a long discourse on the beneficent deeds of Mahadeva. A list is given of persons, including many Daityas, who obtained their desired objects, such as sons, weapons, powers, etc., through the favour of Mahadeva, whom they had propitiated by rigid austere practices and other ways. One of these was Śākalya, to whom was granted the boon that he would be an author and would obtain immortal glory, and his son would be the composer of Sütras. The persons alluded to here must be the compiler of the RVS.. and the author of the Pada text. Upamanyu began to practise austerities to propitiate Siva at the instance of his mother, who, in describing the god's power and beneficence, spoke of him as dancing nakedly and of his having the quarters for his clothing (Digvasas). In the course of his austerities, Mahādeva, to test Upamanyu's devotion, appears before him in the form of Indra, and offers him many magnificent boons, which Upamanyu refuses, and declares that he would have boons from Samkara alone, and that he would become a worm or a butterfly at the command of Samkara, but did not desire even the sovereignty of the three worlds given by Indra. In the course of his narrative, Upamanyu says that Mahādeva was the only god, whose organ of generation (Linga) is worshipped by men. He and Uma were the real creators of animals, as these bear the marks of the two, and not the discus or the conch-shell or marks of any other god. Eventually Siva and Umā appeared before Upamanyu, seated on a strong towering ox, attended on the one side by Brahmadeva seated on the swan, his vehicle, and on the other, by Nārāyana on Garuda with the conch-shell, lotus, etc., and conferred on him all the blessings he desired. At his instance Krsna also entered on a long course of austerities, at the end of which Mahādeva with Umā appeared before him in the same manner as they did to Upamanyu. The god conferred eight boons upon him, and his consort eight more; besides she promised him sixteen thousand wives, and altogether the number of boons he obtained was twenty-four inclusive of the birth of such a son as he wanted.

§ 88. The characteristics of Siva, or Mahādeva, as brought out by these accounts appear to be these. He was a powerful, wrathful and impetuous god, but generous and bountiful, and

spared nothing when he was propitiated. Whenever a man conceived a desire for anything, he was the god to be appealed to for its fulfilment. He lived on the Himālaya with his wife Umā, Pārvatī, or Durgā, who had a number of other names such as Kālī, Karālī, etc., and was attended by a number of beings called his Ganas or hosts. His vehicle was an ox. He had, of course, all the attributes of the supreme godhead. He is represented as having betaken himself to the process of Yoga or contemplation, when he had ceased to be creative.

It will be seen that the object of worship in Saivism is the Linga, or phallus. We have found no trace of this characteristic in the earlier literature, so far as we have examined it, and the first time we meet with it is in this passage from the Anusāsanaparvan. We have had occasion in a previous section to remark that Rudra-Siva had a close connection with stragglers in the forest, with Vrātyas, or those who were not included in the Aryan community, and with the wild tribe of the Niṣādas, and also that the gods of these last were amalgamated with Rudra. Rudra's partiality for serpents and his being the lord of spirits or Bhūtas, were probably due to the influence of the serpent-worship and the devilry of the savage tribes.

There are two places in the RV., in one of which Indra is prayed to not to allow those whose god is Śiśna, to disturb the rites of the singers (VII. 24.5); and in another he is represented to have conquered the riches of a city after killing those whose god is Śiśna. Here evidently those whose god was Śiśna, or phallus, are meant as the enemies of the Vedic Aryas, who disturbed their holy rites. Notwithstanding all that is said about the matter, my own belief is that the persons here referred to were really some tribe of the aborigines of the country, who worshipped the phallus. Just then, as the Rudra-Śiva cult borrowed several elements from the dwellers in forests and stragglers in places out

¹ I do not, however, deny the possibility that when the SU. in IV. 11 speaks of the god Isana as presiding over every Yoni, and in V. 2, of the lord as presiding over all forms and Yonis, an allusion to the physical fact of the Linga and Yoni connected together, may have been meant as typifying the philosophical doctrine of gods presiding over every creative cause.

^{2 [} Ante, p. 149 N. B. U.]

of the way, so it may have borrowed this element of phallic worship from the barbarian tribes with whom the Aryas came in contact. This element, however, does not appear to have come in all at once, especially among the learned classes, whose beliefs are represented in the literature which we have examined.

The Linga worship had, it appears, not come into use at the time of Patañjali; for, the instance he gives under P.V. 3.99, is that of an image or likeness (Pratikrti) of Siva as an object of worship, and not of any emblem of that god. It seems to have been unknown even in the time of Wema-Kadphises, for, on the reverse of his coins, there is a human figure of Siva with a trident in the hand; and there is also an emblem, but it is Nandin or the bull, and not a Linga or phallus. But this element must have crept in early enough among ordinary people, who were in closer communication with the uncivilised tribes, and gradually made its way to the higher classes, of whose creed it subsequently became an article. And it is this final stage of its adoption by the higher classes that is represented in Upamanyu's discourse in the Mahābhārata.

From all that we have brought forward from the post-Samhitā literature, it will appear that Rudra-Śiva was a deity whose worship was common to all Āryas, and who was not at first a sectarian god. As above remarked, he was in charge of the field before the Vaisnava or Vāsudevic deities came in to contest his supremacy. The Grhyasūtras, which, as we have seen, give directions as to the adoration of Rudra under various circumstances, cannot be considered as belonging to any Śaiva sect. In the time of Patañjali, images of Śiva, Skanda and Visākha, made sometimes of precious metals, were kept for common worship by certain religious persons who derived an income from them?. The images of Śiva here alluded to cannot have been meant for the use of a particular sect.

¹ Ante, p. 157f. [N. B. U.]

² See his comment on P. V. 3. 99.

V. Origin and Diffusion of the Saiva Sects and the Several Classes of Siva Worshippers.

§ 89. A Śaiva sect is, however, mentioned even by Patañjali. The members of it were known as Śivabhāgavatas, or devotees of Śiva, the Bhagavat. —Śiva, we have seen, is called Bhagavat in AU.—A Śivabhāgavata carried in his hand an iron lance as an emblem of the deity he worshipped (under P. V. 2. 76).

In the Nārāyanīya section of MBh., the Fāsupata is mentioned as one of five schools of religious doctrines (Śāntiparvan, chap 349, v. 64). Śiva-Śrīkantha, the consort of Umā, the lord of spirits and the son of Brahmadeva, is represented to have revealed the tenets of that school (verse 67). Whether this statement is to be understood in the sense that its founder was a human being, afterwards recognised as an incarnation of Śiva, or whether it is a mere general statement like that contained in the BU. (II. 4. 10) that the Rgveda, Yajurveda, etc., are the breath of this great being, meaning nothing more historically than that the system gradually came into existence, without any special individual being concerned with it, is a question somewhat difficult to answer definitely; but there is evidence in the Purāṇas and Inscriptions, of the existence of a belief in favour of the first supposition.

The Vāyu-Purāna (chap. 23) and the Linga-Purāna (chap. 24) represent Mahesvara to have told Brahmadeva that when, at the time of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana during the twenty-eighth repetition of the Yugas, Vāsudeva, the best of Yadus, would be born of Vasudeva, he would incarnate himself as a Brahmacārin by the name of Lakulin after entering a dead body thrown into a cemetery; the place where this would occur, would be called Kāyāvatāra or Kāyāvarohaṇa, and he would have four pupils of the names of Kusika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurusya. These Pāsupatas, with their bodies sprinkled with ashes, resorting to the Yoga of Mahesvara, would in the end go to the world of Rudra.

Now, in an Inscription in the temple of Nātha near that of Ekalingji, 14 miles to the north of Udaipur, Rajputana, it is stated that Siva became incarnate as a man with a club (Lakula) in his hand, in the country of Bhrgukaccha, being pro-

pitiated by Bhrgu. Sages, Kuśika and others, conversant with the Pāsupata Yoga, and using ashes and wearing bark-dress and matted hair, are mentioned.

There is another Inscription, usually called the Cintra Prasasti, which states that Siva became incarnate in the form of Bhattāraka Śri-Lakulisa, and dwelt at Kārohana in the Lāta country. There appeared in bodily form four pupils of his of the names of Kusika, Gārgya, Kaurusa and Maitreya for the strict performance of the Pāsupata vows, and they became originators of four branches. The date of the first Inscription is Vikrama 1028, or 971 A.D., and the second was composed between A. D. 1274 and 1296. In another Inscription dated 943 A.D., found at Hemāvati in the Sira Taluka, Mysore, Lakulisa is represented to have been born again as Muninātha Chilluka to preserve the memory of his name and doctrines!

Mādhava calls the Pāsupata system that he explains in his Sarvadarsanasamgraha, Nakulisa-Pāsupata, and quotes a few words from what appears to be a work attributed to him. From all this it appears that there lived a certain person. of the name of Lakulin (the holder of a Lakuta, or Laguda, or Lakula, i. e., a club) who founded a Pāsupata system. Four schools sprang out of it, and their reputed founders, whether historical or legendary, were considered his pupils. Lakulin is the same as Nakulin, and the fact that his rise has been represented by the Puranas to be contemporaneous with Vasudeva-Krsna, points to the inference that traditionally the system was intended to take the same place in the Rudra-Siva cult that the Pañcaratra did in the Vasudeva-Krsna cult. We may, therefore, place the rise of the Pāsupata school mentioned in the Nārāyaniya about a century after that of the Pancaratra system, i. e., about the second century B. C.

§ 90. Before we proceed further, we will notice the extent of the diffusion of the creed. At the end of the commentary on the Vaisesikasūtras, the author Prasastapāda makes his obeisance to Kanāda, the author of the Sūtras, and characterises him as having composed the Vaisesikasāstra after propitiating Mahesvara by the

¹ See JBBRAS, Vol. XXII, pp. 151-153.

greatness of his Yoga (meditation or concentration), and Ācāra (practice). These two ways are common to both the Pāsupata and Śaiva systems, as will be seen hereafter, and Kanāda, therefore, may have been a follower of the Pāsupata or Śaiva system. Bhāradvāja, the author of the Uddyota, or a gloss on Vātsyāyana's Nyāyabhāṣya, is called Pāsupatācārya, or a teacher belonging to the Pāsupata school, at the end of his work.

Wema Kadphises, a powerful prince of the Kusana who ruled over a large part of Northwestern India about the middle of the third century A. D., styles himself on the or a member reverse of his coins a devotee of Mahesvara of the Māheśvara sect, and an Nandin and image of another of Siva with a trident in his hand occur on the obverse. Varāhamihira in the latter part of the sixth century, lays down the rule that the priests to be employed for the installation of an image of Sambhu, should be Brahmanas besmearing their bodies with ashes. By these he means members of a Saiva sect, since, in the case of other gods, the names mentioned are those of the sects founded in the names of those gods.

Haribhadra, an old Jaina author, speaks in his Saddarsana-samuccaya, of the schools of Gotama and Kaṇāda as professing the Saiva faith. But his commentator Guṇaratna, (who flourished in the latter part of the fourteenth century), calls the Vaisesikas Pāsupatas and the other school Saivas. This last must be a mistake, since Bhāradvāja of the Nyāya school is specifically spoken of as a Pāsupatācārya, as we have seen.

The Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsiang in the middle of the seventh century mentions the Pāsupatas twelve times in his book. In some places he says that there were temples of Mahesvara at which the Pāsupatas worshipped; in one or two temples, he says that they resided. And at Benares he found about ten thousand sectaries who honoured Mahesvara, besmeared their bodies with ashes, went naked and tied their hair in knots. These and those who lived in temples must have been like the Bairāgis, or ascetics, of modern times, who had given up the world; but probably the others mentioned by him were the

¹ Ind. Ant. Vol. XI, pp. 255-256.

followers of the Pāśupata faith who lived the ordinary life of householders.

In the copper-plate charter of Nāgavardhana, nephew of Pulakesin II of Mahārāṣṭra, who ascended the throne in 610 A.D., and was living in 639 A.D., a grant is recorded of a village near Igatpuri in the Nasik District for the worship of the god Kāpālesvara i. e., the lord of the wearers of garlands of skulls, and for the maintenance of the Mahāvratins residing in the temple. It will hereafter be shown that the name Mahāvratin, or observer of the great vow designated the Kāpālikas or Kālāmukhas. Thus there is evidence of the existence in the middle of the seventh century of the sect of Kāpālikas in Mahārāstra.

In the Karhad grant of Kṛṣṇa III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, the king mentions his having granted in Śaka 880 (=958 A. D.), a village to Gaganaśiva, the practiser of great austerities, who was fully versed in all the Śivasiddhāntas and was the pupil of Iśāṇaśiva, who was an Ācāṛya, or preceptor, and the head of the establishment at Valkaleśvara in Karahāṭa. These holy men and their establishment seem to have belonged to the Śaiva sect and not to the Pāṣupaṭa. The evidence for the existence of Kālāmukha and Śaiva sects in Mysore, in the latter part of the twelfth century, will be given in the next section.

Here it seems necessary to make another distinction. Bāṇa in the Kādambarī represents Pāsupatas with red clothing to have been among those who waited to see Tārāpīda's minister Sukanāsa at the door of his house for some private purposes of their own; but in another place he represents Vilāsavatī, the queen of Tārāpīda, to have gone to the temple of Mahākāla on the fourteenth (of the dark half of the month) to worship the god. Bhavabhūti in the Mālatīmādhava (Act III) represents Mālatī to have gone with her mother to the temple of Samkara on the fourteenth of the dark half of the month. This fourteenth day still continues to be sacred to Siva when special worship is performed. Now Vilāsavatī and Mālatī and her mother can hardly have been meant to be members of that sect, some followers of which with a red clothing were waîting at Sukanāsa's door. It, therefore, appears to be clear that all worshippers of Siva were not members of any of those

¹ JBBRAS, Vol. XIV. p. 26,

sects the names of which have come down to us, as observed in a previous section.

Rudra-Śiva had gradually from the earliest times grown to be a god commonly worshipped by the Indians, and he has continued to be their ordinary god to this day. The sects that subsequently arose were based upon specific methods of redemption, when religious and philosophic thought was advancing or perhaps declining, but the old god was resorted to by ordinary people without reference to them. And it must be remarked that those sects must have had a clerical or ascetic class as well as a class of lay followers or householders—and probably in some cases at least Hiuen Tsiang means these last by his Pāsupatas—and a class of Śaiva religious men, as distinct from lay followers, existed in Karahāta as we have noticed.

There were thus three classes of Siva worshippers:-(1) clericals or ascetics, (2) their lay followers, and (3) ordinary people who had no particular connection with any sect. The poets Kālidāsa, Subandhu, Bāna, Śrī-Harsa, Bhatta-Nārāyana, Bhavabhūti and several others adore Śiva at the beginning of their works. They may have been the lay followers of any of the sects, but, in all likelihood, they belong to the third class. For of these Subandhu, Bana and Bhatta-Narayana invoke Hari or another form of Visnu at the same time, thus showing that they were not exclusive adherents of one of the two gods. The many temples of Siva constructed by the early Calukyas and the Rāstrakūtas, and the Kailāsa and other cave temples at Ellora excavated by the latter, contain no indication of their being intended for a specific Saiva sect, and therefore they may be regarded as pointing to the diffusion of the general worship of Siva in Mahārāsira from the seventh to the tenth century.

VI. Names and Doctrines of the Saiva Sects.

§ 91. The older Saiva sects had and have a literature of their own, the so called Agamas attributed to Siva himself, and a number of works by human authors. But the literature has not yet been published nor even discovered. I have, therefore, necessarily to resort to the stray notices about the sects and their

^{22 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's works, Vol. IV.]

doctrines, contained in works not written by the followers of the systems except in one case. With the more modern sects the case is different, their literature having recently become available.

Samkara says that the Mahesyaras maintain that Pasupati has revealed five topics (Br. S. II. 2. 37). Thus the sects were known by the general name of Māheśvara, and Pasupati, or the god Siva, was believed to be their founder. Rāmānuja under the same Sūtra, which, however, is numbered 35, speaks of the systems as the tenets of Pasupati. Kesava Kāsmīrin calls the sects the followers of the "tenets of Pasupati." Śrikantha-Śivācārya calls them the "believers in the Agamas revealed by Paramesvara, or the great god". The name Mahesvara is the old name as is evident from the fact that Wema-Kadphises, as noticed above, and several later princes, especially of the Valabhi dynasty, called themselves Māheśvaras. Hiuen Tsiang, too, as we have seen, mentions temples of Mahesvara, at which the Pāsupatas worshipped. It also follows that all these sects were at the same time known by the name of Pasupata sects; and the founder of them all was believed to be the god Pasupati.

The same conclusion is to be deduced from the Mysore Inscriptions that have been published, the only difference being that the original teacher is called Lakulin or Lakulisa. In one Inscription dated 943 A. D., referred to above, it is stated that Lakulisa, being afraid that his name and doctrines would be forgotten, became incarnate as Muninātha Cilluka.\(^1\) This appears to be a general name applicable to all systems. In another dated 1078 A. D. one ascetic is called an ornament to the Lākula school and another is spoken of as "a hand to Lākula'\(^2\). This appears to be the general name and does not point to a specific sect. In a third dated 1103 A. D. Someśvara-Sūri is spoken of as having caused the Lākula doctrine (Siddhānta) to bloom. He is called a Naiyāyika and Vaisesika\(^1\). This shows

¹ Ep. Carn. Vol. XII, p. 92 (Translation).

² Ep. Carn. Vol. VII, Sikarpur Taluq No. 107.

that he belonged to the specific Pāsupata sect. In a fourth dated 1177 A. D. certain ascetics are called upholders of the Lākulāgamasamaya, i. e., the system based upon a work of Lakulin, and adherents of Kālāmukhas.2 Here evidently the Kālāmukhas are called Lākulas, which is the same as Pāsupatas. The names of the ascetics mentioned in this Inscription end in the word sakti and jlya, which appear to be characteristic of the Kālāmukha sect. In a fifth dated 1183 A. D. is noticed a grant to Nāgaśiva-Pandita, who is called an upholder of the Lākula system, and the names of his preceptors in the two preceding generations end in the suffix siva. Nagasiva is praised for eminence in Agama and in Sivatattva3. From the ending suffix siva in these names and the mention of a proficiency in Agama and in Sivatattva, it appears that Nagasiva was a follower of the Śaiva school and at the same time he was a Lākula, or Pāśupata. A sixth dated 1199 A. D. notices a grant of land to Bammadeva, son of Nagarasi, the promoter of the system based upon the work of Lakulin. The sufflx rasi is found in a great many names of the devotees of Siva. Whether it is a characteristic of a specific sect is not clear, but it appears that the bearers of it belong to the Pāśupata, or the Kālāmukha school. In a seventh dated 1213 A. D. a certain religious man is represented as the upholder of the system known by the name of Vagi-Lakula, i. e. the system

¹ Ep. Carn. Vol. VII, Pt. I, p. 64 (Translation).

² Ep. Carn. Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 135 (Translation).

³ Ep. Carn. Vol. V. Arsikere Taluq No. 89. Another holy person of the name of Nāga with the suffix rāśi instead of śiva is mentioned in Insor. No. 69 Arsikere Taluq (Ep. Carn. Vol. V. p. 137). A grant is therein recorded to Mādhajīya, a disciple of Nāgarāśi, who belonged to the Kālāmukhas and was himself the disciple of Padmaśiva-Pandita. Another Nāgarāśi is mentioned in Insor. No. 48 (Ibid.). The grantee in this case is Kalyāṇaśakti, disciple of Śivaśaktideva, who was himself the disciple of Nāgarāśi, "bound to the Kālāmukhas". This Nāgarāśi, or these two Nāgarāśis, appear to me to be different from the Nāgaśiva mentioned in the text. And the use of the termination rāśi in his case, he being a Kālāmukha, and of the word śakti in the case of two of the pupils, strengthens my supposition that these were characteristic of the Kālāmukha sect, the former being applicable to the Pāśupata also,

⁴ Ep. Carn. Vol. V, Arsikere Taluq No. 103.

of the learned Läkulin¹. In an eighth dated 1285 A.D. the grantor is called a supporter of the new system of Lakulin². This perhaps refers to the later school of Lingayatas.

Thus it will be seen that Lakula was the general name by which the Saiva sects were called, and the specific name Kālāmukha is associated with the general name in one case. This general name has for its basis the historical fact. noticed above. that a person of the name of Lakulin or Lakulisa founded a Saiva system corresponding to the Pancaratra system, which the Vayu- and Linga. Puranas consider to be contemporaneous with it. The other general name Pāśupata arose by dropping the name of the human individual Lakulin and substituting that of the god Pasupati, whose incarnation he was believed to be, as is done in the texts of the MBh. quoted above. But that the Saiva system had a human founder is confirmed by the fact that the name of his work, the Pañcādhyāyi, or Pañcārthavidyā, has been handed down, as will be shown immediately below, and probably the work is extant, even if it has not yet been discovered, as Mādhava mentions a gloss on the perpetual commentary (Bhāsva) on it, which also will be noticed below. The conclusion therefore appears to be that a certain historical person was the founder of the main Saiva system which was the same as that explained by Mādhava as Nakuliša-Pāšupata, and that three other systems arose out of it in later times.

The commentators of Samkara state that there were four of these schools bearing the names of Saiva, Pāsupata, Kārukasiddhāntin and Kāpālika. Vācaspati, however, calls the third Kārunikasiddhāntin. Rāmānuja and Kesava Kāsmīrin mention the same four schools, but call Kārukasiddhāntin by the name of Kālāmukha. The word Kāruka is probably a corruption of Kaurusya, the name of the third of the four (according to the Purāṇas) pupils of Lakulīsa, or this last name may be the Sanskritised form of the original Kāruka³. A work of the name of

¹ Ep. Carn. Vol. V, Arsikere Taluq No. 46.

² Ep. Carn. Vol. XII, p. 45 (Translation).

³ These four schools are mentioned in the Vāyavīyasamhitā of the Śiva-Purāņa (II. 24, 177). The Śaiva school, however, is called Siddhantamarga and the Kālāmukhas are called Mahāvratadharas.

Pañcādhyāyi, dealing with the five topics alluded to above and attributed to Pasupati, is mentioned by Kesava Kāsmīrin and is quoted by Rāmānanda on Kāsīkhanda¹. This must be the same work as that which is quoted from by Mādhava in the section on Nakuliša-Pāsupata and attributed by him to Nakuliša or Lakuliša.

VII. The Pasupata System.

§ 92. The five topics mentioned by Samkara and explained by his commentators are these (1) Kārya, or effect, which is Mahat and the rest produced from Pradhāna; (2) Kāraṇa, or the cause which is Isvara or Mahesvara and also Pradhāna; (3) Yoga, which is absorption in meditation or the muttering of the syllable Om, contemplation, concentration, etc.; (4) Vidhi, bathing (in ashes) at the three points of time, i. e., the beginning, the middle and the end of the day, and the rest up to Gūdhacaryā, i. e. incognito movement; (5) Duḥkhānta, which is final deliverance. This is amplified by Mādhava in the section on the Pāsupata sect.

I. Effect (Kārya) is that which is not independent. It is of three kinds: (1) cognition (Vidyā), (2) organs (Kalā), and (3) individual soul (Pasu). Of these cognition is the property of the individual and is of two kinds: (1) external, and (2) internal. External cognition is of two kinds: (1) distinct, and (2) indistinct. Distinct external cognition, which is educed by the instruments of knowledge, is called conceptual operation (Citta). For by the conceptual operation every man reduces to definiteness the thing

The occurrence of the names of the schools and of this book in the Purāna shows that its composition was later than the foundation of the schools, which, therefore, must be considered as owing nothing to it.

¹ See Aufrecht's Cat. Cat. The Väyavīya Samhita (II, 24, 169) also mentions this work, which it characterises as the highest theosophy (Vidyā) of Siva and gives Pañcārtha as its name, i. e. Pañcārthavidyā. This Pañcārtha appears to be alluded to by Mādhava when he refers his reader to the Pañcārthabhāṣyadīpikā in his section on Nakulīśa-Pāśupata. In an Inscription in the temple of Harṣanāth, which exists in the Sīkar principality of the Jaipur state, a person of the name of Viśvarūpa is mentioned as the teacher of the Pañcārtha-Lākulāmnāya, i. e., the sacred book of Lakulin, called Pañcārtha. The Inscription is dated V, E. 1013 = A. D. 957, so that there can be on question that the Pāśupata system was attributed to a human author named Lakulin, the work composed by him being called Pañcārtha Ep. Ind. II. p. 122).

that has been apprehended definitely or indefinitely by the aid of the light in the shape of the external object. The internal cognition is of the nature of virtue or vice, which forms the objective of the individual and determines for him the body of precepts he has to follow. Organs are dependent on the cognitive individual and are themselves insensate. They are of two kinds: (1) effects, and (2) causes. The effected organs are of ten kinds: the five elements, earth and others, and the five qualities, colour and others. The organs, which are causes, are of thirteen kinds: the five senses, and the five organs of action, and the three internal organs, viz. intelligence, egoism and mind, the functions of which are the determination of the will, the consciousness of the self, and the formation of a plan respectively. The individual (Pasu) is that which has individualism (Pasutva). It is of two kinds: (1) impure, and (2) pure. The impure individual is that which is connected with the body and the organs, while the pure one is unconnected with them. The details should be seen in the Pañcarthabhāṣyadīpikā and other works.

II. The cause (Kārana) is that which effects the destruction of the whole creation and its prosperity or promotion. Though it is one, still on account of its various properties and functions it has many forms, such as lord (Pati), naturally powerful (Sādya), etc. To be the lord means to have the unbounded power of knowing and acting. He is, therefore, the eternal ruler. To be a Sādya is to be possessed of supreme sovereignty, which is not incidental, but natural.

III. Yoga is the connecting of the individual soul with god through the conceptual faculty (Citta). It is of two kinds, consisting in (1) action, and (2) cessation from action. The first consists in muttering syllables and formulas, meditation, etc. The second, or cessation from action, consists in mere feeling (Samvid).

IV. Vidhi, or process, is an operation which effects or brings about righteousness. It is of two kinds: (1) primary, and (2) secondary. The first, or primary, is conduct (Caryā) which induces righteousness directly. That conduct is of two kinds: (1) vows, and (2) means or doors. The vows consist in besmearing

the body with ashes and lying down in ashes, definite practices (Upahāra), muttering and circumambulation. Thus has Nakulisa said: "One should be sprinkle one's body at the three points of the day and lie down in ashes." The definite practices are six. These have been stated by the author of the Sutras to be laughing. singing, dancing, Hudukkāra, prostration, and inaudible repetition. With these he says one should worship. Laughing is the making of the sound 'hā! hā! hā! by the forcible stretch of the throat and the lips. Singing is the contemplation of the attributes of Mahesvara in accordance with the rules of the science of music. Dancing should be resorted to by contracting and stretching forth hands, feet, etc. and all other principal and subsidiary limbs accompanied by the representation of feeling in accordance with the science of dancing and gesticulation. Hudukkāra is a holy sound resembling that of an ox made by striking the tongue on the palate. Huduk is an imitative sound like the sacrificial Vasat. When there is a crowd of people, all this should be done so as not to be observed.

The means, or doors, are these: (1) Krāthana, i. e. affecting to be asleep when one is awake; (2) Spandana, which is the moving or the shaking of the limbs as if they were paralysed; (3) Mandana, or the walking as if one's legs and other limbs were disabled; (4) Śṛṇgāraṇa, which is showing eneself to be in love by means of amorous gestures as if on seeing a beautiful young woman; (5) Avitatkaraṇa, which is doing a thing condemned by all as if one were devoid of the sense of discrimination between what should be done and what should be avoided; (6) Avitad-bhāṣaṇa, which is speaking nonsensical and absurd things.

Secondary processes are those which are intended to help the conduct (Caryā), such as besmearing with ashes after worship, and to remove the sense of indecency or impropriety attaching itself to begging and eating the remnant of what others have eaten. For this purpose the author of the Sūtras has laid down that one should besmear his body after the worship and wear the faded flowers and leaves which had been removed from the god and a Linga (the image of the phallus).

V. Duhkhānta, or final deliverance, is of two kinds; (1) total

destruction of misery, and (2) an elevated condition consisting in the possession of the power of knowing and acting. The power of knowing is of five kinds: (1) Darsana, or seeing all objects which are atomic, concealed or are at a distance, and touching them; (2) Sravana, or the miraculous hearing of all sounds: (3) Manana, or the miraculous knowing of all objects of thought; (4) Vijñāna, or the miraculous knowledge of all the sciences with that of the treatises on them and the matter contained in these last; and (5) Sarvajnatva, or the miraculous knowledge of the principles (of a science), whether mentioned or unmentioned, succinct and detailed, with their divisions and peculiarities. The peculiarities of the present system are such as these: In other systems the destruction of misery is final deliverance: in this system the attainment of the highest powers is also to be added. With others, that which comes into existence from non-existence is an effect; here the effect is eternal such as Pasu, or the individual soul. In other systems the cause depends for its operation on a subordinate cause; here the great lord acts independently. With others, the fruit of the Yoga, or concentration, is the attainment of an absolute condition; here it is the attainment of the highest powers. With others Vidhi, or process, has for its fruit heaven and other places, from which there is a return to mortal life; in this system the fruit is proximity etc. (to god), from which there is no return.

The power of acting, though one, is regarded as threefold:

(1) Manojavitva, or the power of doing anything instantly;

(2) Kāmarūpitva, or the power of assuming variety of shapes and forms or bodies and senses without an effort;

(3) Vikramaṇadharmitva, or the possession of great power, even when the operation of the senses is suspended. Thus then a man acquires these miraculous powers of knowledge and action at the end of a long course of conduct and discipline prescribed by the Pāsupata system.

It will be seen how fantastic and wild the processes prescribed in this system for the attainment of the highest condition are. Rudra-Siva was the god of the open fields and wild and awful regions away from the habitations of men and worshipped by

aberrant or irregular people. This character did impress itself on the mode of worship for his propitiation, which was developed in later times. The ŚU. endeavoured to humanise Rudra-Śiva; but the wild and outlandish character of the god prevailed. We will now proceed to the consideration of the Śaiva system which seems to have been established in later times. Here also Mādhava will be our main guide, since the many works that he quotes from are not available.

VIII. The Saiva System.

There are three principles: (1) the lord (Pati), (2) the individual soul (Pasu), and (3) fetters (Pāsa); and the whole system has four Padas, or parts, which are knowledge (Vidya), action (Kriyā), meditation (Yoga), and conduct, or discipline (Caryā). The first part contains an explanation of the nature of the individual soul (Pasu), fetters (Pāsa), and god (Īsvara). and determines the importance of formulas (Mantra) and the lord presiding over the formulas (Mantresvara). This leads to initiation (Diksa), which is necessary for the acquisition of the highest object of life. The second part contains an explanation of the process of initiation (Diksavidhi), which is of many forms and has many parts. The third part explains meditation, or concentration, along with its subsidiary processes. The fourth teaches discipline, or conduct, consisting in doing what is prescribed and avoiding what is proscribed. Without this Yoga is not possible.

I. Now the lord (Pati) is Siva. Siva acts, being impelled thereto by the deeds (Karman) of souls, and produces things to be enjoyed or suffered and their means. The exercise of his creative power thus depends on the Karman of man. He does everything; therefore, he is omniscient. God has not a body like that of an individual soul which has the fetters of taint and Karman, etc.; but he has a body made up of powers, certain specific five formulas (Mantras) being imagined to be the

¹ These five formulas, or Mantras, are contained in the TA. (X, 43-47) and in the Mahānārāyanīya ¿Up. 17. The commentator considers these to refer to the five faces of Siva, respectively. They are Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruşa and Išāna. They are also called forms of SivaOne of the Dānas, or charitable gifts, mentioned by Hemādri (Dānakhanda

^{23 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

different parts of his body. These five are his powers and are also considered his different forms, and by these he does the five actions, which are creation, existence or protection, destruction, concealment, and benefaction. The following four partake of the nature of Siva: (1) formulas (Mantras), (2) the deity presiding over the formulas (Mantresvara), (3) the great god (Mahesvara), and (4) delivered souls (Mukta).

II. The Pasu is the individual soul, who is atomic and known by the name of Ksetrajña (self-conscious) and others. eternal and all-pervading. It is not incapable of action nor is it one only, as is maintained by other schools of philosophy. When the fetters are removed, he becomes Siva, possessing eternal and boundless knowledge and power of action. The Muktas, or delivered ones, are Sivas, who have so become by the favour of him who is eternally Mukta, and is a person with five formulas (Mantras) for his body, i. e. he is identified with the god Siva himself. Though they become Sivas, they are not independent but depend upon the eternal god, Siva. Pasu is of three kinds: (1) Vijnanakala, who has shaken off his connection with all the organs (Kalāḥ)1 in consequence of the destruction of the impression of deeds done, by means of knowledge, meditation, asceticism, or by the enjoyment or suffering of the fruit (Bhoga), and has simple taint (Mala). The second is Pralayakala, whose organs are destroyed by the dissolution of the world. He has both impression of deeds (Karman) and taints (Mala). The third is Sakala, who has all the three fetters, taint (Mala), impression of deeds (Karman), and material cause (Māyā). Vijnānākala is of two kinds: (1) one whose taint (Kalusa) has ended, and (2) another whose taint (Kalusa) has not ended. The first are those, who, their taint (Kalusa) having ended, are elevated to the position of Vidyesvaras. The Vidyesvaras are eight and are as follows: (1) Ananta, or endless, (2) atomic, (3) the most excellent Siva, (4)

Vol. I, pp. 789-792 Bibl. Ind.) consists of five images made of gold or other metal fashioned in a particular manner of these five forms of Siva. In giving each a certain verse has to be repeated. These five forms are ident fied in a Saiva treatise with the earth, water, fire, wind an d ether, respectively, and they are considered as the creators of these elements in another, viz., Vira-Saiva-Cintāmaņi, Sholapur 1908 A. D.

^{1.} See previous section.

the one-eyed, (5) the one Rudra, (6) he with the three forms, (7) Śrikantha, and (8) Śikhandin. Another author says that Śiva invests the Samaptakalusa (one whose taint has ended) with Vidyesatva, which is of eight kinds, and the Asamāptakalusa (one whose taint has not ended) he raises to the dignity of fomulas (Mantras) which are seven crores. Pralavākala is also of two kinds. The first is one whose two fetters have matured (and about to be shaken off), and the second is different from him. The first attains Moksa, and the second, entangled with Puryastaka, undergoes many births in accordance with his impression of deeds (Karman). The Puryastaka is a subtle body, wich is composed of elements which are variously enumerated. Of those who have the Puryastaka, some, who are virtuous, are raised to Bhuvanapatitva by Maheśvara Ananta. Sakala is also of two kinds: (1) one whose taint (Kalusa) is matured, and (2) one whose taint (Kaluşa) is not matured. The first is raised to the dignity of Mantreśvara of 118 Mantras, i. e. of so many kinds. Parameśvara, assuming the form of his preceptor by the process of initiation and the use of power calculated to counteract the matured taint, confers Moksa. Those Anus or atomic souls, whose taint has not ripened (i. e. is not in a condition to be wiped away), are made to suffer or enjoy in accordance with their Karman.

III. Pāśa (fetter) is of four kinds: (1) Mala, or taint (2) Karman, or the impression of deeds, (3) Māyā, or material cause, and (4) Rodhaśakti, or obstructive power. Mala, or taint, is that which conceals the knowing and acting power of the soul and is like the husk enveloping a grain of rice. Karman is the impression of deeds done for the attainment of fruit. It is righteous or unrighteous. It is unbeginning, ever continuing in succession in the manner of seed and its sprout. Māyā is that into which the whole creation resolves itself at the time of dissolution and from which it springs out at the time of recreation. The obstructive power is the power of Siva which, because it regulates the three other fetters and conceals the true nature of the soul, is itself called a fetter. It performs its function, because it is the principle of speech by means of which names are given to things and thus their nature is determined.

^{1.} Sambhudeva's Saivasiddhantadīpikā, Sholapur 1909.

§ 94. This constitutes the first part of the system (Vidyapada). the nature of the other three parts has been succinctly given above. A few details are these 1: The second part (Kriyāpāda) treats of the accomplishment of Mantra, the twilight adorations, worship, muttering of formulas (Japa), throwing oblations into the fire, occasional ceremonies for the attainment of eternal bliss, anointing of the preceptor and of the person entering on a course of action for final emancipation (Sadhaka), and one's own initiatory ceremonies necessary to fit one for a wordly and for an eternal life. In the third, or the Yoga part are mentioned the thirty-six principles; the deities presiding over them; the lords of the different worlds; the individual soul; the all-ruling soul; the power (Sakti); the direct perception of Maya and Mahamaya, which are the causes of the world; the attainment of the miraculous powers, minuteness, lightness, etc. for those who concern themselves with the worldly element; the methods of the restraint of the breath, abstraction, meditation, concentration, and absorption in thought (Samadhi); and the positions of the circles in the body beginning with the root-circle (Mūlādhāra, or navel). The fourth part treats of penances, a purificatory ceremony (Pavitrāropana), the foundation, and the natures of Sivalinga, of the visible Linga of Umā and Mahesvara, and of the lord of Ganas. or groups, such as Skanda and Nandin, of the rosary used for the muttering of formulas, and the funeral Srāddhas. This last part appears to contain matters subsidiary to, and explanatory of, the actions enjoined in the second part. The proscribed actions mentioned above are: (1) the eating of the residue of what is offered to another deity; (2) the vilification of (a) Siva. (b) of the devotees of Siva. (c) of the system of Siva and (d) of the practices enjoined in the Saiva system; (3) the enjoyment of things belonging to God: (4) the killing of animals.

§ 95. The doctrines of the Śaiva school are more moderate and rational than those of the Pāśupata school. This last, as well as the two extreme schools to be mentioned next, are called Atimārgika, or schools that are away from the path or go astray, and are spoken of by Śambhudeva, quoted in the above paragraph, as revealed by Rudra. The Śaiva schools he calls the Siddhāntaśāstra, or the true

^{1.} From the same work.

Śāstra based upon the Mantras, and says that it was revealed by Siva. The Vāyavīyasamhitā also calls it the Siddhānta school.

It will have been seen that both this and the Pāsupata school are dualistic or pluralistic and maintain that the supreme and individual souls are distinct entities and the Pradhāna the constituent cause of the material world. In the delivered condition the individual soul shakes off its ignorance and weakness and attains boundless knowledge and power of action according to the Pāsupata doctrine, while the Śaivas hold that he becomes Śiva himself, i. e. attains perfect resemblance with the God Śiva without, however, the power of creation.

The Śaiva school, that developed itself in later times, and is represented by Śambhudeva and Śrīkanthaśivācārya, to be noticed hereafter, and supported also by texts in the Vāyavlyasamhitā, holds that Śiva possesses or develops in himself a Śakti, or power, consisting of the rudiments of the individual soul and the material world, and from this power the whole world is developed. This doctrine may, therefore, be called qualified spiritual monism like that of Rāmānuja, in-as-much as Śiva characterised by the Śakti creates. This last is a tenet of the Lingāyat school also.

IX. Kāpāla and Kālāmukha Sects.

§ 96. Rāmānuja tells us under II. 2. 35 or 36 that the Kāpā-likas maintain that a man who knows the essence of the six marks (Mudrikā) and who is skilful in their use, attains the highest bliss by concentrating his mind on the soul seated on the female organ. The six marks are (1) a necklace, (2) an ornament, (3) an ear-ornament, (4) a crest jewel, (5) ashes, and (6) the sacred thread (Yajāopavīta). He whose body bears these marks is free from transmigration. The Kālāmukhas hold that the following are the means for the attainment of desires concerning this world and the next:—(1) eating food in a skull; (2) besmearing the body with the ashes of a dead body; (3) eating the ashes; (4) holding a club; (5) keeping a pot of wine; and (6) worshipping the god as seated therein. A bracelet of Rudrāksa, one string of matted hair on the head, a skull, besmearing the body with ashes, and such other things are mentioned in the Saiva

sacred books. They also maintain that people of other castes become Brāhmanas and attain to the highest order by the performance of certain rites. For it is said "One becomes a Brāhmana immediately after the process of simple initiation, and a man becomes a holy saint by undertaking the vow of a Kāpāla".

In the Samkaradigvijava (chap. XV. vv. 1-28) Mādhava brings Samkara into contact with the Kāpālikas at a place which. according to the commentator, was Ujiavini. The preceptor of the sect came forward to meet Samkara. His body was besmeared with the ashes taken from a burning-ground. He had a skull in his hand and also an iron lance. He said to Samkara: "The ashes on your body are all right. But why dost thou carry an unholy potsherd instead of the holy skull? Why dost thou not worship Kapālin who is Bhairava? How will Bhairava become pleased unless he is worshipped by the skulls red with the blood of men and with wine?" Then ensues a fight between Sudhanvan. the king, who accompanied Samkara in his wanderings and the Kāpālikas. Samkara also pronounced a curse on them, and they were all killed. Then Krakaca, the leader of the Kāpālikas, coming up to Samkara, filled the skull in his hand with wine, drank half of it and left the other half and invoked Bhairava. Bhairava came up and Krakaca prayed to him to destroy his enemy; but as Samkara was his own incarnation, he destroyed Krakaca himself and not Samkara. In Anandagiri's book the Kāpālikas, whom Samkara meets at Ujjayini, speak of Bhairava being the great god, who creates, destroys, etc. They profess to have their knowing power sharpened by drinking wine and eating a certain kind of food (probably a disgusting substance) and always being embraced by the power (Sakti) of Kapālin, i. e. Bhairava. Bhavabhūti in his Mālatīmādhava gives Šrīśaila as the principal seat of the Kāpālikas. Miraculous powers of speedy movement attained by the practice of Yoga are attributed to them. The woman Kapālakundalā wears a garland of human skulls. She carries away Malati, the heroine of the play, from the place where she was sleeping in her father's palace in the dead of night and places her before the image of Karālā-Cāmundā

¹ Lines of ashes are borne on the body by ordinary Saivas also, and Sankara's body was marked with them.

near the cemetery to be killed and sacrificed to the goddess by her preceptor Aghoraghanta.

It will be seen how horrible and demoniacal this sect was. The fear which some of the phenomena of external nature inspire in the mind of man led to the Vedic conception of Rudra, and this has now culminated into the ideal image of the horrid god Bhairava with his wife Candika wearing a garland of human skulls and requiring human sacrifices and offerings of wine for his propitiation. In the account just given there appears to be a confusion between the sects of Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. From Rāmānuja's account the Kālāmukhas appear to be the most extreme sect; and they are called Mahavratadharas in the Siva-Purāņa as noticed above. Mahāvrata means the great vow, and the greatness of the vow consists in its extraordinary nature. such as eating food placed in a human skull, besmearing the body with the ashes of human carcasses and others which are attributed to the Kālāmukhas by Rāmānuja. Jagaddhara, the commentator on the Mālatīmādhava, however, explains Kāpālikavrata by Mahāvrata¹, and this explanation appears to be correct, since the ascetics dwelling in the temple of Kāpāleśvara in the Nāsik district are, as we have seen, called in the grant Mahavratins, or the observers of the great vow. The account of Kāpālikas given above from other authorities looks like those of the most extreme sect. Ordinarily, therefore, people do not seem to have made a sharp distinction between the Kapalikas and the Kalamukhas.

X. Kashmir Saivism.

§ 97. It is a relief now to turn away from this ghastly picture of the wild aberrations of the human intellect and spirit to a system of Śaivism more humane and rational. The Kashmir Śaivism has two branches, the Spandaśāstra and the Pratyabhi-jñāśāstra. The authorship of the first is attributed to Vasugupta and his pupil Kallata. The two principal works of the system are the Śivasūtram or Śivasūtrāṇi and the Spandakārikās which are fifty-one verses only. The first are said to have been revealed

¹ Act I, p. 33, on l. 127 of my second edition of the play.

to Vasugupta by Siva himself or by a Siddha, or perfected human being. They were inscribed on a rock on the Mahādeva hill, and Vasugupta was directed to the rock by Siva. Another account is that they were revealed by the god in a dream, and another account still further confers the credit of the revelation on the prefected human being. These two last occurrences are said to have taken place on the Mahadeva hill. As to the second work, there are also varying traditions, one ascribing the authorship of the verses to Vasugupta and another to Kallata. A third tradition, however, that Kallata obtained the knowledge of the system from Vasugupta and composed the Spandakārikās for the instruction of his pupils seems to contain the truth. What the meaning of the roundabout tradition about the Sivasutras which do not ascribe their authorship to Vasugupta directly is, it is difficult to say: perhaps the original work was the Spandakārikās and the prose Sivasūtras were composed in later times in the older or more orthodox form, and as Vasugupta was probably too near the time when they were composed and as what he did was known to all, a miraculous origin was given to the new Sutras and Vasugupta was represented to have received them from others and not composed them himself.

signs. Kallata lived in the reign of Avantivarman², 854 A. D., wherefore his Guru's literary activity must be referred to the beginning of the ninth century. The followers of this school boldly deny the necessity of God's having a prompting cause, such as Karman, or a material cause, like the Pradhāna, for the creation of the world. Neither to they admit that he is himself the material cause, as the Vedāntasūtras maintain, nor do they think that some principle of illusion, such as Māyā, generates appearances which are false. God is according to them independent and creates merely by the force of his will all that comes into existence. He makes the world appear in himself, as if it were distinct from himself, though not so really, as houses or even towns appear in a mirror, and is as unaffected by it as the mirror is by

¹ For these various traditions see my Report on the Search for Sanskrit

Manuscripts during 1883-84, p. 77f. [= Volume II of this Edition p 199f.

² Buhler, Report of a Tour made in Kashmir, p 78

the images reflected in it. Neither does he exist only as realised in the world, which is the conclusion that follows from the doctrine that he is the material cause. In a verse attributed to Vasugupta an obeisance is made to Sūlin, or Siva, who is represented as portraying a picture of the world without a canvass and a collection of materials.¹

Another illustration that they give of creation without any material or prompting cause is that of a Yogin who creates objects by his mere will without any materials. God himself by his own wonder-working power appears in the form of the many individual souls, and by means of another power, brings into existence the state of things which goes to form what we call the wakeful and dreamy condition of our life.² Thus according to this system the individual soul is identical with the supreme soul. But the former does not perceive this identity on account of his impurity.

This impurity, or Mala, is of three kinds. When a soul forgets his own free and universal nature through ignorance, and believes himself to be imperfect, and regards things, such as the body, which are not himself, to be himself, and thus reduces himself to finiteness or subjects himself to limitations, the impurity is called Aṇava (littleness). Then his remaining in the body, which is prepared by the originator of things, called Māyā, is another species of impurity known as Māyīya, or effected by Māyā. And when under the influence of the internal organ, or the heart, the organs of action are set in motion, the impurity arising from it is called Kārma, or resulting from action, such as that consisting in a man's consciousness of having done a good or evil deed which is to lead to happiness or misery in the end. These several kinds of impurity are brought into action by Nāda, which is the

¹ See Mādhava's Sarvadaršanasatingraha, Pratyabhijāādaršana. This verse is quoted in the Kāvyaprakāśa, Chapter IV; and by other writers on Alamkāras.

² See the first note on p. 80 of my Report for 1883-84 = [Volume II of this Edition, p. 203n2 N. B. U.]

³ Sivasutravimaršini by Kşemarāja under Sūtra I, 2 and 3, published by the Kāmira Government.

^{24 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's works, Vol. IV.]

female element constituting a primeval power (Śakti) of Śiva and from which rises speech.

Without speech the ideas which render a worldly life possible cannot stand, or assume a shape or form, and therefore the principle of speech is believed to be the origin of the Mala, or impurity, which leads to a worldly life. This power is associated with others which are personalised as Ambā, Jyesthā, Raudri, Vāmā.

The impurity vanishes when by means of intense contemplation the vision of the highest being breaks in upon the mind of the devotee and absorbs all finite thought. When this condition becomes stable, the individual soul is free and becomes the supreme soul. The breaking in of the vision is called Bhairava, because it is his and is caused by him.²

§ 99. The founder of the Pratyabhijñā school of Kāśmira Śaivism was Somānanda, the work written by whom is called Śivadṛṣṭi. But the principal treatise of the school was composed by his pupil Udayākara, and contains verses which are called Sūtras. On these Sūtras there are glosses and detailed explanations by Abhinavagupta, the pupil of the pupil of Somānanda. Abhinavagupta wrote between 993 and 1015 A. D., wherefore Somānanda must be taken to have lived in the first quarter of the tenth century.

The doctrines of the creation of the world and of the relations between the individual and supreme souls set forth by this school are the same as those maintained by the preceding one. But the way of the perception of the identity is recognition according to this system. There is an Upanisad text⁵, from which it follows that every thing shines when He shines and

¹ Ibid. Sūtra 4, and Spandapradīpikā, V. 42. These several kinds of Mala and Nāda correspond to Pāśas, or fetters, viz., Mala, Karman, Māyā and Rodhaśakti given by Mādhava in the Śaivadarśana. The word Mala stands here for the Pāśa of that system and Āņava for its Mala. It is also called Āņava by Śambhudeva.

² Sivasutravimarkini, I. 5.

³ Buhler, Report of a Tour made in Kaśmīr; extract from Nos. 465-66, p. CLX. 4Ibid. pp. 81-82.

⁵ KU. 5 15; SU. 6 14; MU. 2, 2, 10.

that everything becomes perceptible by His light, and thus our knowing power is the same as God's and everything outside of us becomes an object of knowledge by his illumining power. Capable of knowledge and action as we are, we partake of the nature of God; but there is no reason to place a limit to this participation, and it must be understood that we are God himself. But the joy and elevation, characteristic of God, we are unconscious of in our present condition, and that is due to the fact that we do not recognise that we are God, though we are really so. Just as a maiden, stricken with love for a youth whose excellences have been described to her, is not filled with raptures when she is carried to him and looks upon him as an ordinary individual, but is overjoyed and devotes her whole soul to him when she is told that he is the man whose excellences had so fascinated her, so is it with the individual soul. serene bliss of godly nature he does not feel, though he is himself God, because he is not aware that those high attributes which belong to the divine nature exist in him. But when he is led to believe by his preceptor that he possesses them, i. e., when by his instructions he is enabled to recognise God in himself, then it is that the serene bliss dawns upon him. The Spanda school mentions the dawning of the form or vision of Bhairava, or God, on the mind in the course of meditation and thereby the clearing away of the impurities as the way to the realisation of the identity with God, while this maintains that recognition of oneself as God is the way.

According to Mādhava, these two systems do not enjoin restraint of the breath, concentration, and all that course of fantastic external and internal conduct or discipline which the other schools prescribe as essential. These two schools apparently cut themselves off from the old traditional Saivism, which gradually developed itself into the ghastly Kāpālism or Kālāmukhism, and hence the epithet Pāsupata or Lākula cannot be applied to them in any sense. A fresh revelation, therefore, was claimed for Vasugupta, though some of the doctrines of the more sober Saiva school were preserved in the Spanda system.

XI. The Virasaiva or Lingayat Sect.

§ 100. The foundation of this sect is generally attributed to

Basava, who was the son of Mādirāja, a Brāhmana supposed to be of the Ārādhya sect. His story is given in the Basavapurāna' published in 1905, at Poona. From this story it by no means follows that he founded the sect by settling its doctrines and founding what may be called a church. He, however, appears to be a strenuous supporter of the sect. In the beginning of the Basavapurāna, Nārada is represented to have gone to Śiva and told him that on earth there were devotees of Viṣnu, followers of the sacrificial religion, Jainas and Buddhists, but that there were no devotees of his. He mentions Viṣveṣvarārādhya, Panditārādhya, Ekorāma, the great Yogin, and others as having flourished from time to time and established Śivabhakti, but there is none now. Śiva thereupon told his Nandin to become incarnate on earth for the promotion of his religion and the furtherance of the cause of Virasaivas.

From all this it does not appear that Basava was the originator of the sect. He had predecessors, three of whom have just been named. His was a life of political turmoil. From his native place Bāgevādi he went to Kalyāna, when Vijjala or Vijjana, was reigning (1157-1167 A. D.). His maternal uncle Baladeva was the minister of the king, and he himself was raised to the position after his death. Basava's sister, a beautiful woman, was married by the king. He was in charge of the king's treasury and spent large amounts in supporting and entertaining members of Lingayat mendicants, called Jangamas. The matter came to the notice of the king Vijjana, who gradually became completely alienated from him, and endeavoured to apprehend him. fled away, and the king sent a few men in persuit. These were easily defeated by Basava, whereupon the king himself advanced with troops to punish him; but Basava had collected a large number of followers and succeeded in defeating him. The king was reconciled to Basava and brought him back to Kalyana, but there could be no true reconcilement, and after a time Basava caused the king to be assassinated.

¹ This book and a good many others appertaining to the Lingayat sect have been published under the patronage of an influential and enlightened member of the sect, the late Mr. Mallappa Varada of Sholapur.

§ 101. There is a work entitled Vijjalarāvacarita by a Jaina. which also gives an account of Basava and his relations with Vijjana. It is written from the point of view of an enemy of Basava, and mentions Basava's sister as having been given to the king as a mistress, which was perhaps true. But since the Lingayat account and the Jaina account agree in the main particulars, they may be accepted as historical. Basava thus was a scheming politician and could hardly have been the propounder of a new system of doctrines or the organiser of a new sect. Besides, in the many Lingayat works now available, his name is not mentioned as the name of a teacher of any articles of faith. What he did, therefore, appears to have been that he used his political influence to raise the fortunes of the Virasaiva sect, to bring it into prominence, and to disseminate the creed. There is another man who has been brought forward by Dr. Fleet, on the strength of certain Inscriptions, as the founder of the Lingayat sect and that is Ekanta, or Ekantada, Ramayya. An account of this person is also given in the second part of the Basayapurana, and this and that in the Inscriptions come to this that he was an enemy of the Jainas and wished to destroy their gods and shrines. He laid a wager with them that he would cut off his head and lay it at the feet of Siva, and if it should be restored to him and replaced on his shoulders as it was before, the Jainas should consent to throw down their idols and profess a belief in Saiv'sm. According to the Inscription, this was first done at Ablur at the place where it exists, and when Rāmayya compelled the Jainas to destroy their idols, they went to Kalyana and complained to King Vijjana, who thereupon summoned Rāmayya into his presence and required him to explain why he did so. He offered to repeat the feat of cutting off his head and getting it back again in the presence of the king. The Basavapurana represents Basava himself to have been present when Ramayya laid this wager. So that beyond undermining the Jaina sect there is no evidence of Rāmavya's having built up the Virasaiva creed.

§ 102. In connection with Dikṣās, or initiatory ceremonies, as, for instance, that which one has to go through when one has to

¹ For the Lingāyat account see the translation of the Basavapurāna, Journ. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, or the Basavapurāna itself, printed at Poona, and for the latter see Wilson's Mackenzie Mss.

choose a Guru, or preceptor, it is necessary to place four metallic vessels full of water at the four cardinal points and one in the middle. This last belongs to the person to be consecrated as Guru or preceptor, who is supposed to represent an old Acarya, or teacher, of the name of Viśvārādhya, and the other four to four other priests chosen as having been brought up in the schools of Revanasiddha, Marulasiddha, Ekorāma and Panditārādhya and connected with certain Mathas, or establishments. The same list is given in another treatise.2 These five vessels are consecrated to the five faces or forms of Siva, Sadyojata, etc. mentioned in a former section.3 The Acaryas, or teachers, named above are believed to have sprung from the five forms of Siva in this Kali age. Others bearing other names, born in other ages of the world, are also mentioned, but with these we have nothing to do. Of these five teachers three at least are mentioned as having preceded Basava in the passage quoted at the beginning of this section.

It will thus appear that the Virasaiva, or Lingāyat, system came into existence before Basava. It is affiliated to the moderate or sober school of Saivas known by the name of Saivadarsana, or Siddhāntadarsana as it is called by its followers; and especially to the later form of it alluded to before. But its technical terms, Sthala, Anga, Linga, etc. and its ideas are entirely different from those of that school as explained by Mādhava and others. And these terms we do not meet with elsewhere, so that this was a modern school. When it originated, it is difficult to say. But it was clearly in a militant condition in the time of Basava. It must, therefore, have originated about a hundred years before. The names of two at least of the five teachers as given above end in the word ārādhya, while in other books all the five have that epithet attached to their names. This was the name of a sect allied to the Lingāyats.

¹ Vivekacintāmaņi Pūrvabhāga, Sholapur 1909 A. D. pp. 230ff.

² Virasaivācārapradīpikā, Poona 1905 A. D., pp. 33-37.

⁸ P. 177, note 1.

⁴ PaficEceryapaficamotpattiprakaraņa, Bombay 1903 A. D., p. 1.

^{5 4 95.}

⁶ Pańczcaryapańcamotpattiprakarana p. 35.

Of the five Acāryas represented by the five metallic vessels, Mr. Brown' does not mention the middle one and calls all the other four Ārādhyas, so that all the five preceptors honoured at the time of initiation and other ceremonies belong to the Ārādhya sect, which, according to Mr. Brown, was a sect of the Virasaiva creed. There has been a good deal of ill-feeling between the Ārādhyas and the ordinary Lingāyats, and that appears to be due to the retention by the former of some Brāhmanic rites, such as repeating the holy Gāyatrīmantra and wearing the sacred thread. But the very name Ārādhya, which means one to be adored or worshipped, shows that, before the contention between the two sects arose the Ārādhyas enjoyed very great respect.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, what appears to be the truth is that the Virasaiva creed was reduced to a shape by the Ārādhyas, who must have been men of learning and hely living, and the subsequent reformers, such as Basava, gave it a decidedly uncompromising and anti-Brāhmanical character. And thus these two sects of the Virasaiva faith came into existence. We will now give a short account of the doctrines of this school.

§ 103. The One, Highest, Brahman, characterised by existence (Sat), intelligence (Cit), and joy (Ananda), is the essence of Siva (Śivatattva) and is called Sthala. Then are given explanations as to why it is cal'ed Sthala, two of them based upon an artificial etymology. In the supreme Brahman, or the essence of Siva, Mahat and other principles exist and are eventually resolved into In the first existence the universe, arising from Prakrti and Purusa, and to it it returns at the end; therefore it is called Sthala. (The first part stha signifies sthana, or standing, and the second part la signifies laya, or resolution.) That name is given to it also because it is the support of the whole moveable and immoveable world and holds all powers, all luminaries, and all souls. It is the resting place of all beings, of all worlds, and of all possessions. It is the highest place to be attained by those who seek the highest happiness, and therefore it is called the One only and non-dualistic Sthala (position).

By the agitation of its innate power (Sakti), that Sthala be-

² Madras journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XI.

comes divided into two: (1) Lingasthala, (2) Angasthala. Lingasthala is Siva or Rudra and is to be worshipped or adored, while the Angasthala is the individual soul, the worshipper or adorer. In the same manner, the Sakti, or power, divides herself into two by her own will, one of the parts resorting to Siva and being called Kalā, and the other resorting to the individual soul and being called Bhakti, or devotion. Sakti, or power, has got a certain susceptibility, which leads it to action and entanglement with the world, while Bhakti is free from that susceptibility and turns away from action and from the world and leads to final deliverance. The Sakti, or power makes one an object of worship, while Bhakti makes one a worshipper; therefore, the former exists in the Linga or Siva, and the latter in the Anga or individual soul. Eventually, by this Bhakti, there is a union between the soul and Siva.

The Linga is Siva himself, and not a mere external emblem of him. The Lingasthala is divided into three: (1) Bhāvalinga, (2) Prāṇalinga, and (3) Istalinga. The first is without any parts (Kalā) and is to be perceived by faith. It is simple Sat (existence), not conditioned by space or time, and is higher than the highest. The second is to be apprehended by the mind and has parts and is without parts. The third has parts and is apprehensible by the eye. This confers all desired (ista) objects and removes afflictions; or it receives its name because it is worshipped (ista) with care. The Prāṇalinga is the intelligence (Cit) of the Supreme Soul, and Istalinga, the joy. The first is the highest principle, the second is the subtle form, and the third, the gross form.

These three Lingas, corresponding to the soul, the life and the gross form, and being characterised by use (Prayoga), formulas (Mantra) and action (Kriyā), form what are called Kalā, Nāda and Bindu. Each of these three is divided into two; the first into Mahālinga and Prasādalinga, the second into Caralinga and Sivalinga, and the third into Gurulinga and Ācāralinga. These six operated on by six kinds of Sakti, or power, give rise to the following six forms. (1) When the Siva essence is operated on by the power of intelligence (Cit), it forms the Mahālinga, the attributes of which are the absence of birth and

death, freedom from taint, perfection, unity, subtleness, being higher than the highest, incorruptibility, unfathomableness. capability of being apprehended by faith and love, and idealistic (Caitanyarūpa). (2) When the Siva essence gets permeated with its highest power (Parasakti), then is produced a principle called Sādākhya1 which is light, eternal, indivisible, imperceptible to the senses, apprehensible by reason, indestructible, and the rudiment that develops; and that principle is called Prasadalinga. (3) When the Siva essence is operated on by its primeval power (Adišakti), Caralinga is produced, which is infinite and pervades the internal and external world, which is full of light, is a Purusa (a person), and is higher than the Pradhana or Prakrti. and capable of being contemplated by the mind alone. (4) When permeated by the will power (Icchāśakti) it forms Śivalinga, which is a finite principle with a sense of egoism, possessed of knowledge and power (Kalā), having a celestial refulgence, with one face, and serene. (5) When permeated with the power of knowledge (Jñānašakti) it forms a Gurulinga, which possesses agency, presides over every system or science that instructs, is full of light, a boundless ocean of joy, and dwells in human intelligence. (6) When influenced by the power of action (Kriyāśakti), it is called Ācāralinga, which in the shape of action serves as the support for the existence of all things, which is conceivable by the mind, and leads to a life of renunciation.

It will be seen that the original entity becomes divided into God and individual soul by its innate power, and the six forms of the first, that are mentioned, are the various ways of looking at God. The first form is the infinite Being considered independently. The second is the form in which we conceive of him as developing or creating by its highest power. The third is the form in which he is conceived as distinct from the material world. The fourth is a bodily form, the body, how-

¹ The Sādākhya is the product of the combination of the principle, the Sīva essence, with the two of the five powers, Parā and Ādi. The Sādākhyas are five: (1) Sīvasādākhya, which develops into Sadāsīva; (2) Amūrta, or sot finite, which becomes Iśa; (3) Samūrta, or finite, which results in Brahmeśa; (4) Kartr, or agent, which becomes Iśvara; (5) Karman, or action, which develops into Iśāna. The Sādākhya alluded to in the text must be Sadāśiva.

^{25 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

ever, not being made up of ordinary matter, but celestial like the body attributed to Nārāyaṇa, or Kṛṣṇa, by the Vaiṣṇavas. The fifth is the form in which he instructs mankind. And the sixth involves the idea of his guiding the individual soul in his actions until he is delivered. In this form Siva is the Redeemer.

Bhakti is the characteristic of the individual souls. It consists in a tendency towards God, and there are three stages in the progress of this tendency and, corresponding to these, there are three divisions of the Angasthala, or the subject of the individual soul. The first or highest division is called Yoganga, the second Bhoganga, and the third Tyaganga. By the first, a man obtains happiness by his union with Siva; by the second, he enjoys along with Siva; and the last involves the abandonment of the world as transient or illusory. The first corresponds to the resolution into the cause and to the condition of sound sleep. the second to the subtle body and to dreamy sleep, and the third to the gross body and to the wakeful condition. Two varieties of each of these are distinguished. Cf the first, or Yoganga, we have the two, Aikya and Sarana. The first consists in sharing the joys of Siva after one is convinced of the unreality of the whole world. This is called Samarasa Bhakti, in which God and the soul are united in blissful experience. The second is called Saranabhakti, in which one sees Linga, or God, in himself and everything else. It is a condition of joy for oneself. The second is also of two kinds: (1) Pranalingin and (2) Prasadin. The first consists in abandoning all regard for life, renunciation of egoism, and concentration of the whole mind upon the Linga, or God. The second is realised, when one resigns all the objects of one's enjoyment to the Linga, or God, and serenity (Prasada) is acquired. The divisions of the last are Mahesvara and Bhakta. The first is one who has a firm belief in the existence of God, who goes through the whole discipline consisting in the observance of vows and restraints, which have Siva for their object, and truth, morality, cleanliness, etc. and a heroically rigid vow based upon a firm belief in the unity of the Linga, or God. A Bhakta is one, who, turning his mind away from all objects by which it is attracted and practising devotion and rites, lives a life of indifference to the world.1

This represents the progress of the soul from indifference to the world, which is the first step, through the intermediate stages, in a reverse order, to Sāmarasya, or union in blissful experience with Siva, which is the highest condition. The goal thus pointed out does not involve a perfect identity between the supreme and individual souls, or the shaking off of individuality and becoming a simple soul unconscious of itself, which is the doctrine of the great non-dualistic school of Samkara.

The belief of the Virasaiva school that the original essence of Siva divided itself by its own innate power into Linga or God. and Anga, or the individual soul, and under the influence of other powers the essence became the creator of the world, shows that the doctrine of that school is that the rudiment of the creation exists in God himself in the shape of his power, but this power is not unreal. This doctrine, therefore, resembles that of Ramanuja, but with the latter there is a real rudiment of the soul and of the external world characterising God which afterwards develops, but with the Virasaivas there exists a power only in God which leads to creation: so that it is the power that characterises God according to the latter, while the rudiment is his characteristic according to the former. The Lingayat school, therefore, is a school of qualified spiritual monism (Visistādavaita). It will also have been seen that the method of redemption taught by this school is, that of Bhakti or love of God, and a course of moral and spiritual discipline up to the attainment of Samarasya with Siva. In this respect also it resembles Rāmānuja's system.

Śrikanthasiyācārya, whose Bhāsya on the Vedāntasūtras has long been before the public, holds the same view. Under I. 4. 22, he states that the word Atman in the sense of the individual soul is used to express the supreme soul in BU. (IV. 5. 6), because the latter is the internal controller of the former and is spoken of as identical with everything in this sense. Under II. 2. 38, he states that Siva as possessed of powers is the material cause of the world;

¹ The above is an abstract of the matter contained in the Anubhavasutra of Mayideva, Sholapur, 1909,

and in his comment on IV. 4. 3—4, he represents the delivered soul as similar to the Supreme Soul, that is, as having the attributes of the latter. And under IV. 4, 2, he speaks of the delivered soul as Samarasa, or united in blissful experience with the Supreme Soul. Thus Srikantha's view appears to be identical with that of the Virasaivas. Therefore unlike the four older schools (Pāsupata and others), which are dualistic, these three Śaiva schools hold a doctrine of qualified spiritual monism.

§ 104 The highest class of Lingayats is composed of those who call themselves Lingi-Brahmnas, the other castes or classes who wear the Linga being simply their followers. The Lingi-Brahmanas consist of two main classes, the Acaryas and the Pancamas. The legendary account given of these is as follows. The Acarvas were originally five in number and sprang from the five faces, Sadyojāta, etc., of Śiva spoken of in a former section. They are the same as those mentioned above as having a metallic vessel placed in their names on the occasion of any holy ceremony. From these five have sprung up all the priestly classes now existing. These five had five Gotras, viz. Vira, Nandin, Vṛṣabha, Bhrngin, and Skanda, who were originally persons almost as high as Siva himself. From the Isana face of Siva sprang a Ganesyara (leader of a group), who had five faces. From these five faces sprang five Pañcamas, known by the names of Makhāri, Kālāri, Purari, Smarari, and Vedari, which, the reader will remember. were the names of Siva himself given to him on account of certain deeds done by him. From these arose others who are called Upapañcamas. Each Pañcama has to connect himself with one of the five Acaryas as his Guru. The Gotra of the Guru is his Gotra, and there can be no marriage relation between the members of the same Gotra. These Pancamas have got Gotra, Prayara and Sakha of their own, and the Lingayats thus seem to have copied the Brahmanic system. The Pancamas are spoken of as the true devotees of Siva?.

According to the ordinary account the true Lingayats are divided into four classes: (1) Jangamas, or priests, (2) Silavants,

¹ Ante, p. 177nl [N. B. U.]

^{\$} Pañcācāryapañcamotpattiprakaraņa.

or pious, (3) Banjigs, or traders, and (4) Pañcamsālis. The second and the third classes are based on the occupation or mode of life followed; so that even here, there are only the two classes mentioned in the work referred to above. The members of the first or Acārya class are popularly called Jangamas. Of these there are some who are called Viraktas (passionless) and who devote themselves to contemplation and other religious exercises and live a life of celibacy and asceticism. They maintain a convent (Matha) and are adored by all people.

One such convent, which might be called the chief convent, is that which exists at Chitaldrug in the Mysore territory about a hundred miles from Dharwar. The head monk is held in deep reverence and exercises great influence over the followers of the sect.

The second division of the class comprises those who follow a priestly occupation and conduct all ceremonies. They are married men and lead the life of householders. They exercise religious control over the Pañcamas and the followers of their sect. These priestly Jangamas are the representatives of one or other of the five principal establishments located in different parts of the country from the Himālaya to the Mysore province. Any knotty question concerning the sect is decided by the final orders issued at one of these establishments. Besides the true Lingāyats their is an affiliated class and another composed of half Lingāyats. The Lingāyats abstain from meat and drink. Their widows are allowed to marry. And women are not considered polluted and untouchable during the days of mouthly sickness, as is the case among Brāhmanic Hindus.

§ 105 There is a Dikṣā ceremony among the Viraśaivas corresponding to Upanayana among the Brāhmaṇas. Instead of the Gāyatrimantra of the latter, they have the Mantra 'Om namaś Śivāya', and have to wear the Linga, or emblem of Śiva, in the place of Yajñopavita. On the occasion of the Dikṣā, the Guru holds a Linga in his left hand, worships it in the usual sixteen ways, and shows it to the disciple. Then placing it in the left hand of the disciple and enjoining him to look upon it as his own soul and as the highest existing thing and so forth, he ties it round the neck of the disciple with a silken cloth by repeating a

Mantra used by the Brāhmaṇas in putting on the Yajnopavita. This is called the Lingasvāyattadīkṣā. This ceremony is performed in the case of girls also, and the women too have to wear the Linga like men. The Linga is generally put into a box made of silver and suspended round the neck. The Virasaivas have to go through daily ceremonies similar to the twilight adorations of the Brāhmaṇas, and the Mantra repeated on the occasion is that given above, as also the Śiva-Gāyatrī, the first two lines of which are the same as the Brāhmaṇic Gāyatrī, and the last is 'Tan nah Śivah pracodayāt'.

In the marriage ceremony the Mantra to be repeated on the occasion of the taking hold of the hand of the bride is the same as among the Brāhmaṇas, and in the ceremony of walking the seven steps together with the bride, the formulas repeated are the same as those used by Rgvedin Brāhmaṇas. But in their marriage ceremony, they do not perform the rite of throwing parched rice into the fire as the Brāhmaṇas do. The worship of the Linga, called Iṣṭa-Linga, worn on the body, is their chief divine worship; and attendance at temples and worship of the Linga therein are by no means necessary for them. They do not concern themselves directly with the public temples of Siva.

§ 106. There is a traditional legend among the Lingavats that, when Siva brought Brahmadeva into existence, he told him to create the world. But Brahmadeva said that he did not know how to do it. Whereupon Siva created it himself in order that it might serve him as a model. And the Acaryas and Pancamas, as detailed above with their Gotras and Sakhas, are that creation of Siva. The true import of this legend is that the Lingayat set up a system for themselves as a rival to the Brahmanic system and the close resemblance between the two confirms this view. a mere copy was not their object, and they introduced several reforms, especially in the condition of women, as will have been seen from the above notice. In this respect, this system differs from all other schools, Vaisnava or Saiva or even Buddhist or Jaina, who did not set up for themselves a special system of social relations and domestic rites, though, as shown above, that framed by the Lingayats for themselves is a copy of that of the Brāhmanas, which, however, is a reformed copy.

The impression that this whole account creates in one is that Lingāyatism owes its origin to a spirit of jealousy of the power exercised by Brāhmanism and of rivalry with the system. Such a spirit of jealousy and rivalry cannot be expected to have arisen in thoroughly depressed minds. The system therefore must have come into existence among the spirited members of the upper classes of non-Brāhmanic Hindus under the leadership of a body of men composed of Brāhmanas known by the name of Ārādhyas. Some of the members of this body did not go far enough in the desired reform, as mentioned before, and formed a distinct sect.

It will thus be seen that all the Lingāyats have not sprung up from the Sūdra caste, but there is a mixture of the three higher orders among them. The claim that the two main classes of the sect put forward of their being Lingi-Brāhmaṇas, i. e., Brāhmaṇas wearing the Linga, seems to be founded on truth. The Ācārya or Jangama class is said to have sprung from the five holy persons, adored on the occasion of a religious ceremony, whose names end in the suffix ārādhya significative of their being Brāhmaṇas. We might therefore safely take them to be of a Brāhmaṇic descent². As to the Pañcamas, they probably repre-

¹ An Ārādhya sect is mentioned by Anantānandagiri as having come into conflict with Samkarācārya (See Samkaravijaya, Bibl. Ind., p. 37). In the corresponding portion of Dhanapati's Dindima which accompanies Mādhava's Samkaravijaya the name of the sect does not occur; so that it is questionable whether the Ārādhya sect came into existence before Samkara, even if we suppose that the sect mentioned by Anantānandagiri was the same as the one we have noticed as affiliated to the Lingāyats. Or, on the evidence of Anantānandagiri the Ārādhya sect may be considered to have come into existence about the time of Samkarācārya, that is, before the ninth century A. D., and the theory advanced, that the Lingāyat reform was carried out within its limits, and a portion of the Ārādhya sect adopted the new creed and developed it, while another remained orthodox and staunch to some of the Brāhmanic practices. To this portion is to be traced the Ārādhya sect of the present day.

² There are Jangamas who know Sanskrit, and I have been in communication with one such of the name of Mallikärjunasästrin, who directed me to some of the books of the sect wich I have followed in this section, and also gave oral information on some points. He claims to be a Brähmana authorised to study the Vedas, his own Veda being the White Yajurveda.

sent the Vaisya order of the Brāhmanic system which followed the occupation of traders and cultivators, and as the Vaisyas belong to the class of the twice-born, so also do the Pañcamas and hence they are included in the Lingi-Brāhmana group.

XII. Saivism in the Dravida Country.

§ 107. Saivism prevails in the Dravida or Tamil country, and possesses an extensive literature of its own. It consists of eleven collections. The first three contain the hymns composed by a saint held in great reverence, of the name Tiruñanasambandha. They are three hundred and eighty-four in number. each being called a Padigam, which consists of ten stanzas with an eleventh containing the author's name usually added. next three were composed by Appar who was an older contemporary of Sambandha, who had renounced Buddhism or rather Jainism and become a Saiva. The seventh collection belongs to Sundara who was a Brāhmaṇa devotee of a later generation. These seven books are called Devaram and are compared to the Brahmanic Veda. In certain processions, while on the one side the hymns of the Brahmanic Veda are repeated, on the other are sung those contained in the Devāram which are addressed to the deity. The Tiruvasagam forms the eighth book, and it resembles the Upanisads. The author of this book is Manikkavasagar. The ninth group is made up of hymns composed in imitation of the Devaram hymns. One of the writers is Kandaraditya, a Cola king, from whom Rajaraja Cola, who came to the throne in 984-85 A.D., was fifth in descent. The tenth contains mystic songs of a Yogin called Tirumular. The eleventh collection is composed of miscellaneous pieces, the last ten of which were written by Nambi Andar Nambi. The third of these ten forms the basis of the Tamil Purana called Periyapurana. These eleven collections together with the Periyapurana, which are all written

The head monk of the Chitaldrug convent alluded to above was on a visitation to Poona about two months ago with all the state of a spiritual potentate, having four elephants with him and a number (followers. He was a good, courteous and kindly person, had studied Sanskrit grammar and was able to converse fluently in pure Sanskrit. Some of the books of the sect are written in Sanskrit.

in the Tamil language, form the sacred literature of the Tamil Saivas. Besides these there are the works of what are called Santāna-Ācāryas, which are fourteen in number and called Siddhāntaśāstras. Their contents are of a philosophical nature.

The most highly honoured of all these writers is Tirufiāna-sambandha. He was a Brāhmana by birth, and the poetic faculty was developed in him very early in life. His hymns are full of the purest devotional feeling and are melodious. The tunes in which they were originally sung were Dravidian, but in later times northern melodies with northern names came to be used. Sambandha's image is set up for worship in every Saiva temple, and he is adored by Tamil poets and philosophers in the beginning of their works. He was a great enemy of Buddhists and Jainas; and every tenth stanza of his Padigams, or hymns, contains an imprecation against them. On one occasion, he was invited by the queen of Kuni Pāṇdya of Madhurā, where he held a disputation with the Buddhists or Jainas, which ended in the conversion of the king to the Saiva faith!

In an Inscription in the Rājarājesvara temple at Tanjore the king Rājarājadeva, after whom the temple was named, makes a daily allowance for the support of the reciters or singers of the Tiruppadiyam or the Padigams of Tiruñānasambandha, before the twenty-ninth year of his reign². The date of Rājarāja's accession to the throne has been determined by the mention of a lunar eclipse in one of his inscriptions to be 984-5 A. D.³. This is consistent with the fact mentioned in another Inscription⁴ that he conquered Satyāsraya, who was the immediate successor of Tailapa, the founder of the later Cālukya dynasty of Mahārāṣtra, and died in Saka 930, or 1008 A. D. Thus before the twenty-ninth year of Rājarāja, i. e. before 1013 A. D., the Padigams of Sambandha had come to be looked upon as so sacred that the recita-

¹ The above account is mostly taken from the able paper of P. Sundaram Pillai published in the Ind. Ant. Vol. XXV, pp. 113ff. It is to be regretted that Mr. Pillai does not give us precise information as to whether it was the Buddhists against whom Sambandha directs his attacks or the Jainas.

² South-Indian Inscriptions ed. by E. Hultzsch, Vol. 'I, p. 252, No. 65.

³ Ind. Ant., Vo'. XXIII, p. 297.

⁴ South-Ind. Insers., Vol. II, p. 2.

tion or singing of them was considered an act of religious merit like the repetition of the Satarudriya by the followers of the Brāhmanic Veda. This character the hymns of Sambandha could not have acquired unless they had come into existence about four hundred years before the beginning of the eleventh century. This is consistent with the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Pillai that Sambandha flourished in the seventh century.

The Inscriptions in the temples at Kāñcipura contain evidence of Saivism being in a flourishing condition in the sixth century. The Pallava king Rājasimha constructed a temple, and the god inside was named after him Rājasimhesvara. Rājasimha appears from some of the Inscriptions to have been a contemporary of the early Cālukya prince Pulakesin I.¹, who may be referred to about the year 550 A. D., as his son Kirtivarman I, came to the throne about the year 567 A. D.².

The Śaivism that prevailed in the Tamil country seems to have been generally of the ordinary kind, since the hymns in the Devāram sing the praises of Śiva and exhibit fervent devotional feeling, but there must have been some Daršana or system of philosophy also, since in an Inscription in the Rājasimhešvara temple at Kānci Atyantakāma, which was another name of Rājasimha, is represented as proficient in the system of the Śaivasidhāntas. And the last species of the Śaiva literature detailed above is, it will have been seen, called Siddhāntašāstra composed by Santāna-Ācāryas. These must be philosophical works on Saivism. And the system therein taught appears in all likelihood to be the same or similar to the Śaivadaršana, which has already been explained. But what exactly the system taught by the Siddhāntas was, we have not the means of finding out, as none of the works is available for examination.

The Periyapurāna gives an account of sixty-three Bhaktas or devotees of Siva, and these correspond to the Ālvārs of the Vaisnavas. The enemies that both these classes of devotees had to contend with were Jainas, and it appears to me that both

¹ South-Ind. Inscrs., Vol. I, p. 11.

² Early History of the Deccan, Second Ed., p. 61 [= Volume III of this Edition, p. 68 .—N. B. U.]

Saivism and Vaisnavism penetrated to the extreme South of India after the revival of Brāhmanism in the North during the fourth and fifth centuries. Bucdhism and Jainism had been introduced earlier, and were in possession of the field when the two later systems of theistic belief were introduced into the Southern country. Hence arose the necessity of controversies and contests which these systems carried on with their earlier predecessors. Whether Saivism extended itself to the Tamil country before the revival, we have not the means of determining.

XIII. The Śaktas or Śakti Worshippers.

§ 108. In the Vedic literature down to the Grhyasūtras which we have examined for tracing the development of the idea of Rudra-Siva, no female devotee of predominant power is mentioned. We have such names as Rudrāni and Bhavāni, which are simply derivatives and do not show a belief in the existence of an independent powerful goddess. Umā, too, is the wife of a god and does not overshadow her male consort. In the MBh. (Bhismaparvan, chap. 23), however, there is a hymn addressed to Durgā by Arjuna under the advice of Krsna in which she is prayed to for granting victory in the forthcoming battle. This hymn itself shows that at the time when it was composed and inserted in the poem, Durga had already acquired such an importance that she was adored by men as a powerful goddess, able to fulfil their desires. Among the names by which she is addressed occur the following: Kumārī (maiden), Kālī (black or female time as destroyer), Kāpāli (wearer of skulls), Mahākāli (the great destroyer), Candi (angry), Kātyāyani (of the Kātva family), Karālā (frightful), Vijayā (Victory), Kauśikī (of the Kusika family), Umā, Kāntāravāsinī (dwelling in the forest). There is another hymn in the Virataparvan (chap. 6) sung by Yudhisthira. It does not exist in the principal Southern Mass., and is probably an interpolation, as it contains almost the same matter as in a similar passage in the Harivamsa. The points and epithets in this hymn which deserve notice are these. She is called Mahisāsuranāsini (or the destroyer of the demon in the shape of a buffalo) and she is fond of wine, flesh and beasts. She was born to Yasodā and dashed against a stone, whereupon

she went to heaven. She is called the most beloved of Nārāyaṇa and the sister of Vāsudeva. She resides permanently on the Vindhya mountain.

It is related in the Harivamsa (vv. 3236 ff.) that Viṣṇu descended into the Pātāla, and asked sleep in the form of destroying time (Nidrā Kālarūpiṇī) to become the daughter of Yāsodā. She is told that she would become Kausikī and would have a permanent residence on the Vindhya mountain. There she was told that she would kill Sumbha and Nisumbha and would be worshipped by animal sacrifices. There is given a hymn to Āpyā (Durgā) in which she is represented as the goddess of Śabaras, Pulindas, Barbaras and other wild tribes, and as fond of wine and flesh.

The goddess that killed the buffalo-demon, was, according to the Markandeya-Purana (ch. 82) made up of the fierce radiance of Siva, visnu and Brahmadeva, and all the other gods contributed to the formation of her limbs as well as her ornaments. She is called Candi and Ambikā. The formation of the goddess that killed Sumbha and Nisumbha, according to the account which follows, is thus explained. The gods being oppressed by the demons Sumbha and Nisumbha went to the Himalayas and praised the goddess, whereupon Parvati came out to bathe in the Ganges. Then Siva, also called Ambika, came out of the body of Parvati, and said that it was she whom the gods were praising to induce her to kill Sumbha and Nisumbha. She was called Kausiki, because she sprang out from Kosa or frame of Parvati's body. When Ambikā came out of her body, Pārvati's complexion became dark, and hence she received the name of Kālikā (dark one). In the course of the fight, when Sumbha and Nisumbha pounced upon her, her forehead became dark with anger, and from it came Kāli with a frightful face wearing a garland of skulls and a tiger-skin and with an infernal weapon (Khatvanga) in her hand. She killed the demons Canda and Munda, and went back to Ambika, who thereupon, since she had killed those demons, gave her the name Camunda. The seven Saktis, Brahmi, Māhesvari, Kaumārī, Vaisnavi, Vārāhi, Nārasimhi and Aindri, which are the powers or spirits of the gods from whom their

names are derived, are called her excellent forms (Vibhūtis). At the end, the goddess says that she would, in the Vaivasvata Manu, destroy Sumbha and Nisumbha again by assuming the form of the goddess residing on the Vindhya mountain, and proceeds to give the other forms that she would assume on other occasions such as the daughter of Nanda, Śākambhari, Bhīmā, Bhrāmari, etc.

§ 109. In the account here given, it will be seen that there is one goddess with a number of different names. But the critical eye will see that they are not merely names, but indicate different goddesses who owed their conception to different historical conditions, but who were afterwards indentified with the one goddess by the usual mental habit of the Hindus. First we have Umā, the protectress, the consort of Śiva. Then we have Haimavatī, and Pārvatī which are the epithets of Umā, since Śiva, her consort, was Girisa, or dweller on the mountain, and she was a woman born on the mountain.

Then there are goddesses, dwelling in forests and on the Vindhya mountain, to whom animals and even human beings were sacrificed, and oblations of wine were given and who were also the goddesses worshipped by the wild tribes, such as Pulindas, Sabaras and Barbaras. These were fierce goddesses and have the names of Karālā, Kālī, Caṇḍī, Cāmuṇḍā, and others. It must be admitted, however, that the first two names came into use when in an early age Rudra was identified with Agni, whose flames, which were considered his tongues, have those two names and five others. Probably the ferocity of the later goddesses of those names was due to this identification and not to their being the objects of worship to the ferocicus barbarous tribes. In all likelihood, however, both the elements contributed to give that character to Kālī, Karālā and Cāmundā. That an aboriginal element should have contributed to the formation of Rudra's consort in later times, as it did in earlier times, towards the formation of Rudra himself as he is represented in the Satarudriya, is a matter that might be expected.

A third and powerful element in the conception of these goddesses is that of Sakti, or power. The powers of willing, acting,

creating, illuding, etc. were conceived of as goddesses as the noun Sakti is of the feminine gender. The seven goddesses named above, Brāhmi, Māheśvari, etc. owe their origin to this conception of Sakti and the powers of the seven gods. In later times some of the Brahmanic families came to have tutelary goddesses, and thus we have Kātyāyani, or the goddess of the Kātyas, and Kausiki, the goddess of the Kausikas. A further development went on especially under the influence of the idea of Sakti, or power, and thus we have three forms in which the goddess was worshipped. First we have the ordinary bland form, in which the goddess is worshipped. Then we have the fierce form, in which she is associated with the schools of Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas, and animals and human beings are sacrificed. And the third is the sensual form, in which she is the object of worship with the school of the Saktas, who are so called because they are worshippers of Sakti.

§ 110. The Tantras inculcating the worship of the goddess in these various forms, constitute a considerable body of literature. We will here notice the formation, doctrines and practices of a school based on one of these forms, that which we have called sensual. The goddess here is called Anandabhairavi, Tripurasundari, and Lalita. Her dwelling is thus described. There is an ocean of nectar, in which there are five celestial trees. Then there is a row or enclosure of Nipa or Kadamba trees, in the midst of which is a pavilion made of jewel stones. In that pavilion is situated a palace made of the wish-giving stone, where lies the great Isani, the great Tripurasundari, on a couch, which is Siva with Mahesana for its coverlet and Sadasiva for its pillow. The legs of the couch are Brahmadeva, Hari, Rudra and Isvara. These are spirits discharging certain functions contained in the essence of Maheśvara1. This is a mythological explanation of certain figures in the mystic cirles and of technical terms. The goddess is thus elevated to the highest position. Anandabhairava or Mahabhairava, which is the name given to Siva, is the soul of, or is composed of, the nine collections of things of which the world is made up, such as time and its

¹ Saundaryalahari with Laksmidhara's commentary, Mysore Ed., comment. on vv. 8 and 93.

various forms (Kālavyūha), existing things like the blue substance (Kulavyūha), names (Nāmavyūha), perception (Jāānavyūha), the five faculties, viz. consciousness, heart, will, intelligence, and mind (Cittavyūha). Mahābhairava is the soul of the goddess; therefore she also is the soul of, or composed of, the nine collections. Both, therefore, constitute one entity. When there is Sāmarasya, or community of joy or intense love between them, creation follows. The female element, or Mahābhairavi, however, is predominant in the process of creation and the male element, or Mahābhairava, in the work of destruction!

The metaphysical doctrines of what is called Sambhavadarsana, on which the usual practices and rites of the Saktas profess to be based, are these². Siva and Sakti are the primordial substances. Siva in the form of Prakasa (light) enters into Śakti in the form of Vimarsa or Sphürti (feeling or appearance), and assumes the form of a Bindu (drop); and Sakti similarly enters into Siva, whereupon the Bindu develops, and there arises out of it the female element called Nada (sound). These two, the Bindu and the Nāda, becoming united, form one compound Bindu, and that substance represents the intense affinity between the female and male energies and is called Kāma (love). Again, there are two drops, one of which is white and represents the male element, and the other, red, which represents the female element. These form the Kala; these three again, the compound Bindu, and the white and red drops form one substance called Kāmakalā. Thus there are four powers united here: (1) the original Bindu representing the material of which the world is made; (2) Nāda, or sound, upon which depends the naming of the substances, arising from the development of the Bindu. Between these two there is intense love, but no creation follows simply from it. They only contain the materials of things and speech. Therefore a productive energy is associated with them by (3) the white male drop which, however, by itself cannot produce, and by (4) the female red drop which is fecundated by the male drop.

¹ Ibid. v. 34.

² The following contains in a recast form the matter given in pp. 89-91 of my Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during 1883-84, [= Volume II of this Edition, pp. 219-223 N. B. U.]

When all these four principles unite into one substance. Kāmakalā, the whole creation of words and the things expressed by them (Vagarthau), proceeds. Another substance called the Hārdhakalā is also developed, according to some, along with the Nada, when the female element first enters into the simple Bindu. In a certain text the highest deity, or Kāmakalā is spoken of as having the sun (compound Bindu) for her face, fire and moon (the red and white Bindus) for her breasts, and the Hardhakalā for her organ of generation. This view provides a womb from which creation springs out. The creative agent, therefore, is a goddess thus constituted, and she is the highest deity and is called Parā, Lalitā, Bhattārikā and Tripurasundarī. Siva is symbolically identified with the letter a and Sakti with h, the last letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. This h is called Ardhakalā, or half part, and hence the female element, or womb, mentioned above is called the half part in the shape of the letter h. h, or the half part, together with a which stands for Siva is a symbolic representation of Kāmakalā or Tripurasundari, who is the result of the combination of Siva and Sakti. She is thus called Aham, the ego, and is invested with egoism or individuality, and hence it is that all her developments (i. e., the whole creation) have egoism or individuality; and all souls are but forms of Tripurasundari and become Tripurasundari when they study and practise the Kāmakalāvidyā with its series of Devicakras, or mystic circles. A and h, being the first and last letters of the alphabet, contain between them all letters and through them all words, i. e. the whole speech; and just as all things are produced from Tripurasundari, so are all words which express the things. She is thus called Para, the first of the four kinds of speech. Creation is Parinama, or development, and not Vivarta, or the generation of false appearances. This is the philosophy of the Sambhavadarsana, and it will be seen that, though it admits a male element in the beginning, still it is thoroughly subdued by the female element which becomes predominant; and the highest deity is a goddess, viz. Tripurasundari. The ambition of every pious follower of the system is to become identical with Tripurasundari, and one of his religious exercises is to habituate himself to think that he is a woman. Thus the

followers of the Sakti school justify their appellation by the belief that God is a woman and it ought to be the aim of all to become a woman.

Tripurasundari is propitiated and eventually attained by assuming the vow (Diksa) of a devoted worship of her. This vow is of three kinds. The first consists in fully concentrating the mind on the Devl as sitting on the lap of Siva in the Mahapadmavana (a garden of lotuses), as possessed of a body which is pure joy and is the original cause of all, and as identical with one's own self. The second is the Cakrapuja, the worship by means of the mystic circles, which is a Bahyayaga, or material worship; and the third consists in studying and knowing the true doctrine. The second is the proper Sakti ceremonial. It consists in the worship of a picture of the female organ drawn in the centre of another consisting of a representation of nine such organs, the whole of which forms the Śricakra. The pictures are drawn on a Bhūrja leaf or a piece of silken cloth or on a gold leaf1. With reference to this worship it must be observed that there are two classes of Saktas: (1) Kaulika and (2) Samayin. The former worship the gross material object, while the latter have a recourse to imagery. The worship of the pictures just mentioned is resorted to by ancient (Pūrva) Kaulas, while the modern (Uttara) Kaulas worship the organ of a living beautiful woman. The Kaulas worship their goddess by offering to her, and themselves using, wine, flesh, honey (Madhu), fish and such other things. Tke Samayins, of course, abstain from such practices. There are even Brahmanas, who secretly profess the doctrines of the Sakta school and worship the goddess Tripurasundari in accordance with the Pürva-Kaula or Uttara-Kaula way. There are no distinctions of caste when the worship of the Bhairavicakra is going on. Men of all castes become Brāhmanas, but they resume their own castes when the worship is over. There are several more innocent and decorous modes of worshipping the goddess under the names of Lalita and Upangalalita mentioned in the ordinary religious books. The worship of the latter comes off on the fifth lunar day of Asvina and of

¹ Saundaryalahari v. 41, commentary.

² Aufrecht's Oxf. Cat. p. 92, n.

^{27 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

the former for the first ten days. The latter, when so worshipped by women, wards off widowhood¹.

XIV. The Sect of Ganapatyas.

Rudra had his hosts of Maruts, who were called his Ganas, and the leader of these Ganas was Ganapati. The name Rudra, as we have seen, was generalised and signified a number of spirits partaking of the character of the original Rudra; and so was the name Ganapati generalised and meant many leaders of the Ganas or groups. Another name, Vināyaka, denoting a spirit also came into use. In the AU. Rudra is identified with many gods or spirits, and among these there is one called Vinayaka. In the MBh. (Anusasanaparvan 151, v. 26) Ganesvaras and Vinayakas are mentioned amongst the gods, who observe the actions of men and are present everywhere; and again, (v. 57) Vināyakas are said to remove all evil from men when praised. Ganesvaras, or Ganapatis, and Vināyakas are here represented, as the former are in the Satarudriya, many in number and present everywhere.

In the Manavagrhyasūtra (2.14) is given an account of Vinayakas. They are four in number. And their names are (1) Sālakatankata, (2) Kūsmāndarājaputra, (3) Usmita, and (4) Devayajana. When possessed by these a person pounds sods of earth, cuts grass, and writes on his body, and sees in dreams waters, men with shaved heads, camels, pigs, asses, etc., and feels he is moving in the air, and when walking, sees somebody pursuing him from behind. Again, when possessed by these, Princes Royal do not obtain the kingdom, though qualified to govern. Girls do not obtain bridegrooms, though possessed of the necessary qualities. Women do not get children, even if otherwise qualified. The children of other women die. A learned teacher qualified to teach does not obtain pupils, and there are many interruptions and breaks in the course of student. Trade and agriculture are unsuccessful. A person, who shows such signs of being possessed by Vināyaka, is made to go through the ceremony of bathing in waters brought from four places and with a little earth from four different quarters thrown into them.

¹ See Hemādri, Vratakhanda.

After bathing oblations of mustard oil extracted afresh should be offered to the four Vināyakas in a ladle made of the wood of the Udumbara tree and poured over the head of the individual. Then food of many sorts, rice, husked and unhusked, flesh, and fish, cooked as well as raw, pulse of various kinds, etc. should be put into a basket and the basket placed on the ground where four roads meet, the ground first being covered with Kusa grass. Then certain deities including evil spirits are invoked, and a wish expressed that they may be satisfied, and, becoming so, satisfy the worshipper, etc. This is the ceremony which frees the persons haunted by the Vināyakas.

Yājāavalkya in his Smrti (I. 271ff.) gives the same ceremony and frequently in the same words. But the ceremony appears in a somewhat more developed or complicated form. He begins by stating that Rudra and Brahmadeva appointed Vināyaka to the leadership of the Ganas, (i.e. made him Ganapati), and assigned to him the functions of raising difficulties and obstructions in the actions of men. In the Smrti, one Vināyaka is only addressed, but instead of the four names occurring in the Sūtra, six are given, viz. (1) Mita, (2) Sammita, (3) Sāla, (4) Katankata, (5) Kūsmānda, and (6) Rājaputra, and these are said to be six different names of the one Vināyaka. After the basket with various kinds of food has been prepared, directions are given to make an obeisance to Ambikā, the mother of Vināyaka.

The form of the ceremony contained in the Sūtra is unquestionably more ancient than that contained in the other work. But the difference between the two shows that during the period that had elapsed between the composition of the Sūtra and that of the Smṛti, the four Vināyakas had become one Gaṇapati-Vināyaka, having Ambikā for his mother. It will thus be seen that, in his own nature, this last god is an unfriendly or malignant spirit, but capable of being made friendly and benignant by propitiatory rites. In this respect, he resembles Rudra himself. That the Vināyakas had come to be objects of faith before the Christian era, may be taken to follow from the occurrence of the ceremony mentioned above in a Gṛḥyasūtra. But the one Gaṇapati-Vināyaka, the son of Ambikā, was introduced into the Hindu pantheon much later.

None of the Gupta Inscriptions which I subjected to an examination on a former occasion contains any mention of his name or announces any gift or benefaction in his honour. But in two of the caves at Ellora, there are groups of images of Kala. Kall, the Seven Mothers or Saktis, and Ganapati². These caves are to be referred to the latter part of the eighth century. So that between the end of the fifth and the end of the eighth century the Ganapati cult must have come into practice, and the Smrti of Yājñavalkya must have been written not earlier than the sixth century. Another Inscription, and an old relic, which indicate the prevalence of the worship of Ganapati, are found at a place called Ghatiyālā, 22 miles north-west of Jodhpur. is a column there, on the top of which there are four images of Ganapati facing the four quarters. In the opening sentence of the Inscription engraved on it, an obeisance is made to Vināyaka. The date of the inscription is Vikrama-Samvat 918 = A. D. 8623.

When and how the god came to have the elephant's head, it is difficult to determine. The images in the cave-temples at Ellora have that head, and Bhavabhūti also in the beginning of the eighth century describes him, in the opening stanza of the Mālatīmādhava, as possessed of such a head. Rudra-Siva and the gods allied with him were connected closely with forests and wild places, in which elephants also were found. The hide worn by Rudra and by his consort also in one of her forms was the hide of an elephant, and it perhaps suited the fancy of some men to place the head of that animal over the body of a god originally mischievous. Gaṇapati's reputation for wisdom is, I believe, to be attributed to the confusion between him and Bṛhaspati, who in RV. II. 23. 1 is called Gaṇapati. Bṛhaspati, of course, is the Vedic god of wisdom, and is called the sage of sages.

§ 112. Six varieties of the Gānapatya sect are mentioned by Anandagiri, or Anantānandagiri as he is sometimes called, in his Samkardigvijaya as well as by Dhanapati in his commentary on

¹ See my 'Peep into the Early History of India'; JBBRAS, Vol. XX, pp.336ff,

² In Rāvaņa-ki-khāī, in the circumambulatory passage and Rāmeśvara temples. See Cave-Temples by Fergusson and Burgess,

³ Ep. Ind. Vol. IX, pp. 277ff,

the corresponding work of Mādhava. The first consists of those who adore Mahāgaṇapati. Mahāgaṇapati is, according to them, the creator, and he alone remains when Brahmadeva and others have been destroyed at the time of the dissolution. He should be meditated upon as possessed of his peculiar face with one tooth and as embraced by the Śakti. By his own wonderful power, he creates Brahmadeva and others. One, who repeats the original Mantra and meditates on this Gaṇapati, attains supreme bliss. The name of the person who expounds these doctrines to the Acārya is given as Girijāsuta.

Another interlocutor follows. His name is Ganapatikumāra. and he adores Haridraganapati. He takes his stand on RV. II. 23. 1, and makes out this text to mean "We meditate on thee who art the leader of the group of Rudra, Visnu, Brahman, Indra and others, and art the instructor of sages Bhrgu, Guru, Sesa and others, the highest of all who know the sciences, the greatest lord of the Brahmans engaged in the creation of the world, i.e. adored by Brahman and others in the work of creation and others". He should be worshipped and meditated on as being dressed in a yellow silken garment, bearing a yellow sacred thread, having four arms, three eyes and his face suffused over by turmeric ointment, and holding a noose and an elephant-goad and a staff in his hand. He who worships the god in this form. obtains emancipation. Ganapati is the cause of the whole world. and Brahmā and others are his parts. The worshipper of this Ganapati should bear, on both of his arms, the marks of Ganapati's face and one tooth impressed upon them by a heated iron stamp.

Then came Herambasuta, who was the worshipper of Ucchistaganapati. The followers of this variety resort to the left-handed path (Vāmamārga), which probably was set up in imitation of the Kaula worship of Sakti. The form of Ganapati meditated on is very obscene. There is no distinction of caste among the followers of this sect. No restriction is to be observed, such as marriage imposes, and promiscuous intercourse is allowed and also the use of wine. The follower should have a red mark on his forehead. All the ordinary ceremonies, such as twilight adorations (Samdhyāvandana), are left to a man's own will.

The followers of the other three Ganapatis, Navanita, Svarna, and Samtāna, worship their god, they say, according to the Sruti. But since Ganapati is adored in the beginning of every religious act, he is the chief god and all the other gods are parts of him and should be worshipped as such. They regard the whole world as Ganapati and adore him as such.

Since the god Ganapati-Vināyaka was introduced about the sixth century, it is questionable whether these several sects existed at the time of Sankarācārya. The imprinting of the face and the tooth of the god on the arms was a custom common to them with the Mādhva Vaisṇavas, though it is hardly indicative of the period in which the sect arose. But the worship of Ganapati without reference to any particular sect is practised by nearly all Hindus at the beginning of any religious ceremony and on special occasions. His image made of clay is worshipped with great pomp in the Maratha country on the fourth lunar day of the month of Bhādrapada (September), and at Chinchwad near Poona there is a special establishment for the exclusive worship of that god.

XV. Skanda or Kārttikeya.

§ 113. Another god whose worship was extensively practised in ancient times, but is now rare, is Skanda or Karttikeya. The general belief is that he was the son of Siva and Parvati. But in the Ramayana he is represented as the son of the god of fire and Ganga (I. chap. 37). The foetus was thrown by Ganga on the Himavat mountain, and it was nourished by the six stars constituting the constellation of Krttika (Pleiades), and was thus called the son of the Krttikas or Karttikeya. In the MBh. (Vansparvan, chap. 229) also he is represented as the son of Fire, but the mother was Agni's true wife Svāhā, who had assumed the forms of the wives of six Rsis, whom Agni loved. But here he is called the son of Siva also, as Agni is a form of that god. There are other stories connecting him with Siva and Parvati as his parents. But whatever the legend may have been there is no question that he was connected with Siva, and was the leader of one of his Ganas. There is a Lingayat tradition reported in the section on that sect! that he was a founder of a

Gotra, and was a form of Siva himself. His having the peacock for his vehicle is also consistent with his connection with Siva, as peacocks are found in forests of which Rudra and his attendants were gods. His being the leader of the army of the gods was an idea probably suggested by his being the leader of a Gana of Rudra. And in historical times he has been associated with Siva. Under P. V. 3. 99, Patañjali mentions the images of Siva, Skanda and Višākha as being worshipped in his time. On the reverse of the coins of the Kusana prince Kaniska, there are figures with their names in Greek letters of Skando, Mahaseno, Komaro and Bizago¹. The first is Skanda, and because he was the commander of the army of the gods, he was also called Mahāsena, which is the second name on the coin. The third is Kumāra, which is also a name of Skanda, and the fourth is the Skr. Visākha. If the first three were the names of one deity only, there was no necessity for giving three names and three figures. These, therefore, must have been regarded as three different gods as Višākha undoubtedly was from his being mentioned separately from Skanda by Patanjali. In the story in the MBh. referred to above Visākha is mentioned as having arisen from the right side of Skanda when it was struck by Indra's thunderbolt. This is indicative of the tendency to make the two as one person; and they appear to have been so made in later times. Or, looking to the fact that there are two names of Buddha on the coins, the above three may have been the names of one single deity. There are also three indications of the prevalence of the worship of Skanda or Mahasena in the early centuries. In the year 414 A. D. was built a Pratoli, or gallery, in the temple of Svāmi-Mahāsena by one Dhruvasarman at Bilsad2. Several holy observances and vows in the name of Kumāra and Kārttikeya are mentioned in Hemādri's Vratakhanda, and the worship of that god has not become obsolete even at the present day.

XVI. The Sect of Sauras and the Northern Sun-Worship.

§ 114. Sūrya, or the sun as the orb that is seen in the sky and not as an imaginary god of light, was a Vedic deity. It is

¹ See JBBRAS, Vol. XX, p. 385,

² Ib. p. 395.

but reasonable to expect that the worship of such a deity should not become obsolete in later times, since the orb of the sun is daily seen in the sky. In two passages in RV. (VII. 60. 1; 62. 2) the singer wishes the rising sun to declare him sinless to Mitra, Varuna, and other gods. This idea probably arose from the fact that the rising sun by his bright light discloses everything that has been done in the darkness of the previous night, and thence it developed into a belief that the sun destroys sins. Kausitaki is represented to have adored the sun in the morning, at midday, and in the evening, and having made offerings of water with flowers, sandal, etc. or without (Arghya), prayed for the removal of his sins (KBU. II. 7). And this is what we do or are expected to do in our twilight and midday adorations.

Water is sipped by repeating a formula expressive of a wish that the Sun, Manyu and Manyupati may protect the adorer from sins (AG. Parisista I. 3, and TA. X. 25. 1). After that, three offerings of water with or without the other ingredients are made to the sun after repeating the Gāyatrī, and then the water is whirled round his head by the adorer by repeating the Mantra "That Aditya is Brahman". Aśvalāyana directs that, while adoring the morning twilight, one facing the east should repeat the Gāyatrī-Mantra till the whole disc of the sun has risen, and in the evening with his face towards the west till the whole has gone down and the sters have begun to appear (AG. III. 7. 4—6).

In the Upanayana ceremony, when the boy is invested with the sacred thread and other badges of a student's life, he is made to look at the orb of the sun, when the preceptor, addressing that deity, prays "Oh god Savitar, this is thy student, protect him. May he not die" (AG. I. 20.6). Khādira prescribes the adoration of the sun for the enjoyment of riches and for the attainment of fame (Khādiragrhyasūtra IV. 1. 14 and 23). The hymn addressed by Yudhisthira to the sun after he entered his forestresidence, and his having obtained a vessel from him for the production of all the food wanted by him, his family and followers, are well-known.

In the seventh century Mayura, who lived at the court of

¹ Asav Edityo Brahma.

Harsavardhana, composed a hundred stanzas to obtain relief from the white leprosy from which he suffered. About the beginning of the eighth century Bhavabhūti makes the Sūtradhāra, or the manager, of the Mālatīmādhava offer prayers to the rising sun to remove all his sins and bestow holy blessings on him.

Thus the sun has been adored since the Vedic times for the removal of sins, and the bestowal of riches, food, fame, health, and other blessings. At the present day twelve prostrations are made to Sūrya by repeating twelve of his names, all of which have a Sanskrit etymology, and there is no foreign look about them. There is also a more elaborate set of such prostrations.

§ 115. It cannot but be expected, therefore, that a school should come into existence for the exclusive worship of the sun. And such a school is that of the Sauras. Anandagiri brings Samkara into contact with the followers of this sect at a place in the south called Subrahmanya situated at the distance of fourteen days' journey from Anantasayana or Trivendram. The name of their leader was Divākara, and they wore a circular spot of red sandal on the forehead and bore red flowers. The substance of the account of this school given by Divākara is as follows:—

The Supreme Soul, the Sun, is the author of the world. He is the tutelary deity of the Sauras and is adored by them. The Srutis themselves speak of him as the cause of the world, such as "the sun is the soul of moveable and immoveable things" (RV. I. 115.1) and "That Aditya is Brahman". Brahman with which the sun has thus been identified is the cause of the whole world, according to the text, from which all these beings originate, etc. (TU. III. 1.1.). There is also a Smrti text in favour of this doctrine. There are six classes of devotees of the sun all bearing a mark made by red sandal, wearing a garland of red flowers, and repeating the formula of eight syllables. Some worship the orb of the sun who has just risen as Brahmadeva, the creator, others, the sun on the meridian as Isvara, the destroyer. He is also regarded as the originator. Some regard the setting sun as Vispu, the protector, and, considering him as the cause of the creation and destruction also and as the highest entity, worship him. There are some who resort to all the three suns as a triple form. Others, observing the vow of regularly seeing the orb, adore the Supreme

^{28 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's works, Vol. IV.]

Soul as existing in it with golden whiskers and golden hair. One section of this class is devoted simply to the vow of the observation of the disc, and they see the orb, worship it in the sixteen ways, dedicate all their actions to the god, and do not eat without seeing the orb. The devotees of the sixth class imprint the orb on their forehead, arms and bosom with a heated iron piece and meditate on the god in their minds continuously. All these six classes have to repeat the same Mantra, or formula, of eight syllables. The followers of this creed like other sectarians interpret various Vedic texts as setting forth the greatness and the supremacy of their own god. The Purusasūkta (RV. X. 90) and the Satarudriya are so expounded, and the conclusion is that all who desire emancipation should adore the sun, should bear his marks on the body, and mutter the Mantra.

§ 116. So far there is no trace of foreign influence in the development of the Saura system. But such an influence undoubtedly contributed to the growth of the sun-worship prevalent in Northern India from the early centuries of the Christian era. Varāhamihira in the stanza twice quoted before (Brhatsamhitā. chap. 60, 19) tells us that the installation and consecration of the images and temples of the sun should be caused to be made by the Magas, and generally those who worship a certain deity according to their special ritual should be made to perform the ceremony concerning that (eity. This shows that the Magas were, according to Varahamihira, the special priests of the sungod. There is a legend concerning this matter in the Bhavisvapurāņa (chap. 139). Sāmba, the son of Krsna by Jāmbayati. constructed a temple of the sun on the banks of the Candrabhaga. the modern Chenab in the Punjab, and no local Brahmana would accept the office of a regular priest of the temple. He thereupon asked Gauramukha, the priest of Ugrasena. He told him to get Magas, who were special sun-worshippers, from Śākadvipa. Then is given the history of the Magas. Sujihva was a Brāhmana of He had a daughter of the name of Niksubha. the Mihira Gotra. with whom the sun fell in love. The son of these two was called Jarasabda or Jarasasta, and from him sprang all Magas. wore a girdle round their waist, which was called Avyanga. Thereupon Samba went on the back of Garuda, his father's vehicle, to Sākadvīpa, brought some Magas from it and installed them into the office of priests of the temple he had constructed.

The Magas have long been known in the literary history of India. There is an Inscription at Govindapur in the Gayā District dated Śaka 1059, corresponding to 1137-38 A. D., in the opening stanza of which the Magas, who sprang from the sun, are represented to have been brought into the country by Sāmba. Six great poets, the works of some of whom are extant, are also mentioned. There are traces of the Magas elsewhere, and there are Brāhmaṇas of that name in Rajputana and some other provinces of Northern India.

Now these Magas are the Magi of ancient Persia, and the name Jarasasta mentioned above as occurring in the Bhavisyapurāṇa connects them with the Avesta prophet Zarathushtra. The Avyanga, which according to the Purāṇa they wore round their waist, was the same as the Aivyāonghen of the Avesta language, which last signifies the Kusti worn by the Parsees at the present day. Albērūnī, speaking of the Persian priests Magians, says that they existed in India and were called Magas'. The idea of locating them on a continent called Sākadvīpa must have arisen from the fact that they were foreigners like the Sakas, with whom the Indians had been familiar since the second or third century before the Christian era.

Evidently then the worship of the sun or Mihira-worship was brought into India by the old Persian priests Magi, but at whose instance and under what circumstances they came it is difficult to say. The legendary tradition of their having been brought by Sāmba was current in the first half of the twelfth century, as we have seen from the Inscription. The temple on the Candrabhāgā referred to above was that which existed at Multan, and a glowing description of which is given by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang. Four centuries later it was seen by Albērūni. It existed till the seventeenth century, when it was finally destroyed by Auranzeb. Multan is the same as the Sanskrit Mūlasthāna, and this name may have been given to the place, because the

¹ Sachau's Translation, Vol. I, p. 21.

² Ibid, Vol. I, p. 116.

new worship of the sun was first organised there and it was its original seat.

On the coins of Kaniska there occurs a figure with the name Miiro = Mihira by its side. Mihira is the Sanskritised form of the Persian Mihr, which is a corruption of Mithra, the Avestic form of the Vedic Mitra. The cult of Mihr had originated in Persia, and it extended itself up to Asia Minor and even Rome, and the proselytising energy which characterised its first adherents must have led to its extension towards the east also, and of this extension the figure of Mihira on Kaniska's coin is an evidence. The cult, therefore, must have penetrated to India about the time of that Kusana prince, and the Multan temple which was its original seat must have been constructed about the same time.

An Inscription at Mandasaur records the construction of a temple to the sun in the year 437 A. D. by a guild of weavers, and its repair in the year 473 A. D. Another on a copperplate found at Indore in the Bulandshahar District in the United Provinces mentions an endowment of Devavisnu in 464 A. D. for lighting a lamp in a temple of the sun. And in a third is recorded a grant in 511 A. D. to a temple of Aditya, or the sun. A great many more sun temples have been discovered especially in Western India from Multan down to Cutch and northern Gujarat. The ruins of one exist at Modherā, eighteen miles to the south of Pātan in the last-named province, and they contain the date Vikrama 1083 corresponding to 1027 A. D. There was another at Gwalior constructed in the time of Mihirakula, the Hūna Prince, in the beginning of the sixth century.

The form of the idol of the sun worshipped in such temples is described by Varāhamihira (Brhatsamhitā, chap. 58), but the features mentioned by him which have a significance for our present purpose are that his feet and legs should be enclosed or covered up to the knees and he should be dressed in the fashion prevalent in the North (v. 46), and that he should be encircled by an Avaynga (v. 47). Accordingly the images of the sun that are found in the temples mentioned above have boots

¹ Burgess, Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujrat, London 1903.

reaching up to the knees, and a girdle round the waist with one end hanging downwards1. This last is a Persian feature. as we have already seen, and the other also must have the same or similar origin. It certainly is not Indian. The features of the idol of the sun and the fact of Magas, who were descended from the Persian Magi, being its priests point unmistakably to the conclusion that the cult was introduced into India from Persia, and I believe that the construction of so many temples was also due to the foreign influence. For, in the account of the Saura systems we have given above, there is not the remotest allusion to a temple of the sun. According to all appearances, therefore, the cult prevalent in Northern India was entirely distinct from those systems. It does not appear to have allied itself with any one of these latter. But it was accepted by the mass of the Hindus as a general worship of the sun, and the feelings which it evoked could not have been different from those which the indigenous worship gave rise to. And the manner in which devotion to the sun is expressed in the Inscriptions which we find in some of the temples, has nothing special or foreign in The Magas themselves, the priests of the new cult, were gradually thoroughly Hinduised until they became undistinguishable from the other Hindus and formed only a separate caste.

In the copper-plate grant of Harsavardhana, who lived in the middle of the seventh century, his father Prabhākarvardhana, his grandfather Ādityavardhana and his great-grandfather Rājyavardhana are all styled great devotes of the sun (Paramādityabhakta)². This is an evidence to show that the sun cult, probably made up of a mixture of the indigenous and foreign forms, prevailed in the beginning of the sixth century and was professed by great princes.

XVII. Resume of Saivism & Other Minor Systems, Part IL

§ 117. The fearful and destructive phenomena of nature led to the conception of, and belief in, the god Rudra, the terrible howler, accompanied by his groups, or Ganas, called sometimes

¹ Ibid., Plate LVI.

² Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 72-73.

Rudras or Rudriyas, who were minor howlers. This god, when propitiated, became the auspicious Siva, the beneficent Samkara and the benignant Sambhu. The conception gradually developed further, until Rudra became the god of wild and awful scenes, such as cemeteries, mountains and forests. Of the beasts and savages that dwelt in these last and of the thieves and outcasts that resorted to them, he became the lord. Subsequently he developed into the god who pervades the universe dwells in fire and water in all beings and in herbs and trees and was the supreme ruler of all. When he rose to this position, he became the subject of Upanisad speculation, by meditating on whom and seeing whom everywhere in the universe a man attained blissful serenity.

But the awful and wild side of his nature was not effaced, but went on developing; and when religious schools such as that of the Pāñcarātras came to be established, one with Rudra or Pasupati as the god to be adored was set up some time after. Its founder was a human being, who came to be known as Lakutin or Lakulin, the holder of a club, and Lakuliša or Nakuliša, the lord, the holder of the club. Pañcārtha was the title of the work attributed to him, and his system came to be known by the name of Pāšupata. Two extreme schools were developed out of this, and also one, which was more moderate, known by the name of the Saiva. Traces of these schools have been found from about the second century of the Christian era to about the twelfth.

But the repulsive nature of the two extreme schools and the wild and fantastic character of the other two led to a reaction, and in the beginning of the ninth century we have the first Kasmir school; and about a hundred years afterwards was founded another. These are very sober in their doctrines and practices, and may be considered to have been influenced by the school of Samkara, though an escape from his severe spiritual monism has been provided for, so as to allow of an individual existence to the delivered soul.

A further reform was effected about the middle of the eleventh century by the Lingayat school. The philosophical doctrines of this school amount to this; that God is infinite intelligence and

joy, is the creator of the world and the instructor and redeemer of mankind, and that the individual soul attains to a unity of blissful experience with him by gradually estranging himself from the world, pursuing a course of devotional worship, abandoning himself to God and seeing him in everything. This philosophy seems to have been influenced by the tenets of the school of Rāmānuja. The spirit of the Lingāyats was, however, combative, and they set up for themselves a community distinct from that which owes its origin to the Brāhmanic system. All the while, however, during the existence of these schools the general worship of Rudra-Śiva has prevailed among ordinary people regardless of the doctrines of these schools.

Śiva was associated with his consort Pārvati or Umā. She too had a beneficent and majestic character as alluded to in the KnU. But just as an aboriginal element contributed to the formation of the character of Rudra-Śiva, so an aboriginal element of a more distinct nature came to be combined with his consort, and she became a terrible goddess that had to be appeased by animal and even human sacrifices. But since the lustful nature of man is very strong in him, that goddess under the name of Tripurasundari (the beauty of the three cities) or Lalitā (sportively graceful) became the creator of the world, and was also worshipped with debasing and sensual rites; and thus came in the school of the Śāktas, who looked forward to an identity with Tripurasundari as the goal of their existence.

Ganapati as the leader of a host was, of course, connected with Rudra-Siva. That idea became mingled with the idea of Vināyaka, an evil spirit that possessed men, and thus the combined god Ganapati-Vināyaka became an object of worship on the principle that an obstructive and evil spirit should be first propitiated before beginning an action. Thereafter he became the special god of six minor sects, one of these holding doctrines as debasing as those of the Sākta cult.

Skanda was more closely connected with Siva as the lord of his Ganas or groups; and afterwards came to be believed to be his son; and his worship prevailed for several centuries from the time of Patañjali downwards and has not become obsolete even at the present day.

The Sun was a god worshipped in early times and his cult did not disappear, as his orb was daily visible. But he became the object of sectarian worship some time later. About the third century, however, of the Christian era, another cult of the Sun was introduced from Persia. It took root on Indian soil and prevailed for a long time in North-Western India, a good many splendid temples having been erected from time to time for his worship. A special caste of priests of the name of Magas was associated with the cult, and the masses of the Hindu population adopted it as if it had been indigenous to the country.

XVIII. Hindu Theism and Pantheism.

§ 118. As the theoretic or philosophic portion of the doctrines, taught by the founders of most of the various systems we have examined, are based on certain fundamental ideas contained in the Upanisads and the Bhagavadgitā, I deem it necessary to devote this last section to a consideration of the question as to what those ideas definitely are, and to what extent they have been adopted or modified by the promulgators of those systems to suit their specific purposes.

In discussing these ideas, some scholars make a broad distinction between Vedantism, which they identify with Pantheism, and Theism. If they find any passage expressive of the immanence of God in the world in a work whose main aim is theistic. they consider such a passage to be interpolated. I have already alluded to this mental attitude in the beginning of the present work, but it is necessary to say something more on the subject. If they mean by Theism the Deism of the eighteenth century. according to which the world is a machine constructed and set in motion by God, who remains apart from it, with perhaps the additional doctrine that he enters into relations with men who worship him and appeal to him, they are probably right. But this is not Hindu Theism. The immanence of God in the external world and in the heart of man is its essential doctrine. But that is perfectly consistent with the belief in God's transcendency, that is, his being distinct from the world and man and above them, influencing them, controlling them, protecting them, and listening to prayers. That the ideas of immanence and transcendency are not incompatible or inconsistent with each other is admitted even by European thinkers. The Theism of the Bhagavadgitā is a Theism of this nature, and consequently the passages expressive of immanence are by no means to be regarded as interpolated. Theism of this nature is contained in the Upanisads also, though there are pantheistic dectrines of varied sorts.

Pantheism as formulated by Spinoza is thus stated :- "God, though undetermined ab extra, is capable of infinite self-determination. Thus God, the causa sui, manifests himself in an infinite multiplicity of particular modes. Spinoza is, therefore, both pantheist and pancosmist: God exists only as realised in the cosmos: the cosmos exists only as a manifestation of God!." The Upanisads contain pantheistic doctrines corresponding to what is stated in the first two sentences of this quotation. There are affirmations that when one thing is known, everything becomes known, as in the case of a ball of earth, on knowing the true nature of which one knows the true nature of all that is made of earth, etc. (ChU. VI. 1.4); that when the soul is seen, heard and known, all this becomes known, and the Brahman, the Keatra, these worlds, these gods, these Vedas, these elements, - all this is the soul (BU, IV, 4, 6). Then again there are such statements as: "That Sat alone existed in the beginning, one without a second. That reflected "I may be many and multiply". It created light". This statement is to the effect that everything existing is a form or modification of God. There are many such passages in the Upanisads and several of these are quoted in Samkarācārya's Bhāsya on the Brahmasūtras I. 4. 23-27. But it is by no means to be inferred that the Upanisad Pantheism is of the nature set forth in the last sentence of the quotation from Spinoza, that is; Brahman is, not exhausted in the world, but it exists separately also. But the objection to this view is that Brahman being of the nature of spirit is not like the body divisible into parts, so that one may become developed into the world and another remain outside; and this is affirmed in a text of the SU. (VI. 19). This inconsistency is removed by Badara-

⁻¹ Encyclopædia Britanica, Eleventh Edition, Vol. XX, p. 683a, under

^{29 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

yana in Brahmasütras II. 1. 26-27. The argument is that though the Upanisads state that the constituent cause of the world is Brahman, they at the same time affirm the existence of Brahman separately from the world (ChU. III. 12.6; and VI. 3.2). The two are inconsistent on the theory that Brahman is a spirit and not discerptible into parts. Though they are thus inconsistent, they must both be accepted on the authority of the sacred texts, since the true nature of Brahman and the world is beyond the reach of human intellect. This solution of the difficulty is inadmissible to non-believers in the sacred texts, but it shows that Badaravana does not agree with the latter part of Spinoza's definition of Pantheism, i. e., according to him, the sacred texts do not affirm that "God exists only as realised in the cosmos: the cosmos exists only as a manifestation of God". The inconsistency pointed out by him is based on the impossible conception of Brahman's being divisible into parts. But it will not arise if, instead of bringing in this conception, we suppose that in one aspect Brahman is the material or constituent cause of the world or realised in the world, and from another point of view, it remains pure and becomes the object of contemplation and devotion. Whatever it may be, Bādarāyana's view appears to me to be correct, and the Pantheism of the Upanisads is not exactly the came as that formulated by Spinoza.

But even this partial Pantheism is only one of the doctrines set forth in the Upanisads. As mentioned in the beginning they contain the rudiments not only of one system of religious philosophy, but of a good many and even of Buddhism. When Brahman or the Supreme Soul is affirmed to be distinct from the world and thus there is a denial of the partial Pancheism I have spoken of, that soul is represented as dwelling in the external world and in the soul of man; that is to say, Theism is taught with the immanency of God in the world and in man. For instance in the BU. III. 7. 7-301 we have first "He who dwelling in the earth is distinct from it, whom the earth does not know, whose body the earth is, and who, being in the inside, controls the earth, is the indestructible controlling soul". In the following passages up to 30 we have precisely the same statement about water.

fire, the sky, wind, the sun, the moon and stars, the quarters, the lightning, thunderbolt, all the worlds, all the Vedas, all sacrifices, all beings, the vital breath, speech, the eye, the ear, the mind, the skin, light, darkness, the seminal fluid, and the (individual) soul. Here the inward controlling soul is mentioned as distinct from the earth and all the rest, up to the individual soul, and still as dwelling in them, controlling them from the inside, and having these for his body. The whole section winds up with the affirmation that this controlling soul is not seen, but is the seer; is not heard, but hears; is not apprehended by thought, but apprehends by thought; is not known, but knows; there is no other seer, no other hearer, no other apprehender, and there is no other knower. Herein are brought out the peculiar points of Hindu Theism: God is the only seer, the only hearer, and the only knower, that is, he is all-seeing, all-hearing, and all-knowing; and nobody can see him, hear him, or know him. He is distinct from all objects, but dwells in them and controlls them. Texts expressive of such an immanency are to be found in many places in the Upanisads. God being thus distinct from the world, though immanent, can be the object of devoted meditation, and can be attained by means of truth, knowledge and purity. Mere immanency of this nature does not at all constitute the Pantheism formulated by Spinoza. There is therefore no ground whatever for regarding as an interpolation the occurrence of texts expressive of it in such a theistic work as the Bhagavadgītā.

We have noticed above the manner in which Bādarāyaṇa removes the inconsistency between God's developing himself into the world, while at the same time he is transcendent, and his being a simple spirit without parts. Samkarācārya fairly explains, I think, Bādarāyaṇa's view. But raising a further objection, he brings in his own doctrine eventually, that the so-called development of Brahman into the world is fancied by ignorance and is not true, that is, the world is an illusion. There are two doctrines indicative of the relation of God to the world, the so-called Pariṇāmavāda and the Vivartavāda. The former implies real development and the latter, an illusive development. This last is the doctrine of Samkarācārya, wherefore his system should be called Singularism rather than spiritual monism; while the first

is that clearly held by the author of the Sūtras. This is evident from his very definition of Brahman as that from which everything originates, in which everything lives, and into which everything resolves itself in the end, and from the manner in which in the first Pāda of the Second Chapter he answers the objections based upon the theory that an intelligent being cannot develop into non-intelligent or insensate matter; and Samkarācārya himself acknowledges at the end of his comment on II. 1. 14 that the author of the Sūtras follows the Parināma doctrine though to save his theory, he imagines without any grounds that Bādarāyana has in view the ordinary or illusory condition of things in doing so.

Śamkarācārya's Vivartavāda it was which the later schools of Vaisnavism and Saivism contended against; for even according to him, it leaves no scope for the relation of the ruler and the ruled, i. e., God and the devotee, in the condition of reality when all illusion is dispelled and one spirit alone exists (II. 1. 14). Most of them adopted Bädarāyana's Parināmavāda, but the distinctness of God, man and the world, which was necessary for the validity of their doctrines of worship and devotion, they secured by qualifying the mode of development. By this qualification they also steered clear of the inconsistency pointed out by Badarayana in II. 1. 26, so that his mode of satisfaction was not necessary for them. Rāmānuja lays down that the rudiments of the individual souls and of the insensate world exist in God himself as his characteristics or body, and with these he develops into the world, thus giving rise to the three distinct substances. the material world, the individual soul, and God as the controller. Nimbarka maintains that the other two substances do not characterise God or form his body, but are dependent upon him for their existence, and in a subtle form constitute his power or capacity, which develops into the animate and inanimate world. Visnusvamin, and therefore Vallabha, hold that the highest God, or Parabrahman, manifests himself as the material world, the individual soul, and the supreme controller, but in the course of development his attributes of intelligence and joy are concealed by his mysterious power, and thus is produced the material world, while, his joy alone being concealed, individual souls come into existence, and when the three are manifest or unconcealed, he becomes the supreme controller. Vallabha adds two other forms of Parabrahman or Purusöttama, as mentioned in the section on this system. Madhva rejects the doctrine of God being the constituent cause of the world and consequently that of his development, and lays down the five eternal distinctions between God, man, and the world and between different individuals and objects involved in the last two. Saiva schools, the Pasupata brings in the Of the older Pradhāna of the Sāmkhyas with its developments as the material cause of the world, with Pasupati as the efficient cause, Srikantha Sivacarva in his comment on Br. S. II. 2. 38, states that according to his predecessors, a certain branch of the philosophy based on the sacred texts revealed by Siva (Agamas) held Siva to be only the efficient cause of the world. This must be a reference to the Saiva school which, as we have already stated, was a dualistic or pluralistic school. The Vayaviyasamhita according to him states that Sakti, or power, first originates from Siva, thence Māyā, thence Avyakta (I. 7.'3). By Māyā is to be understood the wonderful creative power of Siva, as is evident from the following verse 4, and Avyakta means the Fradhana, as appears from that verse as well as verse 7. He gives another verse which sets forth that everything from the Sakti to the earth is produced from the essence of Siva, so that Siva through the Sakti is both the efficient and the constituent cause of the world. This Sakti is brought in by those who hold creation to be the development of Siva, while it is not wanted for those Saiva philosophers who would keep the creative principle Māyā or Pradhāna as distinct from Siva and undergoing independent development. Srikantha explains the expression 'Siva alone existed' occurring in SU. 1V. 18, under I. 4. 27, by 'Siva, with whom the Sakti (the power) in the form of the animate and the inanimate world was united. alone existed so as to form one entity', so that he here understands Siva as possessed of the Sakti to be the constituent cause. In this respect his doctrine is similar to that of Nimbarka. immediately afterwards he speaks of the Cit and the Acit forming the body of Siva and thus puts forth the same theory as that

^{1 [}Ante, p. 119.-N. B. U.]

of Rāmānuja. Practically he makes no distinction between the two. The theory of the Lingāyats is the same as the first form of the theory set forth by Śrikantha Śivācārya. Śiva as qualified by the Śakti is the creator, that is, is the efficient and the constituent cause of the world. The Kāśmīr Śaivism attributes the production of the world to the will of God without any material cause, or affirms that God makes the world appear in himself.

Thus most of these schools avoid the Pantheism of Spinoza and the incompatibility between God's development into the world and his transcendency by holding that the rudiments of the material and the spiritual world associated with God as his characteristics, or as his body, or as his power only undergo development, he himself remaining pure. Viṣṇusvāmin and Vallabha, admitting, as they do, the development of Puruṣottama into the world and at the same time his transcendency, follow Bādarāyaṇa. The mysterious power which causes the differences by rendering certain qualities imperceptible, may be compared to the self-determining power of God involved in Spinoza's statement. The Kasmir Śaivas do not bring in the idea of God as a constituent cause undergoing development and seem to admit the doctrine of creation out of nothing.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

AB = Aitareya - Brāhmaṇa.

ĀG. = Aśvalāyana-Gṛhyasūtra.

AU. = Atharvasiras-Upanisad.

AV = Atharva-Veda.

BhG. = Bhagavad-Gitā.

Bibl. Ind. = Bibliotheca Indica.

Br.S. = Brahma-Sūtra.

BrS. = Brhat-Samhitā.

BU. = Brhadāranyaka-Upanisad.

Chowkh. = Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.

ChU. = Chandogya-Upanisad.

HG. = Hiranyakeśi-Grhyasutra

KB. = Kausītaki-Brāhmana.

KBU. = Kausītaki-Brāhmana-Upanisad. KnU. = Kena-Upanisad.

KU. = Katha-Upanisad.

MaiU. = Maitri-Upanisad.

MBh. = Mahābhārata.

MU. = Mundaka-Upanisad.

P.=Pānini.

PG. = Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra.

RV = Rg-Veda.

RVS. = Rg-Veda-Samhitā.

ŚB. = Śatapatha-Brāhmaņa.

 $\dot{S}U$. - \dot{S} vetāsvatara-Upanisad.

TA. = Taittirlya-Āraṇyaka.

TS. = Taittirīya-Samhitā.

 ${\bf TU. = Taittirly a \hbox{-} Upanisad.}$

VS. = Vājasaneyi-Samhitā.

YV. = Yajur-Veda.

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INDEXES.

I. INDEX OF SANSKRIT WORDS AND PROPER NAMES.

(The Indexes have been compiled by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph. D. Throughout the references are to pages.)

Akṣara 25, 26, 29, 33, 39, 110, 11½ ° brahman 112.

Aṅga 190; ° sthala 192; yoga °, bhoga ³, tyāga ° 194.

Acit 73, 229.

Atharvaśiras 151, 158.

Advaita 110.

Adhibhuta 24.

Adhiyajňa 24.

Adhyātma 25, 28, 48.

Aniruddha 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 18, 62, %%,

Aniruddha 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 18, 62, 74, 120.

Antaryamin 75, 112.

Andhaka 11, 54.

Aprakrta 111.

Abhigamana 56. Amarasimha 62.

Arjuna 9, 11, 16-19, 23, 28, 29, 34, 35, 36, 37.

Avatāra 3, 9, 58f.

Avitatkarana 175.

Avitadbhāşaņa 175.

Avyakta 25, 26, 43.

Avyanga 219, 220.

Ahamkara 20, 74.

Ahimsa 10, 46.

Agama 169.

Acaryabhimanayoga 77.

Anava(mala) 185.

Atmaguna 30.

Atman 86.

Ananda 86, 111, 191.

Abhira 51, Palli 51.

Ārādhya 188ff.

IjyE 56.

Iána 149, 153f., 159.

Iávara 73.

Uttamapurușa 38.

Upanisads, their composite character 1f., the tendency to rationalise Yajñas in the U. 21; the germ of the religion of devotion in the U. 39, 40; U. as interpreted and used by later propagandists 71, 73, 81, 225.

Upamanyu 161f.

Upasāgara 14.

Upādāna 56.

Upāsanā 39, 40, 80.

Umā 158f.

Usmita 210.

Rşabha 59.

Ekantikadharma 10, 17, 37, 40, 54.

Ekantin 7.

Aupanisada 72.

Kapardin 147.

Kabir 94ff.

Kartabhaja 122.

Karman 20, 22, 35, 185; (philosophy of

rites) 74, 75.

Karmayoga 20-23, 31, 77.

Kalā 173f., 207, 208.

Kallata 183.

Kapalika 168, 182f.

Kama 207.

Kamarupitva 176.

Karana 173f.

Kārukasiddhāntin 172.

Kāruņikasiddhāntin 172.

Karttikeya 214, 215.

Karya 173f.

Kalamukha 168.

Kuáika 166.

Kusmandarajaputra 210.

Kṛṣṇa 6, 14-17, 53, 54; cult of K. 108ff. Kevalin 76.

Keśava 14, 15, 17, 18,

Kaurusya 165.

Kaulika 209f.

Krāthana 175.

Krivāmārga 55.

Keatriyas 5, 19; as active speculators on religious matters 12, 13; gotras of K. 16.

Kşara 33.

Ksetrajña 30, 31.

Gaņapati 210ff., 223; various Gaņapatis 212, 213.

Garga 165.

Gītā s. Bhagavadgītā.

Guna 9, 30, 32, 35, 36, 37.

Guru 85, 114, 116, 117.

Gudhacarya 173.

Gokula 17, 50f.

Gotra 14, 15, 16; G. of the Ksatriyas 16.

Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa 49-54, 108f.

Golcka 111n, 116, 117.

Govinda 51.

Carya 174.

Cit 73, 86, 92, 110, 111, 191, 229.

Citrasikhandin 6, 11.

Caitanya 117f.

Jangama 196.

Janardana 11, 14, 15, 18, 46.

Jiva 17, 23.

Jñana 22, 31.

Jñānayajña 22, 27.

Jňanayoga 77.

Jñānin 24.

Jñānadeva 131.

Tukārāma 124ff. Tulasīdāsa 105ff.

Tripurasundari 208, 209, 223.

Dattätreya 59.

Duhkhanta 173f.

Devayajana 210.

Daivi sampad 34.

Dharma 6, 9, 10, 46.

Nakuliśa Pāsupata 166.

Nandin 164.

Nara 6, 45, 46.

Naga 105.

Nada 185, 207.

Nāmadev 124ff.

Nārāyaņa 6-11, 37, 46; N. as the resting place of Nāra 42; cosmic

character of N. 43.

Nididhyāsa 86.

Nimbarka 87-93, 228.

Pañcama 196ff.

Pandharpur 124.

Patanjali 4, 5, 12, 17, 18, 164.

Para (mode of Īśvara) 74, 75.

Paramahamsa 159.

Parinamavada 119, 227ff.

Paśu 159, 173f.

Pasupati 147ff, 159.

Paśupāśavimoksa 159.

Pāncarātra 6, 17, 44, 54-58; samhitā 54.

Pāśa 179.

Pāsupata (vow) 159, 160; voga 161; (Saiva sect) 165f.

Purusa 30, 31, 38, 39, 86, 191.

Purusa Nārāyana 44.

Puryastaka 179.

Puştijīva 111; Puştibhakti 112; Maryādāpuştibhakti, Puştipuştibhakti Sud-

dhapuştibhakt i 113; Puştimārga 109.

Prakāśa 207.

Prakrti 6, 17, 20, 21, 23, 26, 30, 31, 38, 55, 74, 77, 84, 86, 90, 154, 191.

Prajapati 7, 13, 19, 43, 161.

Pradyumna 8, 13, 17, 18, 75, 120.

Pradhāna 181, 229.

Prapatti 76-79, 92.

Prapanna 56, 76.

Prabandha 31 ?

Pralayākala 178.

Pravana 26.

Premabhakti 113.

Baladeva 3, 12, 15.

Balarāma 18.

Basava 188, 189, 190.

Badarayana 226f.

Bindu 207.

Buddhi (prakṛti) 17; (will) 20, 23, 36, 67.

Brahman 19, 22, 25, 26, 31, 37, 38, 39, 158.

Brahmanirvāna 38.

Brahmayoni 33.

Brahn, aloka 9.

Brahmanacchamsin 15.

Brāhmī (condition of the jīva) 19.

Bhakta 76.

Bhakti 17, 28, 39; in ŚU., Pāṇini, Yāska 40, 54, 73, 76, 77, 80, 92, 157, 192, 194; °Yoga 31, 32; °mārga 105.

Bhagavat 6, 20, 23, 36; as appellation of the Buddha and Vāsudeva 42; of Siva 153, 155.

Bhagavadgitā, the religion of B. 11, 17; date of composition of B. 19; substance of B. 19-37; sources of the religion of B. 37ff; its psychology 19, 21; its essentially theistic nature 22-24, 26, 29; moral responsibility in B. 32; salvation according to B. 36, 37, 144, 152, 153, 157.

Bhava 147f.

Bhāgavata (Vāsudeva worship) 4, 5, 11, 15, 54-58.

Bhāva 156.

Maga 218-221.

Madhva 50n, 54, 66, 81ff, 229.

Manojavitva 176.

Mandana 175.

Maryādājīva 111.

Mala 185.

Mahat 74.

Mahādeva 148, 159.

Mahāpusti 112.

Mahābhārata, the interpolations in the Southern recension of M. 50n; position of Rudra-Śiva in M. 160.

Mahābhāva 120.

Mahāvrata, odhara 168, 183.

Māyā 24, 110, 121, 154, 229.

Markandeya 45.

Māheśvara (= Pāśupata) 170f.

Mitra 165.

Mudrika 181.

Muni 22.

Mürti 8.

Yajña (worship) 20; (metaphorical) 21.

Yājňavalkya 211.

Yoga, teachings of, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26; doctrines mentioned in the Gita

38; Y. element in Vāsudeva worship 56, 152, 157, 163, 173f.

Yogamāyā (mystic power) 24.

Rahasya 56.

Rahasyāmnāya 55.

Rādhā 58, 93, 117f, 126.

Rāma 65-68.

Rāmānanda 93.

Rāmānuja 54, 71-81, 152, 195, 228f.

Rukminī 127.

Rudra 145f. (plural) 146; as the supreme god 150-153; as creator 161.

Rudra-Śiva 145; indentical with Agni 147.

Lakulin = Nakulin 166f.

Linga 190f.; *sthala 192; bhāva*, prāṇa*, iṣṭa* 192; ācāra* 193.

Lingayat 187f, 230.

Varenya 91.

Vallabhācārya 58, 108f, 228.

Vasugupta 129.

Vasudeva 11.

Vākovākya 39.

Vāsudeva, belonged to the Vṛṣṇi race 5, 12; and the Kārṣṇāyana gotra 16; mentioned in inscriptions 4, 5; older than Pāṇini 4; religion of V. 8; etymology of the word V. 9; V. as the supreme soul 8,9; V. the name of an historical personage 12-15; not merely a patronymic 12; the Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa cult nearly contemporaneous with the rise of Buddhism and Jainism 13; V. identified with Kṛṣṇa 15-17; with Nārāyaṇa 18, 42-47; with Viṣṇu 47-49; 75, 144, 157.

Vikramanadharmitva 176.

Vijnānākala 178. Viṭhobā 124ff. Viḍhi (Śaiva) 173. Vināyaka 210ff. Vibhava 56, 75. Vibhūti 18, 28. Virakta 105. Virāj 11, 28. Vilāsaśakti 120. Vivartavāda 119, 140. Visnu 47-49.

Vistaradharin 105.

Vīrašaiva 187ff. Vrndāvana 111n.

Vrsni 5, 11, 28, 54.

Vedavyāsa 59.

Vyasana 113.

Vyāpivaikuņţha 111n.

Vyuha 10, 17, 18, 55, 56, 58, 75, 90, 120, 207.

Vrātya 163.

Śakti 181, 191, 229; S. worship 203ff.
Śańkara (deity) 147f., 160 ff.
Śańkarācārya 2n2, 56, 72, 90, 195, 214, 225, 227, 228.
Śaranāgati 85.
Sarva 147f.
Śākadvipa 218, 219.
Śāndilya 55.
Sāmbhavadaršana 207.

Sālakaṭaṅkaṭa 210. Siva 145f., 153, 154, 156; as Kirāta 160; characteristics of S. 162° bhāgavata 165

165. Śilavantas 196. Śuddhādvaita 110. Śudras, forms of worship open to Ś., 76, 127. Śūlagava 150. Śringāraņa 175. Śramaņa 41. Śrīoakra 209, Śrī-Nāthaji 109. Śrīsampradāya 81. Śvetadvīpa 8, 44. Śvetāśvatara-Upanisad 151f., 157.

Samvid 174. Samsāra 33. Sakhībhāva 122. Sakhva 57.

Samkarşana 4, 5, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 55, 75, 120.

Saccidananda 92, 110. Sat 86, 92, 110, 111, 191.

Satvata 11.

Sanaka, • sampradāya 93. Samnyāsa 21, 22, 27.

Samayin 209f.

Sāthkhya 19, 20, 21, 36, 156; S. doctrines mentioned in the Gītā 38.

Satvata (vidhi) 6, 9, 10, 56; worshippers of Vasudeva 9, 11-19; (incarnation) 59.

Sādākhya 193. Sādya 174.

Sāyujya 114.

Somananda 186.

Saura 215, 217.

Skanda 214, 215, 223.

Sthala 190, 191.

Sthitaprajña 19. Spandana 175.

Sphurti 207.

Sphurti 207. Smärta 50n.

Svādhyāyana 56.

Hara 150, 152. Hari 6, 10, 11.

II. GENERAL INDEX.

Aborigines, the influence of their beliefs on Indian religions 163, 177, 205. Ahīrs 52.

Aivyāonghen 219.

Alvar 69, 70.

Banjig 197. Brāhmaņism, revival of, 71, 203. Buddhism 3, 10, 12, 19, 22, 34, 41.

Caste differences, ignoration of, 100, 118, 213.

Christian influence on Indian religions, 53, 54, 80.

Coins of Kaniska 215.

Cosmogany (Sakta) 207.

Devāram 200.

Dualistic philosophy, (Vaisnava) 104, 106; (Saiva) 181.

Ecstasy, religious 92, 113, 120, 121.

Founders, as historinal personages of some Vaisnava and Saiva sects 14, 15, 171, 172, 173, 183, 184, 189, 190.

Gates engraved with sculptures 57f.

Henotheism 2.

Idolatry and non-idolatry 66, 78, 82, 104, 105, 127, 128, 131.

Incarnation 3, 9, 13, 21; evolution of monotheism out of polytheism 17, 205, 206, 215, 216; I. and identification of two gods 57; I. of Visnu 58, 59,

Jainism 3, 10, 12, 19, 22, 34, 41. Jātakas 54.

Kusti 219.

Magi = Maga 219f.

Māyā doctrine, its rejection 72, 81, 87. Mirro = Mihira 220.

Miraculous powers, their attainment 176, 180, 182.

Mithra 220.

Monism and pluralism. (Vaişņava) 72, 81, 82, 89, 90, 91, 141f; monism denounced by the Vaiṣṇavas 144; (Saiva) 181, 195.

Padigam 200.

Pañcamsali 197.

Pantheism, Rgvedic 29, 224-30.

Persian Sun-God 221, 224.

Phallic worship 163.

Physical attributes of God (Vaişņava) 90n, 111, 112.

Pippal tree, universe compared to the, 33.

Priests, worldly life of, 116, 117.

Ramaini of Kabīr 99f.

Religion of devotion (bhakti), in the Nārāyaṇīya 9; its early formulation in the Gitā 10, 11; as old as Pāṇini 12; Vāsudeva as the promulgator of the R. 13, 24, 28, 39, 40, 107, 108, 139-141; open to the Sudras 42, 76,93. Religious sects, in the fourth century B. C. 3; founder of new R. 18;

B. C. 3; founder of new R. 18; ekāntika 7, 8, 10, 19; principle of unity in all of them 21, 25, 26; toleration 27; spiritual theistic 104.

Renunciation 35.

Rites, their performance without desire 19, 86; condemned 118, 129, 135, 141.

Sacrifice, animal (discouraged) 7, 10; its inefficacy felt by the people 1, 10, 27, 42.

Saivism, early beginnings of 145f.; and Vaisnavism 151; linga worship 163f.; influence of the beliefs of the aborigines on S. 164; Siva worshippers 166-169; the fourteenth as the sacred day in S. 168; the (human) founder of S. 171, 172; its characteristics 175, 176; eschatology 178, 179; Kaśmīr 183f.; dīkṣā ceremonies 189, 197; in the Dravida country 200;

Salvation (nirvāņa, mukti), in the Upaniṣads 2, 156; the early Vāsudevism 32, 33; the Bhagavadgītā 36, 37, 40, 41; in the Pāācarātra system 54; according to Rāmānuja 76; Madhva 85; in the Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa cult 111f.; according to Caitanya 121; Tukārāma 138f.; with the Saivas 175, 176, 186, 187.

Spin**esa 225f.** Sun-worship 215, 216, 221.

Tehkalai 78, 93. Theism, Hindu 224, 230.

Vadakalai 78.

Vaisnavism, constituents of the later forms of V. 49; its development from the fourth to the eleventh century 60; philosophic ground work of V. 71-81, Samkhya influences on V. 74; V. and Samkara's Vedantism 76; its attitude towards the Sudras 94, 103.

105, 126, 127; emotionalistic development of V. I17; its debasement 122; V. and Saivism 151.
Vedāntism and Theism 224-228.

Waters called Naras 42.
Worship, mystic modes of 56, 66; W. of
Vasudeva 56; of Hari 57; Vaisnava
78; in the Gopala-Krana cult 114f.;
W. of the phallus 163; W. of the
pudenda 181, 208f.

Zarathushtra = Jarasasta 219.

III. LIST OF SECTARIAN WORKS CONSULTED.

Adhyātmarāmāyaņa 67. Arthapañcaka 75, 77.

Aryavidyāsudhākara 109n1.

Govardhanaprākatyakī Vārtā 109n2. Gaurāņgacarita 121n. Granthamālikāstotra 87n. Grantha-Sāheb 130f.

Jāānāmrtasāra (samhitā) 57.

Tattvatraya 74n3, 75n5.

Daśaśloki 89f. Dharmapariksz 64.

Nāradapañoarātra (sadihitā) 57, 123.

Paffoarātrasumhitā 54, 144.
Paficācāryapaficamotpattiprakaraņa
150n4&5.
Paficāchyāyī 172.
Paficārthabhāqyadīpikā 174.
Paficārthavidyā 172.
Paramasamhitā 55.
Pauņkarasamhita 54.
Prameyarataārņava 110n2.
Pravaramafijarī 16n.

Basavapurāņa 189n.

Madhvavijaya 82n1. Madhvasiddhäntasāra 84n1. Mahābhāratatātparyanirņaya 83. Mukundamālā 70.

Yatındramatadıpika 75n2, 76n, 77n.

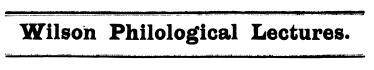
Rasāmṛtasindhu 122. Rāmagītā 68.

Väyaviyasamhitä 181, 229. Viraśaivacintämani 178n. Viraśaiväcäryapradipikä 190n2. Vrddhahäritasmrti 66n4. Vedäntapärijätasaurabha 88. Vratakhanda 13n1, 66n4.

Samkaradigvijaya 182, 212. Satarudriya 146, 153. Sivasūtravimaršinī 185n3. Suddhādvaitamārtaņļa 110n2. Saivasiddhāntadīpikā 179.

Sakalācāryamatasamgraha 110n1. Sātvatasamhitā 55. Siddhāntajāhnavī 89. Siddhāntaratna (Daśaślokī) 89. Sotu 89. Saundaryalaharī 206n (, 209n1. Spandaryadīpikā 186n1.

Harigītā 17. Hārītasmṛti 78.



LECTURE I.

GENERAL LAWS GUIDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE;
THE DIFFERENT STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SANSKRIT.

The occasion that brings us here together to-day is the first of its kind in the history of this University. Hitherto the University of Bombay has been merely an Examining Board. day witnesses the beginning of an attempt to discharge another and a more important function of such an institution. idea of a University is that it is a body of men devoted to learning, and engaged in acquiring knowledge and disseminating it. A country that has no such bodies of men occupies but a low position in the intellectual scale of the world, and contributes little to the general advancement of mankind in knowledge. But a devotion to learning implies sacrifice of worldly interests, and the poverty of learned men has become proverbial. To enable persons, therefore, to apply themselves to the pursuit of knowledge with undivided attention, there exist in connection with such institutions certain appointments tenable for life called professorships or fellowships, endowed by the enlightened liberality of private individuals or of the government of the country.

India and the Bombay University are no exception to the general rule. In other times learning flourished in the country under the fostering care of its innumerable princes and chiefs, as well as rich merchants. Though in the words of the poet, Sri and Sarasvati are, in a sense, constantly hostile to each other, it is Sri alone at all times and in all countries that can support Sarasvati, and enable her to live and grow. Hence it is impossible that the Bombay University should rise to the dignity of a seat of learning without such a provision as is found necessary in more advanced countries. India cannot take her place among the intellectual nations of the West, and compete with them in the advancement of knowledge unless her Universities discharge their proper function, unless we have professorships in connection with them for the cultivation of science, philosophy, history and philology.

But we may be told that an Indian does not care for knowledge for its own sake, and it is only as a means of worldly advancement that he enters the University at all, and, as soon as he takes his degree, he flings away his books, and no more troubles himself with the several branches of knowledge to which he was introduced while within the walls of his college. The reproach is true, as well as untrue. It is true if it is meant that since the first school or college was opened by our Government we have had very few or none among us who have devoted themselves to the pursuit of knowledge. But if what it is intended to assert is that a love of knowledge or learning and an unselfish devotion to it are foreign to the nature of a Hindu, it is altogether untrue. Those ponderous tomes which adorn the library of the Sanskrit student and those innumerable pustakas in the Sarasvati Bhandsras scattered throughout the country tell a different tale. But in this, as in other matters, the circumstances in which our virtues have grown up and are exercised, are not the circumstances in which we are expected to display them, and fail to do so. Love of learning is ingrained in the very nature of the Hindu, but the legitimate object of this feeling is Sanskrit literature. A knowledge of English and of English literature and philosophy is, in the first instance, sought for only for its practical benefits. Hindu would not send his son to an English School if he could help it. A very powerful motive for the pursuit of learning, the respect of the society in which one lives, is also wanting in the case of the so-called educated Indian. A Sastri or Pandit is esteemed and treated with respect and consideration by his countrymen; the English-knowing Indian may be feared if he holds some Government appointment, but if none, he enjoys no consideration. The very word vidvan or 'learned' is grudged him by the orthodox Hindu. In one branch of learning, however, viz. Sanskrit, an English-knowing Indian may meet with appreciation and esteem at the hands of the learned in Europe. That is a subject in which he may successfully compete with his European brother, and in which he has peculiar advantages which the latter does not possess. Among his own countrymen he will find sympathy only if he has studied Sanskrit exactly in the old way, but even in this case his heterodoxy, which is the result of his

English education, would stand in the way. But there are indications that a more sympathising and appreciating body of men is growing about us, and the circle will go on widening as education advances. In this, as in other matters, there are hopes that our countrymen will, in the course of time, chiefly through the agency of Government education, adapt themselves to their circumstances; and the Hindu's inherent love of learning will gradually extend and engraft itself on the branches of knowledge to which he has been newly introduced by the European.

But encouragement and support are essentially needed; and, taught by our ancient tradition, we naturally look up for these, in the first instance, to our Government. Hitherto it has confined its endeavours to the education of its subjects, a thing which was never before done by any Indian prince, and for which it has the strongest claims on the gratitude of the Indians. But what Indian princes have all along done, viz., the extension of support and patronage to men of learning, and thus enabling them to prosecute their studies, has not yet attracted the attention of our Government, probably because they thought the time had not come for it. Next, it is the duty of those of our countrymen. who enjoy princely fortunes, to encourage the growth and advancement of learning among their countrymen. Now the best and most effectual way, in which learning can thus be encourged and patronized by all who have the means, is by founding University professorships to be held for life. A beginning, however, has been made, and for it we are indebted to the friends of the late Rev. Dr. Wilson, and to the good old Doctor himself. For. when his friends raised up the sum and expressed to him their intention to present it to him, he declined to receive it unconditionally, and, contenting himself with only a life interest in it, proposed that they should hand it over to the University, and found a philological lectureship. It is in virtue of the advice he thus gave that we meet here to-day. I only regret that the Syndicate was not able to secure the services of an abler man. and that the duty of inaugurating the Wilson Lectureship. and, I may say, the new phase on which the University is entering, has devolved on me.

The subject on which the lectures are to be delivered this

year is the Sanskrit, and the Prakrit languages derived from it. Sanskrit is the language of the religion, law, philosophy, and poetry of the Hindus; and all their ancient and most revered books on these subjects are written in that language. Even at the present day the language we use in our daily prayers and in the performance of our various religious rites is Sanskrit; learned men carry on their disputations in Sanskrit, and now and then we meet with new poems written in that language. Prakrit is a general name given to certain dialects in which we find some old books written; and in ordinary Hindu usage the term is extended to the vernaculars we speak. Marathi, Gujarati, and the various other idioms spoken in Northern India are Prakrits. The wording of the subject as laid down in the calendar implies that Sanskrit is the more primitive of these, and that the Prakrits are derived from it. Our business, therefore, is to trace the history of Sanskrit, to observe how from the very earliest form in which it is presented to us in the existing literature of the language, it gradually developed or was corrupted into the modern vernaculars. The Sanskrit which we know of as such is not now the spoken language of any part of India or of the world. It is simply preserved in books, and is used by the learned. But if the Marathi, Gujarati, and the rest show unmistakable signs of having been derived from this language, it must have been at one time spoken generally by our ancestors; and in being handed down from generation to generation it has undergone various modifications and changes, until we have now come to speak it as we do. But of this more hereafter.

India may justly claim to be the original home of scientific philology. In one of the most ancient Sanskrit books, the Samhitā of the Black Yajurveda, there are distinct indications of the dawn of linguistic study. The Brāhmanas of the Vedas,

¹ बार्ष पराच्याज्ञावहले देवा इन्द्रमञ्जविज्ञमां नो वाचं व्याकृतिति सोऽजविद्वरं कृणे महा चैवेष बार्यवे च सह गृह्याता इति तस्मादेन्द्रवायवः सह गृह्यते तामिन्द्रो मध्यने अक्कृप्य व्याकरोत्तस्मादियं व्याकृता वागुद्यते. Speech was once inarticulate and undistinguished (into its parts). Then the gods said to Indra, 'Distinguish our speech into parts.' He said, 'I will ask a gift of you, let Soma be poured into one cup for me and Vāyu together.' Hence Soma is poured into one cup for Indra and Vāyu together. Then Indra going into its midst distinguished it. Hence distinct speech is now spoken. Tait, Samhitā VI. 4, 7,

which rank next to the Samhitas, and even the Taittirlya Samhitā itself, the composition of which differs in no particular from its Brāhmana, are full of etymological explanations of words though often they are fanciful. One Acarya followed another, and they all carefully observed the facts of their language, and laid down the laws they could discover. They studied and compared the significations and forms of words, observed what was common to them, separated the constant element from that which was variable, noticed the several changes that words undergo in different circumstances, and by such a process of philological analysis completed a system of grammar and etymology. In the Nirukta, Yāska, whose exact date we do not know, but who must have flourished several centuries before Christ, lays down correct principles of the derivation of words. The last of the grammarian Ācāryas were Pānini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali. The Prakrit dialects which sprang from Sanskrit were next made the subject of observation and analysis. laws of phonetic change or decay in accordance with which Sanskrit words become Prakrit were discovered and laid down. The Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit elements in those languages were distinguished from each other. This branch of philology also was worked up by a number of men, though the writings of one or two only have come down to us.

In this condition Sanskrit philology passed into the hands of Europeans. The discovery of Sanskrit and the Indian grammatical system at the close of the 18th century led to a total revolution in the philological ideas of Europeans. Before this time there was hardly a scientific treatment of linguistic facts, etymological analysis was scarcely known, and philological speculation had not emancipated itself from the trammels of religion. The Jews were the chosen people of God, and hence their language, the Hebrew, was the most original of all languages, and all others were derived from it. This was the belief of European scholars, as that of the orthodox Pandit at the present day is that Sanskrit is the primitive language, and all others are corruptions

¹ The Ait. Brāhmaṇa rives the etymology of মুৰ (III. 9), of সান্তৰ (III. 23), of জাবা (VII. 13); the Tait. Samhitā, of ডর (I. 5. 1), of বৃষ (II. 4. 1, and II. 5. 2); the Tait. Brāhmaṇa, of সম্ব (I. 1. 5), of ন্ধান্ত (II. 7. 18) &c., &c.

of it: though, however, the Pandit has an excuse in the fact that the languages he generally hears spoken about him have really sprung from Sanskrit. But several circumstances had about this time prepared Europe for independent thought in philology, and Sanskrit supplied the principles upon which it should be conducted and determined the current in which it should run. languages of Europe, ancient and modern, were compared with Sanskrit and with each other. This led to comparative philology and the classification of languages, and a comparison of the words and forms in the different languages led scholars into the secrets of the growth of human speech, and the science of language was added to the list of existing branches of knowledge. The progress made within about fifty years is marvellous, and affords a striking instance of the intellectual activity of the Europeans. In the cultivation of philology and the elaboration of this new science, the Germans, of all other nations, have been most prominent, and have done by far the greater portion of the work. The more limited field of Prakrit philology with which we are here concerned has not been left uncultivated. Pali, the earliest of the Prakrit dialects, is almost as much studied in Europe as Sanskrit. We have editions of Pali texts by Turnour, a Ceylon Civilian, and a Danish scholar, Fausböll; and of a Native Grammar by Kaccayana, by M. Senart, a Frenchman; an original treatise on this subject by Clough, and a very useful Dictionary by the late lamented Professor Childers. The derivation of the language from Sanskrit forms the subject of an essay by the great French scholar, M. Burnouf, and the equally great German scholar, Professor Lassen. There are notices of the Prakrit dialects in one of Colebrooke's essays and in the preface to Professor Wilson's Hindu Theatre. Lassen also wrote a book entitled Institutiones Linguæ Pracraticæ, based upon the grammatical works of native writers, and upon the Prakrit passages occurring in the Sanskrit dramatic plays. Professor Weber, whose industry and comprehensive grasp are admirable, has published an

¹ This lecture was written in 1877 and revised in 1878. It will be necessary for the reader to remember this in going over this short sketch. Many and valuable additions to Pali publications have been made since then, especially by the Pali Text Society.

elaborate analysis of the language and contents of a Jaina religious work in Prakrit entitled the Bhagavati, and of the language of a collection of Prakrit songs by Hāla, together with an edition and translation of the work. Dr. Cowell has brought out a nice edition of the Prākrta-Prakāsa by Vararuci; and Dr. Muir, whose works are so valuable to the student, devotes a large portion of his second volume of the "Sanskrit Texts" to Prakrit philology. in which he gives his own views and a summary of those of other scholars. In Ceylon, Mr. D'Alwis has published a work on the Pali, and in India, an edition of the Prakrit Grammar of Kramadisvara has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica, and of that of Hemacandra in Bombay by a Jaina priest with the assistanace of a Sastri1. The modern vernaculars have not yet succeeded in attracting the attention of the learned in Europe. Essays on some points of vernacular philology by Professor Hoernle, of Jayanarayan's College, Benares, have appeared in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society. But the most important work on this subject that has yet appeared is Mr. Beames's Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Lan-Two volumes have been published, and the third and last is expected.2 Mr. Beames has brought his subject down to the pronoun; and the forthcoming volume will treat Dr. Trump in his valuable Grammar of the of the verb. Sindhi language compares the grammatical forms existing in the several vernaculars, and recent grammarians of Gujarati and Marathi have made attempts in some cases to trace the grammar of these languages from the Sanskrit through the Prakrit. A Gujarati Śāstri, named Vrajalāl, has written a useful little tract on the history of his vernacular.3 But upon the whole, it must be acknowledged that vernacular philology is still in a state of infancy, and a great deal of what has been written is unsatisfactory.

¹ Since this was written Dr. Pischel's edition of Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar and his elaborate contribution to the Grundriss der Arischen Philologie have been published, besides several other minor works.

² Since published,

³ Hoernle's Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages, Keilogg's Hindi Grammar, Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India have, among others, been published since then.

Before I proceed to the subject in hand, it is necessary that should trace some of the laws of the development and growth of language, as I shall have occasion to refer to them frequently in the course of these lectures. Suppose a person wishes to express the idea in a village, and the only means at his command are the roots and independent words in a language such as the Sanskrit. Now the word which expresses a village is NIH, and another which signifies the interior is मध्य. By joining the two together in such an expression as आममध्य he conveys the idea the interior of, or in, a village. Now this word मध्य is pronounced बाजा or मद by persons who have either not been taught to pronounce it properly or are not sufficiently careful to do so. This again is reduced to माझ or माध and thence to माइ or मह. and ultimately to मा or मे. In this manner ग्राममध्य becomes गाममा or गाममे. which, as you know, are the forms of Gujarati, Sindhi and Hindi locative. In this condition its origin is forgotten by the speakers. and becomes simply a termination signifying in the interior. Again, if a man wants to speak of one who makes a pot and has not got a word to express the idea, he naturally puts together the words क्रम्भ pot and कार maker, and uses the compound क्रम्भकार. After a time, by faulty pronunciation, the \$\overline{\pi}\$ goes out and the word is reduced to season. In the same way, as before, the persons who use the word state have no consciousness that they are putting together two words, one of which means a pot and the other maker; but the syllable and becomes with them a simple termination which signifies the doer of the thing expressed by the base. We thus see that these two very general terminations were originally independent words, and that in the course of time they lost that character. If you examine those forms which constitute the declensions and conjugations of any language you may happen to know, you will find that these also have originated in the same way. When, our remote ancestors wished to say I now do, they put together इ do, ब now, and मि I, and said इन्नमि. afterwards changed for the sake of euphony to इजामि. In the same way इंगोति means do now he इन्यास do now he (and) thou, द being a corruption of सि a pronoun signifying thou, and रूणोरि do now thou. Or they expressed present time by using a pronoun equivalent to here or this and said awar know here he, the st being the same as that we find in the forms अनेन, अस्मी, अस्मात, &c. and signifying something that is near. In this manner we are able to trace the original signification of a good many of these forms, but since after their invention they are more or less corrupted, it becomes a difficult matter to do so in all cases. Still, we know enough to be able to lay it down as certain that this is the mode in which all our grammatical forms have originated. When a language is in that condition in which grammatical relation is expressed by such compounds consciously formed. and both parts of the compound can be used independently, it is said to be in the analytic stage. The change of मध्य to मा or मे, or of कार to आर, or of तसि to तस or त: is what is called phonetic decay. Though this is usually spoken of in censure as curruption, it is the means by which a language leaves the analytic stage and develops. The words forming the compound grow together, both being altered in the process, and the original sense of the latter is forgotten. It is this circumstance that renders phonetic change possible, for, if those who speak the language always used the two words in the compound with a conscious desire to express their joint sense, such a corruption would not take place. Phonetic decay reduces the latter portion to a mere termination, and thus a language arrives at what is called the synthetic stage. All the dead Aryan languages, and most of the living ones also, are in the synthetic condition, while the Chinese is said to be in the analytic stage.

Phonetic decay or corruption is a process that is constantly going on in a living language. At some stages of its history it is very rapid and at others slow. It sometimes wholly transforms words. Its causes are deeply ingrained in human nature itself. Language is not the end and aim of human life; it is simply an instrument of communicating thought, and the matter of thought is always more important than the expression. The utterance of a word implies an effort. We have to force the breath through the windpipe, check or compress it at different points in its passage through the mouth, and then let it off. The glottis or the opening of the windpipe, and the tongue and the various parts of the mouth are our organs of speech, and an innumerable variety of sounds may be produced by their means. In pronouncing

certain letters the glottis must be stretched or expanded. while in the case of others it is contracted, which is its more The breath which comes out when it is natural condition. expanded is called $\dot{s}v\bar{a}sa$ or simple unintonated breath by the old Indian Philologists. But when the glottis is contracted, and the breath is intonated by the vibration of the vocal chords, it becomes what is called $n\bar{a}da$, i. e., tone or intonated breath. Simple breath is the material cause of the hard consonants, and the intensted breath of the soft, and of the vowels. When $n\bar{a}da$ is forced out and allowed to pass away without being obstructed. we pronounce vowels, and when both $\dot{s}v\bar{u}sa$ and $n\bar{u}da$ are obstructed at different parts of the mouth, the sounds that are formed are consonantal. Hence a consonant cannot be pronounced by itself; it is only when the touching organs are separated, and the air allowed to pass through any one of the vowel positions, that the sound is produced.

When the intonated breath is let off through the rounded lips, it forms उ, and with the lower lip a little further off, ओ; while if the lips completely touch each other, and the breath is thus obstructed in its passage, we have which, with a greater force of respiration, becomes &, and when it is partly sent into the nose, it assumes the form of π . If the $\dot{s}v\bar{a}sa$ is in the same condition as nāda when it forms ₹ and ₹, we have ₹ and ₹. When these two kinds of breath are shut up by the tip of the tongue forming a complete contact with the root of the upper teeth, we have त, थ, इ, ध, and त. When the contact is effected higher up and the forepart of the tongue is made into a curve, we have ह, उ, ह, ह, and ज. If the middle of the tongue is brought near the palate, nāda passing through the intervening space forms the vowel : and when the tongue is a little further off and the mouth more open, we have q; while if there is complete contact, the two kinds of breath give us 虱, 虱, 虱, 虱, and 虱 as before. When the root of the tongue touches the lower skirt of the palate, we have similarly इ. स्. य. य. and इ. If the intonated breath is allowed to pass away when the mouth is in its natural position with the lips open, we have the vowel a, and, with greater force of breath, the aspirate ह. The vowel portion of द and त differs from 3 in the whole lower part of the mouth being brought closer

to the upper in pronouncing it, while in pronouncing sat the two parts of the mouth are more widely apart; so that the vowel sound involved in we is the closest, sur, the most open. The diphthongs d and si are si + s and si + s pronounced hastily. In pronouncing the semi-vowels the organs are brought very close to each other, but do not form a complete contact; so that the breath is compressed and not shut up. Still, like the mutes, they cannot be pronounced without separating the organs. pronounce when we bring the two lips and the ends of the upper teeth into close proximity, and it thus corresponds to the vowel 3; for a the position is the same as that for s, the proximity only being greater; while a is formed a little above the dental position by emitting the breath by the sides of the tip of the tongue, and T a little below the cerebral. The sibilants w. T. and are continuous sounds made by letting off the śvāsa or simple breath with the same force as in the case of the hard aspirates and through the space between the middle of the tongue and the palatal, cerebral, and dental or dento-palatal positions brought as near to each other as in pronouncing vowels.

You will thus see how minute and laborious these operations are. The difficulty is increased when we have to pronounce two or more consonants together. We have first to put the organs of speech into one position, and immediately afterwards into another, Accurate pronunciation therefore without leaving the first. requires great effort, and since, according to an observation of Locke, labour for labour's sake is against nature, the tendency always exists of making as little effort as is consistent with the necessity of making oneself understood. Hence सुख is transformed to us i. e. only the quantity of breath necessary to pronounce w is let off, and the effort of forming a complete and close contact is saved; कवलकम् becomes कअलअम, and thence केई and केई, where also you will see that the contact is avoided; अर्प becomes अप्प. in which case we find that the effort involved in the change from one position of the vocal organs to another is economized, though the pressure which the organs exert upon each other in the pronunciation of a conjunct continues the same, i.e. we have a conjunct as before, but the two members are assimilated. This is further changed to sur in which the pressure is avoided, but

the shortening of the time which this would involve is obviated by lengthening the preceding vowel. This tendency to phonetic decay is so powerful that if not counteracted it would in the short space of a few generations render a language entirely unintelligible to its former speakers. Children, in their first essays at speech, often mispronounce words, and if they were left to themselves, the language of a country would undergo very great transformation in a short time. But at home and in schools they are taught to speak the language of their parents correctly. and this result is averted. Education, therefore, is an agency which arrests the progress of decay. Another check is afforded by the necessity of making oneself intelligible. If a man is careless about his language, he will not be understood. He has therefore necessarily to endeavour to speak as other people do. The feeling of society is also arrayed against the corruption of a language. The speech which does not approach the received standard is branded as vulgar. The tendency to corruption is greatly diminished when a language comes to have a literature. Some races are very careful about their speech, and preserve it in a comparatively pure condition; there are others which corrupt it greatly. But even in the case of the former, accidents in its history may transform the idiom considerably. If one race comes in contact with another, and gives it its language, it is sure to be greatly corrupted. The alien race cannot catch the pronunciation properly, or its vocal organs may be naturally so constituted or its previous vocal habits may be of such a nature as to render the sounds of the language difficult or impossible to be imitated. If there were no schools and colleges for teaching English to us, we should corrupt the language of our rulers so greatly as to render ourselves perfectly unintelligible to them. The native sentry's challenge हुकुम हर for "who comes there?" would be a puzzle to the scientific philologist.

The grammatical terminations which are oftener used than any particular words suffer the most by this process of decay, and after a time they are confused with each other or dropped away. When a language is reduced to this condition, it has to fall back upon the expedient with which it started, and tack on certain words or particles to its nouns and verbs to express the

relations which the old terminations denoted, and thus the analytic state returns. But the old process goes on again, and these words in their turn assume the character of terminations. Sometimes along with a case-form there exists in the language another expression conveying the same sense. When the former goes out of use the latter takes its place, or sometimes the latter drives out the former. The modern vernaculars have had to resort to this process of reconstruction in a great measure, and, as in the older languages, it has already become difficult in several cases to trace the origin of the forms. For instance, in Sanskrit the termination which expresses future time is स्य, and when it is applied to the root दा to give, we have दास्पति he will give. This स्य is very likely a compound of the root अम to be and या to go, so that the contrivance the early Arvans had recourse to, to express futurity, was to attach to a most two others expressive of going to be; दास्पति therefore originally meant he goes to be giving, i. e. he does not give, but will give since he goes to do it. Now this दास्पति in the derived dialects becomes first दास्सति, then दास्सदि, दास्सइ, दासइ, दाइइ and दे in order. Phonetic corruption has thus reduced this form to दाइ or दे, and that for the present tense I give has also assumed the same appearance. There is thus no distinction between them; wherefore, to express future time, our languages have had recourse to a variety of expedients which I shall endeavour to explain in their proper place. The Hindi, however, has hit upon the same that was used by our early ancestors, and distinguished futurity by adding to this shrunken form the past participle of गम to go, which is गआ, changed to गा by combining the vowels, and thus देगा, the form of the future, signifies literally, gone that he (may) give.

Another phenomenon constantly observable in the history of the growth of a language is the use of false analogies. Thus in Sanskrit the root of to hear takes the augment in the Present and three other tenses or moods, and the Sanskrit of he hears is spark. Now in the course of time people forgot that this termination was used in these tenses alone, and extended it to the Future, the past participle, and other derivatives, so that in the Pali and the Prakrits the root itself became un=on instead of of. This root has descended to most of the modern dialects in this

same form. In the same way क्री to buy became किण, ज्ञा to know, आण, इद to know, इन्स and so on. All these exist in the vernaculars so augmented. In the same way, though so is conjugated in Sanskrit by adding 3 to the base according to the rule of the eighth conjugation, and forms करोति, कुर्वन्ति &c., in Prakrit it is conjugated according to the rule of the first or the tenth which are generalised, and has करड or करेड. This arises from the same sort of mistake that children commit, when, for instance, from the analogy of घरलें from घर, पहलें from पड &c., they use करलें from कर, though the correct Marathi form is केले and you may remember such expressions as "I knowed" and "you was" that Dickens puts into the mouth of his lower characters. The Pali and the Prakrits are full of such formations. This law may be called the law of false analogies or of the generalisation of grammatical forms, or formal generalisation, and the effect of it is to do away with anomalies and introduce simplicity in a language. It springs from the same causes as phonetic decay, viz. the economisation of effort, and its operation is restricted also by the same causes as those which arrest the progress of phonetic corruption.

Hitherto we have been considering the growth or the decay of the grammar of a language. But the names of objects constitute a very important part of human speech. These are not arbitrary or simply conventional. The possibility of mere conventional names can exist only under a supposition of men meeting and agreeing that they should call such thing by such name. But this implies a condition of high social and political development, which in an early state of society does not exist, and, in the absence of language, cannot exist. The process is very artificial, and would hardly be worthy of the intellectual nature of man; and though even in a high state of civilisation a language grows, and new names spring up, this is not the way in which they do so. The names of objects are always expressive of some attribute possessed by those objects. प्रश्नी the earth is that which is broad, भारत the sun, that which shines, start the sea that which has water, the father, one who protects, and daughter, one who milks cows. But you will see that these names are not logical definitions, for they have the defect of ativyāpti, i. e. are too wide. It is not the earth alone

that is broad, nor the sun alone that shines, nor the sea alone that. has water. But still these things possess these attributes pre-eminently, and hence the terms become restricted to them. What is general is thus rendered particular, and the sense of words is, so to say, specialized. This process goes on continually in a living language, not only in the invention of new names, but often it works in a manner to narrow the sense of existing words. Thus, बदना etymologically signifies 'a feeling,' 'a sensation,' thence it is restricted in Sanskrit to a particular sensation, that of severe pain; but the pre-eminent pain is that experienced in child birth, hence बेण, the Prakritised form of the word, signifies in Marathi that special pain. So, गर्भिणी in Sanskrit denotes 'a female that is pregnant, 'but गाभण, the Marathi form of the word, is restricted to lower animals; ताप in Sanskrit means 'heat' generally, but in Marathi, and in Gujarati in the form of are, it signifies a particular kind of heat, viz. 'fever' though the word has not lost its general sense; हृद्य denotes originally 'the heart,' in modern Marathi in the form of हिया it signifies 'courage,' which is a quality of the heart, though in old Marathi it preserves its original sense; पिण्ड in Sanskrit means 'a ball' generally, but in Panjabi and Gujarati in the form of que it is restricted to this ball of flesh and bones, 'the body': चेंदक in Sanskrit signifies 'an attendant', but in the form of चेला it denotes in the Hindi'a pupil or disciple', who, according to Indian custom, is his master's close attendant, and in Bengali and the Goanese Marathi, in the forms of ਕੋਲੇ and ਕਲੀ 'a boy ' or son, who is constantly about his parents. Opposed to this is a process which may be called generalisation of the sense. Thus the root गवेद originally signified 'looking or searching for a cow'; it was then extended to any kind of 'searching', and lastly in the form of गवसणें it signifies in Marathi 'to find '; इन्द्र originally 'the lord of the gods,' is in Sanskrit used to signify 'the lord' of any class of beings, such expressions as मानवंद्र, गर्जेद्र &c. being very common; and a notable example of this process is afforded by the word राजा which in Sanskrit means 'a king', but, in the forms of राय or राव, is in the modern languages used as a title of distinction, and in Marathi, any respectable gentleman not following the priestly occupation, and not a man of learning may be called a rav. Sometimes, when

by means of phonetic corruption a word is reduced to two forms, each of the two acquires a distinct sense. Thus, Sanskrit रख is in the modern languages corrupted to get H., get S., ge B., and in this form it means 'an old man.' It is also corrupted to बहा H., बहा S., बह B., बहा G., and व्हड Goan. M. in which form it signifies 'great, 'large,' or 'more advanced in age'. In this last sense, the termination ₹ or ₹ is appended to it (M. बहिल, S. बहेतो). The Sanskrit word क्षण becomes छण in the sense of 'a festival.' in Pali and the Prakrits, but सण in the sense of 'a moment.' In Marathi एण is further transformed to सण and सण in the form of Revealso occurs in the old literature and in one of its dialects. The Sanskrit उज्ज्वल in the form of उजळ M., उजल H., उजल S., उजल G., বসমন্ত P. means bright, clear, pure, but in the form of বনাৰ M., H., G., P., S., B., it means desolate or waste. This sense it acquired by the first process explained above, since a desolate land is cleared, purified of its tenants or appurtenances. सुजा means in Marathi a dwarf and seast humpbacked. This last word exists in the cther languages also, and both are derived from the Sanskrit son.

The last phenomenon in the growth of a language which I shall notice is the gradual disappearance of words. As men advance in knowledge and civilisation, new ideas and modes of thinking arise, and the old ones fall into disuse. And since words are the representatives of ideas, new words always come in, and the old go out. The changes that the Marathi language, for instance, has undergone in this respect since the time of Jāānesvara, or the Hindi since the time of Chanda, render the older books unintelligible to modern readers. There are also various other causes. Sometimes, when another language rises into importance on account of political circumstances, or when it is admired and esteemed by a nation, as Sanskrit is by Hindus, a great many words are borrowed from it, and necessarily the older ones go out to make room for them, or disappear because they are regarded as vulgar. The opening of an intercourse with a foreign nation brings about the same result. These causes account in a great measure for the fact that so many words in our languages have become obsolete. Jñanesvara's Prakrit quit had to make room for the Sanskrit बसाद, गहिक for गंभीर and नाइ for नाथ; and the word जमीन has well-nigh supplanted the old धुई, as हुकुम has done आज्ञा, which itself must once have driven out such a word as आणा or आयस, the Prakrit forms of आज्ञा and आदेश.

The languages of the civilised nations of the world have been divided into three families, the Aryan or Indo-European, the Semitic, and the Turanian. The first comprises the Indian branch. consisting of Sanskrit, Pali and the Prakrits, and the modern Vernaculars of Northern India and of Ceylon: the Iranic branch consisting of Zend, the sacred language of the Parsis, the Pehlevi and the other cognate dialects: the Hellenic or the Greek branch, comprising the languages of Ancient Greece and its modern representatives; the Italic branch, consisting of the Latin and the cognate ancient languages of Italy and the dialects derived from Latin, the Italian, the French and the old Provencal, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Wallachian; the Keltic or the language of those Kelts or Gauls that so often figure in Roman history, and distinguished into two varieties, the Kymric, now spoken in Wales and in the Province of Brittany in France, and the Gaelic, spoken in the Isle of Man, the Highlands of Scotland, and Ireland; the Lithuanian and Slavonic, comprising the languages of Lithuania, Russia, Bulgaria, and of the Slavonic races generally; and the Teutonic branch, consisting of the Scandinavian group, i. e. the languages of Sweden, Norway, Iceland. and Denmark, of the High German i. e. the old and the present language of Germany, and of the Low German, which comprised the old Anglo-Saxon and the other languages spoken on the coasts of Germany, the modern representatives of which are the English, and the dialects spoken in Holland, Friesland, and the North of Germany. The second family comprises the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Chaldee, the Syriac, the Carthaginian, and the cognate and derived languages; and the third, the Turkish and the languages of the Mongolian tribes. To this last family the dialects spoken in Southern India are also to be referred. The Zend approaches Sanskrit the most, but the affinities of this latter with Greek and Latin are also very striking, and such as to convince even a determined sceptic. Sanskrit has preserved a greater number of ancient forms than any of these languages. hence it is indispensable for purposes of comparative philology.

33 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

The literature of Sanskrit presents, as ordinarily considered. two varieties of the language; but a third may also, as I shall presently endeavour to show, be clearly distinguished. Of these the most ancient is that found in the hymns of the Reveda Samhitā. These were composed at different times and by different Rsis, and were transmitted from father to son in certain families. Thus the third of the ten collections, which make up the Samhita, bears the names of Viśvāmitra, and the hymns contained in it were composed by the great patriarch and his descendants. seventh is ascribed to Vasistha and his family. The composition of these hymns, therefore, extended over a long period, the language is not the same throughout, and while some of them present a variety so close to the later Sanskrit that there is little difficulty in understanding them, the style of others is so antiquated that they defy all efforts at interpretation, and their sense was not understood even by the Rsis who flourished in the very next literary period, that of the Brāhmanas. Still for our purposes we may neglect these differences and consider the Vedic variety of Sanskrit as one.

The chief characteristics of the Vedic language are these :- It contains a large number of words that have become obsolete or changed their sense in the later or classical Sanskrit. a greater variety of verbal derivatives, such as दर्शत in the sense of दर्शनीय 'worthy to be seen, or handsome', जीवस, अवस &c., abstract nouns from the roots जीद, अद &c., जनुम 'something that is produced', पपि, बिश्च, जाग्नि &c., nouns of agency having a past sense (Pāṇini III. 2. 171), which govern an accusative, हङ्कि signifying 'handsome' or सुद्धीक 'favour,' &c. The nominative plural termination of nouns ending in आ is असम् (Pāṇini VII. 1.50), as in विश्वे देवास:, as well as अस, as in यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवा:; and the instrumental plural is देवेभि: or देवै: (Pāṇini VII. 1. 10). The vowel cases of nouns in 3 are often formed by joining the vowels by the usual Samdhi rules; as तन्त्रम or तनुत्रम, accusative singular of तनु; मध्व: and वस्व:, genitive singulars of मधु and वसु. The instrumental singular is made up by affixing आ, या, or इया, instead of ना, as मध्वा, उरुपा, उर्विया, धृष्णुया, &c. (Pāṇini VII. 1. 39); sometimes of other nouns also, as स्वपया, नावया &c. The nominative and vocative dual of masculine and the plural of neuter nouns in a often

end in आ; as येनेमा विश्वा च्यवना छतानि RV. II. 12. 4, अश्विना प्रहदंससा नरा RV. I. 3. 2; and the instrumental singular of feminine nouns in g is optionally formed by simply lengthening the vowel (Pānini VII. 1.39), as नविष्टया मती RV. I.82.2. The locative singular termination is often dropped, as in परमे व्योमन ; or its औ changed to आ, as in नामा for नामौ (Pāṇini VII. 1. 39). Parasmaipada first person plural termination of verbs is मसि (Pānini VII. 1. 46), as नमो भरन्त एमसि RV. I. 1. 7, and that of the third person plural is often रे or रते, as दुन्हे or दुन्हते. Other forms also admit of this र, as अद्भमस्य. The त of the Atmanepada terminations is often dropped (Pānini VII. 1. 41), as वस्त्र ईशे RV. I.71.9. There are eight different forms of the mood called de by Panini, which has a conditional or subjunctive sense; सपथा करत्। प्रण आर्युषि तारिषत, RV. I. 25. 12, स देवानह वक्षति RV. I. 1. 2. This is lost in classical Sanskrit. The several conjugations or ways of forming the special tenses do exist, but the roots are not restricted to any particular way, being conjugated sometimes according to one mode and sometimes according to another; as अर्था हवम. There are some instances in which some tenses other than the special tenses also admit of the conjugational sign, as विश्विपेर, perfect. Sometimes guna is substituted before the a of the second person plural imperative, though it is a weak termination, as in ज्ञांत.

The infinitive is formed by adding to roots the terminations **. ध्ये, अध्ये, तवे and तवे (Pānini III. 4. 9), as बक्षे, जीवसे, पिबध्ये, दातवे, हन्तवे. These are etymologically the forms of the dative singular of such nouns as वक्ष, जीवस्, पिबाधि &c. A few other datives are similarly used, as हुने, रोहिष्यै &c. (Pāṇini III. 4.10,11). The accusatives of some nouns are also used as infinitives when governed by शक (Pāṇini III. 4.12), as न ये शक्क्यंशियां नावमारुहम् RV. X. 44.6; also in other places, चिकितुपो विपृच्छम् RV. VII. 86.3. The infinitive in classical Sanskrit ends in तुम, as कर्तुम, which is the accusative form of such a noun as कर्त, the dative of which. कतेंबे, is one of the forms of the Vedic infinitive. The potential participles are often formed by adding तबे, ए, एण्य and त्व (Pānini III. 4.14), as नेपा गन्यतिरपभर्तवा उ RV. X. 14.2, न तेन देव आदिशे RV. VI. 56. 1, दिद्दक्षेण्य:, कर्त्वम. The first two, however, ought properly to be considered as infinitives. The absolutive is sometimes formed by the addition of त्वाय; as गत्वाय. There is such a form as

इष्टीनम् for इष्टा; and such others as हत्वी and पीत्वी for हत्वा and पीत्वा occur often. These last, as also the usual or classical absolutives, are forms of the instrumental singular of the same nouns, the dative and accusative of which are used as infinitives; त्वाप appears also to be an instrumental. There are a great many other peculiarities which are noticed by Pānini, and which you will find collected in the Siddhanta-Kaumudi. One thing, however, should be borne in mind, that notwithstanding there is in these respects a very great difference between the Vedic and the classical Sanskrit, they are in the same phonetic stage, i. e. the vocal elements of words and letters remain the same. are a few such instances, as सध for सह, and गुभ for गृह, in which the mute has disappeared, leaving only the aspirate element, and to these may be added the terminations मासे and असम् for मस and अस ; but both the original and corrupt forms exist in the Vedas, and no general conclusion can be based on these few instances. You will hereafter see that the other dialects I shall speak of differ greatly from the classical Sanskrit in these respects. The following specimen will give you an idea of Vedic Sanskrit:

- यिचाद्धि ते विशो यथा प्र देव वरुण व्रतम् । मिनीमिस यवियवि ।।
- २. मा नो वधाय हत्नवे जिहीळानस्य रीरधः। मा हृणानस्य मन्यवे ॥
- ५. कदा क्षत्रश्रियं नरमा वरुणं करामहे । मुळीकायोरुचक्षसम् ॥
- ७. वदा यो वीनां पदमन्तिरक्षेण पतताम । वद नावः समुद्रियः ॥
- १०. नि षसाद धतव्रतां वरुणः पस्त्यास्वा । साम्राज्याय सुक्रतुः ॥
- ११. अतो विश्वान्यद्भुता चिकित्वाँ अभि पश्यति । क्रतानि या च कर्त्वा ॥
- १२. स नो विश्वाहा सुऋतुरादित्यः सुपथा करत् । प्र ण आयंषि तारिषत् ।।
- १९. इमं मे वरुण श्रुधी हवमया च मृळय । त्वामवस्युरा चके ॥

These eight verses contain 72 different padas or grammatical forms, not counting the prepositions as separate padas. Of these 19 have become altogether obsolete in classical Sanskrit, and 12 have changed their significations. This, however, is a specimen of one of the more intelligible hymns, but there are a great many which contain a much larger proportion of words that have gone out of use. It is these obsolete words that constitute the chief difficulty of understanding the Vedic hymns.

1. The use of चित् after यत is unknown to the later dialect, that particle being found joined only to the pronoun किय. The preposition ज, though connected with जिनीमास, is separated from it

by three words. Though the root of this verb is given in the Dhātupāṭha or Pāṇini's list of roots, it has gone out of use. In modern Sanskrit we should use अतिक्रामाम: instead. बत is not now used in the sense in which it occurs here, though it is connected with it. We should use ज्ञासन instead. पविचान means here 'day by day'; in classical Sanskrit the word यो means 'heaven' only. The verse may be translated:—"Though we who are like subjects break thy law, day after day, O divine Varuṇa!" Varuṇa is spoken of frequently as a rājan, or king, and men are his subjects, with reference to that attribute of his.

2. वस means 'killing', or 'execution' in classical Sanskrit, but, since हन्तु 'killing' qualifies it here, it must mean some such thing as a weapon or a blow.

हन्द्र is obsolete. जिहीन्ना is a participle of the Perfect of हेड् or हाँड. The form is obsolete; and a verbal form of the root is not ordinarily met with, though a word derived from it does occur. हणान also is obsolete.

"Do not subject us to the killing blow of the spiteful, nor to the wrath of the angry," i. e. do not kill us out of spite or wrath.

5. अञ्च signifies in later Sanskrit the order of the Kṣatriyas or the warrior caste. Here it is used in the primitive sense of 'valour', 'prowess'. नर does not mean 'man' here, but is used in its original sense of manly. आ and करामह are separated by a word. मुद्रीक 'favour' is obsolete. चक्षम 'the reach of sight', 'visual power', has also gone out of use.

"When shall we call the brave, manly, and far-seeing Varuna hither to favour us?"

7. समुद्रिय: This form of the derived adjective is unknown to later Sanskrit. The genitive singular is formed by changing ई to इय.

"Who knows the path of the birds flying in the air and of the boat on the waters."

- 10. "Enforcing his laws, the powerful Varuna sits down in his abode to exercise universal sovereignty."
- 11. अद्भुता, the termination of the accusative plural, is here dropped; कर्त्व is Vedic for कर्तज्य; here also नि is dropped.

- "From this place the knowing one sees all secret deeds don or to be done."
- 12. करत and तारिषत are forms of लेद or the Vedic subjunctive, "May the powerful God make things easy for us all our days and prolong our lives."
- 19. gai. Conjugated as a root of the second class, with as the termination of the imperative singular, lengthened for phonetic purposes.
- "O Varuna, hear this my invocation, and now be propitious. I call on thee, desirous of protection."

The next form of the language is presented to us in the Brāhmanas of the Vedas, such as the Aitareya of the Rgveda and the Satapatha of the White Yajurveda. A great many of those peculiar words which we meet with in the hymns, and which are so unintelligible have disappeared, the declensions have approached the standard of classical Sanskrit, the nominative plural in असस् , for instance, and the instrumental plural in पि: having gone out of use. The roots have arranged themselves definitely under certain conjugations. The subjunctive has mostly become obsolete, though such forms as निष्पवाते (Śat. I. 4.1.10), and असत (Ait. II. 11) are sometimes met with. The roots take those forms of the Aorist that Panini assigns to them, and this tense is scrupulously used in the sense mentioned by that grammarian. Such terminations as मासे and the various modes of forming the infinitive have disappeared, the ordinary one in तुम being mostly used (Ait. IV. 8, VIII. 23). language is in most respects the same as that usually called classical Sanskrit. It is rich in verbal forms of all tenses and moods. There are however a few peculiarities and archaisms. There are some antiquated words such as बर्स 'an extremity' (Ait. II. 2), अनीक 'a shaft,' मन्थाबल 'a bat '(Ait. III. 26); निष्ठाव 'ultimate referee ' अववदितु 'one who pronounces a decree '. भगवस 'prosperous', तत for तात (Ait. V. 14), इरा 'food' (Ait. VIII. 7) काष्मण 'powerful' (Ait. VIII. 8.23), मोनि 'a destructive instrument. flame' (Ait. VIII. 24), &c. The dative of feminine nouns is often used for the genitive, as प्रथिव्ये राजा त्या: (Ait. VIII. 23): सर्वत्ये बाच:परियहीत्ये ; the त of the third person singular of the

Atmanepada is sometimes dropped as in the old dialect, as सदिता वै प्रसवानामिशे (Ait. VII. 16); a few roots form their Aorist in another manner than that mentioned by Pānini, as अज्ञत वा अस्य दन्ता: (Ait. VII. 14), where अज्ञत stands for अज्ञनिषत, अद्रक्षो वै म आत इदं (Ait. VIII. 23) where अद्रश: is for अद्रह:; the form of the infinitive governed by the word ईश्वर is that which ends in तोस as ईश्वरो हतु पुरायुष: पैतो: (Ait. VIII. 7); and ग्रह appears in the form of un (Ait. III. 26). In the seventh and eighth Pancikas of the Aitareya Brāhmana some Gāthās or songs are quoted, the language of which is more antiquated than that of the body of the work. Notwithstanding these irregularities, these Brāhmanas are the best representatives extant of the verbal portion of that language of which Pāṇini writes the grammar, though he did not mean these when he spoke of the Bhāsā. But nearly the whole of that literature which Panini drew from, if he did so at all, has perished, or to speak more correctly, there is no portion of the extant Sanskrit literature that accurately represents Pānini's Sanskrit as regards the verb and the Taddhitas or nominal derivatives. Probably the spoken language of his time formed the basis of his grammar.

The next stage of Sanskrit is presented to us by the work of Yāska, whose language appears to be more ancient than that of the rest of the non-Vedic literature. We find a good many archaic words and expressions in the Nirukta, such as उपजन 'proximity,' उपेक्षितव्य in the sense of 'finding' or 'observing', कर्मन 'signification, ' यथो in the sense of 'as to ', बिल्म 'variety.' उपदेशाय ग्लायन्त: 'unable to teach'. शिशिक्ष राज्येन 'invested with sovereignty ', नैघण्डुक 'subordinate ', अनिर्वाह 'celibacy ', &c. There are also some technical terms which we do not meet with in later works such as निरात्तिस्थान 'weak terminations', उपजन or उपबन्ध 'augment', नामकरण 'a nominal termination', &c. After the time of Yaska, Sanskrit underwent a peculiar change, for the proper understanding of which it is necessary for a time to consider the styles in which a man may speak or write. There is what may be considered as the fluent or flowing style of speech. in which the speaker looks at the actions of men in progress, actions in the course of being done or suffered. A man speaking or writing in this style will use a verb on every occasion. But a

as well as the Bhasyas on some of the sacrificial Sutras, are written in the same sort of simple and lively style, though however they present a further stage in the downward progress. But gradually this manner of writing ceased to be used, and the philosophical style went on progressing until it has come to be what it is now. Samkarācārya's Bhāsya presents it in a middle stage. The sentences are much longer than those of the earlier writers, the construction is more involved, there is a freer use of attributive adjuncts, and the form is that of an essay or a lecture, instead of an oral disputation. But the great Acarya's style is perspicuous throughout, fluent and charming, and not solidified or petrified, as that of later writers is. These latter hardly ever use a verb, and of the cases only a few are to be met with in their works. The nominative and ablative singular prevail, and long compounds are constantly employed. All our ideas are thrown into the form of nouns, mostly abstract, and even the participles have become rare. This style is the style of formulas rather than of discourse. It has reached its climax in the works of recent Naiyāyikas, but it has been more or less used by modern writers in all the Sastras. The movement which began with a less frequent use of verbal forms and the employment of attributive expressions has thus ended in making Sanskrit a language of abstract nouns and compound words.

I have used the word style in describing this movement, to show what important changes in the structure of a language may originate from what is in the beginning but a style or mode of speaking or writing. If everybody thought and spoke about all matters as the Naiyāyika does in his own subject, our language would be just like his. It would almost have no verbs, no participles, and no cases except one or two. But it is not so. The movement could not be carried so far in other subjects. Hence the real classical Sanskrit is the Sanskrit of the Epics, the Purāṇas, the metrical law-books, the better or earlier specimens of Kāvyas or poems and dramatic plays, and of the early philosophical or exegetical works. And if we examine this literature we shall find that the greater use of attributive or nominal forms of expression-gradually drove out a large portion of the Sanskrit verb, and gave a new character to the language,

which may be thus described :- Very few verbal forms are used besides those of such tenses as the Present and Future; participles are frequently met with; the verbal forms of some roots. especially of those belonging to the less comprehensive classes. have gone out of use, and in their place we often have a noun expressive of the special action and a verb expressive of action generally; compound words are somewhat freely employed; and a good many of the Taddhita forms or nominal derivatives have disappeared, and in their stead we have periphrastic expressions. If the treatises of Panini and others had perished, and we had to construct a grammar of the Sanskrit from the classical literature I have above indicated, our Verb and the Taddhita portion would be very meagre. Professor Benfey attributes the condition which the language thus assumed to the influence of the Prakrits or the spoken vernaculars. But the process appears to me perfectly natural, and no such influence need be supposed. change may in some respects be likened to that which rendered the Vedic subjunctive and other grammatical forms obsolete in the later stage of the language. The Prakrits may have given some words to the Sanskrit, but that they should in this manner have influenced its grammatical structure is very unlikely. It is more natural to suppose that it was the Sanskrit. from which the Prakrits evidently sprang, which gave to these latter their peculiar character. I shall endeavour to determine the exact relation between the Sanskrit and these dialects in the concluding lecture.

We have thus observed and determined the change that came over Sanskrit after the period that elapsed between the Brāhmaṇas and Yāska from an examination of the literature itself. But the fact is borne witness to by Kātyāyana, who observed it in his time and made it the subject of a few vārtikas. Patañjali discusses the points raised in the following manner. An objector or Pūrvapakṣin is introduced, who says:

PURV. अस्त्यप्रयुक्त:। There exist (some) words which are not used; for instance, ऊष, तेर, चक्र, पेच. (These are forms of the second person plural of the Perfect.)

The Siddhantin, or the principal teacher, who advocates the doctrine that is finally laid down asks:

SID. What if they are not used?

PŪRV. You determine the grammatical correctness of words from their being used. Those then that are not now used are not grammatically correct.

SID. What you say is, in the first place, inconsistent, viz., that words exist which are not used. If they exist they cannot be not used; if not used, they cannot exist. To say that they exist and are not used is inconsistent. You yourself use them (utter them) and say (in the very breath) there are words which are not used. What other worthy like yourself would you have to use them in order that they might be considered correct (lit. What other person like yourself is correct or is an authority in the use of words)?

Purv.—This is not inconsistent. I say they exist since those who know the Śāstra teach their formation by [laying down] rules, and I say they are not used, because they are not used by people. Now with regard to [your remark] "What other worthy, &c." [when I say they are not used] I do not mean that they are not used by me.

SID.-What then?

PURV.—Not used by people.

SID. - Verily, you also are one amongst the people.

PURV.—Yes, I am one, but am not the people.

SID.—(Vart. अस्पमयुक्त इति चं कार्थे शब्दमयोगात्). If you object that they are not used, it will not do (the objection is not valid).
PURV. Why not?

SID.—Because words are used to designate things. The things do exist which these words are used to designate. (Therefore the words must be used by somebody. If the things exist, the words that denote them must exist).

Purv.—(Vārt. अत्रयोग: प्रयोगान्यत्वात्). (It does not follow.) Their non-use is what one can reasonably infer.

SID.—Why?

PURV.—Because they (people) use other words to designate the things expressed by these words; for instance, a रूपस्थित: in

the sense of ऊप; क य्यं तिर्णाः in the sense of तेर; क य्यं कतवन्तः in the sense of चेत्रः. (We here see that participles had come to be used for verbs of the Perfect Tense.)

SID.-(Vārt. अपयुक्ते देशिसवत्) Even if these words are not used, they should be essentially taught by rules just as long sacrificial sessions are. It is in this way. Long sacrificial sessions are such as last for a hundred years and for a thousand years. In modern times none whatever holds them, but the writers on sacrifices teach them by rules, simply because [to learn] what has been handed down by tradition from Rsis is religiously meritorious. And moreover (Vārt. सर्वे देशान्तरे) all these words are used in other places.

PūRV.--They are not found used.

SID.--An endeavour should be made to find them. Wide indeed is the range over which words are used; the earth with its seven continents, the three worlds, the four Vedas with their angas or dependent treatises and the mystic portions, in their various recensions, the one hundred branches of the Adhvaryu (Yajur-Veda), the Sāma-Veda with its thousand modes, the Bāhvreya with its twenty-one varieties, and the Atharvana Veda with nine, Vākovākya, the Epics, the Purānas and Medicine. This is the extent over which words are used. Without searching this extent of the use of words, to say that words are not used is simple rashness. In this wide extent of the use of words, certain words appear restricted to certain senses in certain places. Thus, হাৰনি is used in the sense of motion among the Kambojas; the Aryas use it in the derived form of ज्ञाब: हम्मति is used among the Surastras, रहति among the eastern and central people, but the Aryas use only गम: दाति is used in the sense of 'cutting' among the easterns, दात्र among the northerners. And those words which you think are not used are also seen used.

PüRV.--Where?

SID.--In the Veds. Thus, सप्तात्ये रेवती रेवडूंव। यहा रेवती रेवत्यां तसूव। यन्मे नरः श्रुत्यं ब्रह्म चक्र। यत्रा नश्चका जरसं तनुनाम्।

We here see that the objector says that certain words or forms are not used by people, and therefore they should not be taught or learnt. The instances that he gives are forms of the perfect of some roots, and he observes that the sense of these forms is expressed by using other words which are perfect participles of these roots. These statements are not denied by the Siddhāntin, but he does not allow that the forms should not be taught on the account. Though not used, they should be taught and learnt for the sake of the religious merit consequent thereon, just as the ceremonial of long sacrificial sessions, which are never held, is. Then the objector is told that though not used by people, the words may be current in some other country, continent, or world, or they must have been used somewhere in the vast literature of the language. As regards the particular instances, two of them are shown to be used in the Vedas.

It thus follows that in the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, such verbal forms had become obsolete, and participles were used in their place. But it must have been far otherwise in the time of Panini. He gives minute rules for constructing the innumerable forms of the Sanskrit verb. Our grammarians proceeded upon a strictly scientific basis. Nothing is more clear from several observations scattered throughout the work of Patanjali, besides those contained in the above passage, than this, that the Indian Grammarians do not give us the inventions of their own brains as they are supposed by some scholars to do. The very perfection of their observation and analysis has rendered them liable to this reproach. But notwithstanding all that, there can be no doubt whatever that they scrupulously adhered to usage. If so, the verbal forms taught by Panini must have been current in the language at some time. We do meet with them in the Brāhmanas, but our grammarian does not include these forms among the peculiarities he has given of the Vedic or Chandas and Brāhmana dialect, and thus does not restrict them to those works. They must therefore be understood as having been in use in the Bhāsā or current language, the grammar of which he teaches in his Sūtras. And the Bhāsā that he means must be that which was current in his time. In Panini's time, therefore, the fluent or verbal style of speech was in use, as I have observed before. But it may be argued that though he refers these forms to the Bhāsā, the Bhāsā he means may not be that which prevailed

when he lived, but another current before his time and preserved in its literature, on which Panini based his rules. It matters very little even if we make this supposition. The only effect is that the period when the non-Vedic Sanskrit was rich in verbal forms is placed before Panini; but the fact itself that there was such a period is undeniable. The supposition, however, is unreasonable. For it is not at all likely that he should neglect the language prevalent in his time and teach that which was current before him, and speak of it as the Bhāṣā, which word literally signifies the "spoken language" or vernacular. And the occurrence in the Sütras of words that became obsolete in later Sanskrit confirms this view. The following are such words :--अन्ववसर्ग 'allowing one his own way, 'निरवसित 'excommunicated, ' प्रत्यवसान 'eating,' अभिविधि 'including,' स्थकरण 'marrying,' उत्सक्षन 'throwing up. 'अधेष 'equitableness'. You will have seen that the Vārtika of Kātyāyana which starts the discussion I have translated, and Patanjali's comment on it speak of words generally as having ceased to be used, though the examples given consist of certain verbal forms only. It is, therefore, to be understood that the observation is applicable to other forms and expressions also taught by Pānini which we do not meet with in the later literature. Among such may be noticed उपाजेक and अन्याजेक 'to strengthen', नियचनेक 'to be silent,' कणेहन, and मनोहन ' to fulfil one's longing,' &c. क्लंडन occurs in Yāska also. of the verbal derivatives ending in the technical termination णसुल must also be so considered, such as ब्राह्मणवेदं भोजयति 'feeds every Brahmana that he finds ', चेलक्रोपं दृष्ट: ' rained till the clothes were wet ', स्वपोषं पुरुणाति 'supports by his own means,' उर्ध्वकोषं क्रव्यति 'withers standing,' &c. A good many Taddhita forms taught in Pānini's Sūtras must also, I think, be put in the same category.

And there is another circumstance which shows that Pāṇini's Sanskrit was more ancient than Kātyāyana's. Kātyāyana's Vārtikas on Pāṇini, which I have already spoken to you of, touch on various points concerning grammar and the system of Pānini.

¹ Professor Goldstücker has used the argument based on the occurrence of obsolete words in the Sütras and that set forth in the next paragraph, to prove the archaic character of the language as it existed in Pāṇini's time and some of the instances quoted in the text are the same as his.

The purpose of a great many of them is the proper interpretation of the Sūtras, and there are some which supply links that are wanting in the system, also a good many which teach forms not taught by Pāṇini, or give the correct forms, when by the strict application of Panini's rules we arrive at such as are incorrect. Now, this strict application of Panini's rules is often in the manner of a quibbling logician, and consequently it was probably never meant by Pānini himself. Again, it may also be allowed that some forms existing in the language may have escaped Pānini's notice. But even after making allowance for all these considerations, a good many forms taught by Kātyāyana are left which it is impossible to believe Panini did not observe or know, if they existed in the language in his time. Though not infallible, Pānini was not an indifferent grammarian. He justly deserves the reputation he has all along enjoyed of being the preeminent teacher of grammar. He has noticed even stray facts about the language. If so, the only reasonable supposition is that these forms did not exist in the language at the period when he lived.

For instance, according to Pāṇini's rules the vocative singular of neuter nouns ending in अन् such as ब्रह्मन् and नामन् is ब्रह्मन् and नामन्, but Kātyāyana in a Vārtikā on VIII. 2, 8 tells us it is ब्रह्मन् or ब्रह्म and नामन् or नाम.

Pāṇini teaches that the forms of the dative, ablative, genitive, and locative singular of the feminine of द्वितीय and तृतीय are optionally like those of the corresponding pronouns, i. e. we have either द्वितीयाये or द्वितीयस्थे, द्वितीयाया: or द्वितीयस्था: &c., but Kātyāyana in a Vārtika on 1. 1, 36 extends this option to the masculine also, and according to him we have द्वितीयाय or द्वितीयस्थे, द्वितीयात or द्वितीयस्था, &c., while Pāṇini gives us only the first.

Pāṇini's rule IV. 1, 49 allows of मातुलानी only as the feminine of मातुल, but Kātyāyana gives मातुली also; उपाध्यायानी is not noticed by Pāṇini while Kātyāyana lays down that as well as उपाध्यायी in the sense of 'wife of the उपाध्याय'. So also आर्या and अञ्चया are according to Pāṇini, 'a female Ārya' and a female Kṣatriya'. but Kātyāyana gives आर्योगी and अञ्चयाणी as well as आर्या and अञ्चया.

A good many more instances of a similar nature may be given from other parts of Sanskrit Grammar. Are we then to suppose that the forms ब्रह्म, नाम, कर्म &c. of the vocative singular, हितीयस्मे of the dative of हितीय &c., मातली, उपाध्यायानी, आर्याणी, क्षत्रियाणी and many more such, escaped the observation of such a grammarian as Pānini, or that he did not know them? Is the supposition that they did not exist in the language in his time not more reasonable? It therefore appears clear to me that the language in Pānini's time was in a different condition from that in which it was in Kātyāyana's. The chief differences, to point out which has been the object of this discussion, may be thus stated :-- In Panini's time a good many words and expressions were current which afterwards became obsolete; verbal forms were commonly used which ceased to be used in Kātyāyana's time, and some grammatical forms were developed in the time of the latter, which did not exist in Pānini's.

Pāṇini's Sanskrit must, therefore, be identified with that which preceded the Epics, and he must be referred to the literary period between the Brāhmaṇas and Yāska. Hence it is that the Brāhmaṇas, as observed before, are the best existing representatives of the language of which Pāṇini writes the grammar. Kātyāyana, on the other hand, wrote when the language arrived at that stage which we have called Classical.

Thus then, we have been able to trace three distinct periods in the development of Sanskrit. First, we have the Vedic period, to which the Rgveda Samhitā, the Mantra portion of the Yajurveda, and the more antiquated part of the Atharva-Samhitā are to be referred. Then commences another period, at the threshold of which we find the Brāhmaṇas, which, so to say, look backwards to the preceding, that is, they present the Vedic language in the last stage of its progress towards Pāṇini's Bhāṣā; and later on, we have Yāska and Pāṇini. This may be called the period of Middle Sanskrit. And last of all, there is the Classical period to which belong the Epics, the earliest specimens of Kāvyas and dramatic plays, the metrical Smṛtis, and the grammatical work of Kātyāyana.

Pāṇini's work contains the grammar of Middle Sanskrit, while Kātyāyana's that of Classical Sanskrit, though he gives his sanction to the archaic forms of the former on the principle, as he himself has stated, on which the authors of the sacrificial Sūtras teach the ritual of long sacrificial sessions, though they had ceased to be held in their time. Patañjali gives but few forms which differ from Kātyāyana's, and in no way do they indicate a different stage in the growth of the language; hence his work is to be referred to the same period. The form which the language assumed at this time became the standard for later writers to follow, and Kātyāyana and Patañjali are now generally acknowledged authorities on all points concerning the correctness of Sanskrit speech. We shall hereafter see that the last two stages have left distinct traces on the Prakrits or the derived languages

LECTURE

PALI AND THE DIALECTS OF THE PERIOD

In the last lecture we traced the development of the Sanskrit language until it assumed the form in which it is usually called Classical Sanskrit. This form it acquired several centuries before Christ, as I shall hereafter endeavour to show, but it has since preserved it unaltered. The reason is that the number of people using it has been growing smaller and smaller, and now for a considerable period, it has remained confined to a few learned men who devote long time to its study and use it only for religious and philosophical purposes. But in so far as it has been used for these purposes, it has not been free from change, as was pointed out on the last occasion. The style and modes of expression used by Gadādhara Bhattācārya, the great Naiyāyika of modern times, are not the same as those of Kanada, Gotama, and Vātsyāyana, nor those used by Nāgojibhatta, the same as those of Kātyāyana and Patañjali. But all these changes have followed one direction. The efforts of our modern writers have been mostly, if not altogether, directed to systematizing and reducing to an accurate and definite shape the conceptions of those ancient sages, and no new ideas or methods of thought have They have thus elaborated a highly artificial style, arisen. abounding in abstract terms. In other branches of the literature also, we may discover some peculiarities and corruptions of diction and manner. But still, making due allowance for all this, the generally received standard of good and correct Sanskrit is the same as it was many centuries ago. There are certain models which modern writers and speakers have to conform to.

When, however, a language is living, that is, is used by people generally and in matters of every-day life, it must undergo very great changes. Men will not waste time and trouble in accurately ascertaining and imitating the pronunciation of their fathers, or reproducing exactly the several grammatical forms used by their predecessors. All that is necessary is that they should make themselves understood. Old modes of thinking give

place to new ones, and ideas spring up; and both must be represented in the language that is used. Sometimes accidents in the history of a race, such as its coming in contact or being incorporated with another race, serve to transform its language within a short time. But the alterations that occur from these and other causes obey certain laws; and hence the possibility of a Science of Language.

Now, by the operation of influences such as these, Sanskrit was, in very remote times, corrupted, and new dialects arose from it. We should have known nothing of these if they had not been preserved in their literatures. Of these dialects that which approaches Sanskrit the most is the Pali. This is the sacred language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, Siam, and Burma, and possesses an extensive literature.

I will introduce my remarks on this dialect by placing before you a specimen :--

साविश्यं किर अदिण्णपुञ्चको नाम ब्राह्मणा अहोसि। तेन कस्साचि किंचिद्-दिण्णपुच्चं तेन तं अदिण्णपुञ्चको त्वेव सं जानिन्छ । तस्मेकपुन्तको अहोसि पियो मनापा।तस्स सोळसबस्सकाले पण्डुरोगो उदपादि। माता पुनं ओलोकेत्वा ब्राह्मण पुनस्स ते रोगो उप्पन्नो तिकिच्छापेहि नन्ति आह। भोति सचे वेज आनेस्सामि भन्नवतनं दातच्चं भविस्सिति। त्वं मम धनच्छेदनं न ओलोकेसीति। अथ कि करिस्सिसि ब्राह्मणा ति। यथा मे धनच्छेदो न होति तथा करिस्सामीति। सो वेज्ञानं सन्तिकं गन्त्वा अम्बकरोगस्स नाम तुह्मे कि भेसज्ञं करोथाति पुच्छि। अथस्स ते यं वा तं वा रुक्सत-श्वादि आचिक्सान्ति। सो तं आहरित्वा पुनस्स भेसज्ञं करोति। तं करोन्तस्सेवस्स रोगो बलवा अहोसि।

This is from the Atthakathā or commentary by Buddhaghoṣa on the Dhammapada. It was written in the fifth century after Christ, long after Pali had ceased to be a vernacular. The following is from the Dhammapada itself, which we have reason to believe is much more ancient:—

- 129. सब्बे तसन्ति दण्डस्स सब्बे भायन्ति मञ्जूनो । अत्तानं उपमं कत्वा न हनेय्या न घातये ॥
- 13!. सुसकामानि भूतानि यो दण्डेन विहिंसाति । अत्तनो सुसमेसानो पेश्व सो न लभते सुसं ॥

- 133. मा बांच फरुसं किन्न बुत्ता पटिववेय्यु तं । दुक्ता हि सारम्भकथा पटिवण्डा फुसेय्यु तं ॥
- 134. सचे नेरेसि अत्तानं कंसी उपहती यथा । एस पत्तीसि निब्बानं सारम्भी ते न विज्जति ॥

The Sanskrit of these passages is as follows:-

श्रावस्त्यां किलादत्तपूर्वको नाम ब्राह्मणोसूत् । तेन कस्तैचिक्विच्द्सपूर्वे तेन तमदत्तपूर्वकरूवेव समज्ञासत । तस्यैकपुत्रकोस्तियो मनोज्ञः । तस्य चोह्मावर्षकाले पाण्डुरोग उदपादिः माता पुत्रमवलोक्य ब्राह्मण पुत्रस्य ते रोग उत्पन्नश्चिकित्सयैनमित्याह । भवति स चेह्रैयमानेष्यामि भक्तवेतनं दातव्यं भविष्यति । त्वं मम धनष्छेदनं नावलोक्यसि । अथ कि करिष्यसि ब्राह्मणेति । यथा मे धनष्छेदो न भवति तथा करिष्यामीति । स वेयानामन्तिकं गत्वाह्मकरोगस्य नाम य्यं कि भेषज्यं कुरुथेत्यप्राक्षीत् । अथास्य ते यहा तहा दक्षत्वगायाचक्षते । स तदाहृत्य पुत्रस्य भेषज्यं करोति । तत्कुर्वत एवास्य रोगो वलवानभूत् ।

- 129. सर्वे ब्रसन्ति दण्डस्य सर्वे बिभ्यति मृत्योः। आत्मानम्यमां कृत्वा न हन्यास्त्र घातयेत् ॥
- 131. स्वसकामानि भूतानि यो दण्डेन विहिनास्त । आत्मनः सम्बम्भिक्टन्येत्य स न लभते सम्बम्
- 133. मा बोचः परुषं कंचिदुक्ताः प्रतिवदेयुस्त्वाम् । दुःखा हि संरम्भकथा प्रतिदण्डाः स्पृशेयुस्त्वाम् ॥
- 134. स चेन्नेरयस्थात्मानं कांस्यमुपहतं यथा। एक प्राप्तोसि निर्वाणं संरम्भस्तं न विद्यते॥

"In Śrāvastī there was a Brahman of the name of Adattapūrvaka (literally 'one who had not given away anything before'). He never gave anything to anybody, whence they called him Adattapūrvaka. A son was born to him, pleasing and delightful. When he was sixteen years old, he got jaundice. Seeing the son thus, the mother said, "O Brahman, your son has got a disease, put him under medical treatment." "Lady, if I get a physician, food and salary will have to be given to him. You do not see that this will entail expense" (lit. lessen my money). "What then will you do, Brahman?" "I will do what will not involve expense" (lessen my money). He then went to physicians and asked, "What medicine do you use against such and such a disease?" They spoke to him at random of the bark of some tree. He brought it and gave it as a medicine to his son. As he went on doing so, the disease was aggravated."

- 129. "All are afraid of being hurt, all fear death. Taking one's own self as a model, one should not kill and cause to be killed."
- 131. "He, who looking to his own happiness, inflicts injury upon creatures that equally desire their happiness, does not obtain felicity after death."
- 133. "Do not speak harshly to anybody; they may speak to you in return. For angry altercation is painful, and revenge will overtake you."
- 134. "If then, like a bottom of a shattered metallic vessel, you will not stir yourself (utter), then you have reached Nirvana, and you will have no angry altercation."

(A)

PHONOLOGY OF THE PALI DIALECT

Here you will see a great many instances of the laws we laid down in the last lecture. And first, as regards phonetic corruption, we have in these passages न for ज as in उन for उत्र, for क as in अन for अक. and for ज as in उन्ह का अन for उत्रक. This change is usually called assimilation of consonants.

In pronouncing a conjunct, one has to pass from one position of the vocal organs to another without letting off the breath checked or compressed in the first, an operation of great difficulty. The sound of the first member is indistinct, but when the second is a weak consonant such as a nasal or a semi-vowel, it glides into the first almost as a vowel does, and thus the sound of the first acquires greater prominence. In the first position, the vocal organs strike and press againt each other strongly, and the momentum necessary for this effort is acquired by uttering forcibly and with a jerk the vowel that precedes the conjunct, i. e. अ for instance in the word was, just as a man previous to striking and pressing anything with his fist moves the hand with force through some distance. The previous forcible vowel breath and the subsequent strong contact and pressure form the characteristic of a conjunct consonantal sound. This is the only way of rendering the two members at all distinct, for the first is thus uttered with the preceding vowel and the second with the following.

Thus, अक्त if pronounced in the manner I have described becomes मक्त, but, if the previous vowel sound is weak, it becomes भ-क्त, in which case, in consequence of the absence of momentum, the pressure cannot be strong, and the conjunct character is not fully brought out.

What we find in the Pali, therefore, is that the passage from one vocal position to another is avoided, and the more distinct sound only, whether of the first member or the second, is pronounced with this forcible previous vowel breath and the succeeding strong contact and pressure; that is, we have a conjunct as before, but it is made up not of two different letters, but of two of the same kind. Hence the instances noted above and also धम्म for धर्म, जम्म for जन्म, यञ्ज for यज्ञ, सह for शब्द, दुद्ध for दुग्ध, खग्ग for सक्त, सम्म for सद्ग, अन्धत for अद्भत, लख for लब्ध, उक्का for उरका, अप्प for अल्प. तप्पन for तर्पण, अय्य for आर्य &c. But an attempt is made to pronounce the other sound also, and such of its elements as can go in, with that which is uttered without involving change of position, are transferred to it, that is, in effect, the Pali speaker treated a conjunct consonant as one sound possessing the characteristics of both. Thus the heavy śvāsa or simple breath of π , π . and प in the conjuncts स्क, ब्क, श्र, स्त, स्प and ज्य is combined with the distinct sounds क, च, द, त, and प, and we have ख, छ, द, य, and फ for those conjuncts; but, when preceded by a vowel and pronounced with the usual conjunctal characteristic, they become क्ख, च्छ, ह, त्थ् and प्फ; as in सावत्थियं for श्रावस्त्याम and फ्रसेट्य for स्पृज्ञेयु: in the above, and in खन्ध for स्कन्ध, पोक्सर for पुष्कर, पच्छा for पश्चात्, अच्छरिय for आश्वर्य, दिह for दिष्ट, पुट for पुष्ट, मत्थक for मस्तक, वत्थु for बस्तु, फन्दन for स्पन्दन, and बुष्फ for बुष्प.

In न, भा, जा, रम, दम, and जा, the consonantal portion of the distinct sounds, being made up of $n\bar{a}da$ or intonated breath, the heavy $\dot{s}v\bar{a}sd$ or simple breath of the sibilant is first made heavy $n\bar{a}da$, that is, the sibilant is changed to the aspirate ह and we have नह, जह or मह for these conjuncts; as in पञ्ह for प्रभा, उन्ह for उच्चा, अम्ह for आसा, अम्ह for अद्या, and जिम्ह for श्रीचा. These correspond to the स्, ए &c., in the above instances, and must, like them, be considered as simple sounds, and in our modern languages they are pronounced as such in certain places; but when preceded by

I have already observed that when a following semi-vowel or nasal glides into the sound of the first consonant, this latter acquires prominence. But there are cases in which the semiyowel & does not so merge into the preceding; and this takes place when it is preceded by a dental mute. The palatal a and the labial Thave since remote times been often pronounced in two ways: -- one in which the organs approach each other so closely that it is difficult to distinguish them from s and w; and another in which they are kept more distant. Hence the confusion between य and ज and व and व that we find so often in modern pronunciation and in the modern languages. The Bengali invariably makes ₹ of the Sanskrit ₹ and in most cases ₹ of ₹ and the people of Northern India follow him to a great extent. In the Hindi we have many such forms as जमुना for यमुना, बांस for वंश. बांझ for वन्ध्या.

The heavy or close pronunciation of a, is favoured by a preceding dental. In pronouncing letters of this class the tongue is nearly horizontal. Consequently, when after the formation of the dental mute it is moved upwards to form &, the force with which it separates from the teeth carries it nearer to the palate than it should be. In the cerebral position, in which, the tongue forms a curve with the concave side inwards, the force with which its tip separates acts downwards; hence if a 4 has to be pronounced afterwards, the effort is in no way aided, but, if possible, hindered. In this case, therefore, the wis always light; and for a similar reason, it is so when preceded by a guttural. It is also light when preceded by the dental 7, since a large portion of the obstructed breath passes through the nose, and the tongue is not separated from the teeth with any force. Thus in the word at in the passage I have placed before you, and in अव, पच &c., the द, being heavy, does not glide or merge into & and, being the latter of two successive consonantal sounds, acquires greater distinctness; and the preceding sound must, in virtue of the laws we have been examining, communicate all its elements to it, except

of course the organic position. The element that is communicated in this case is the complete contact, wherefore the heavy य becomes a complete ज्, and this, when pronounced like a conjunct becomes जज्ञ. In such words as मध्य, वध्य, उपाध्याय &c., the preceding has got its heaviness of nāda or tone to communicate besides the complete contact, and thus the ज् becomes झ and thence जझ; and so we have मज्झ, वज्झ, उपज्ञाय &c. In मृत्य, प्रेच, सत्य &c., to the ज formed as above must be added the hardness or svāsa of त, i. e. the letter ज must be pronounced not with the glottis contracted but stretched, wherefore we have च and, with the conjunctal characteristic, च. Those words therefore become मच्, पेच, and सच. If य precedes instead of त, the heavy svāsa required for its pronunciation is transferred to ज, and so it becomes इ, and thence च्छ; as in रच्छा for रच्या, नेपच्छ for नेपच्य &c.

The semi-vowel द is also heavily pronounced when it forms a conjunct with another semi-vowel, and thus we have उच्च for पूर्व, सञ्च for सर्व, &c. There are also instances of this pronunciation when द is preceded by a dental mute as in उच्चेग for उद्देग, सन्भि for सिद्ध: &c. In उन्धे the preceding प्र, as in मध्य, transfers its heavy nāda or tone to द, and makes it प्र, and so we have उच्म; but उद्धे is changed उद्ध also.

The conjunct ex or any must in some cases have been pronounced in ancient times like 357, as it is invariably so pronounced by the lower classes of the Marathi people at the present day. This latter sound is easier to be made than 44, first because the passage from the guttural position of \$\opi\$ to the palatal which is nearest to it is more natural than that to the more distant cerebral position of T, and also because, in the latter case, after the guttural contact, the tongue has to be rounded and the tip brought near the cerebral position. Thus, the whole weight of that organ has to be supported; while in the case of an, when its middle approaches the palatal position in pronouncing a, the forepart falls into a natural position, and no effort is required to hold it there. Now in this কল, the sound of হা, being the latter of the two, is by the general rule more distinct than the other: and the complete contact of \$\opi\$ being transferred to it, it becomes ਓ. because sibilants are produced by the heavy śvāsa as the hard

aspirates are, and thence च्छु; as in तच्छक for तक्षक, छण for क्षण in the sense of 'a festival', द्वह for क्षड़, &c.

In such words as बत्स and अप्सरस, the prevailing sound is that of a which, with the complete contact of the preceding a and a, ought to become य, as ज becomes उ in the above case, on the theory that # is a dental. But it is not properly a dental, since it is formed not at the root of the upper teeth as त, श्र. इ &c. are, but considerably above, and not by the tip of the tongue but by a part of it further inwards, which is made into a curve, having its convex side upwards, and brought near to that position. this last respect it resembles the palatals, though the part of the tongue employed in their case is still further inwards, i. e. the middle. The sibilant & therefore, has no mute corresponding to it in the sounds of the Sanskrit and Pali languages. The Marathi dento-palatals 'च, 'ভ, 'ज, 'झ answer to it completely, being formed in the same position as itself; so that \(\mathbf{x} \), when the organic contact is complete, should become the Marathi '5. But these sounds are unknown to the Pali; the speakers of that language could not pronounce the Marathi dento-palatals, as the Gujaratis and other northern nations cannot at the present day, and just as these turn them into pure palatals, so did their ancestors. Hence, that sound which should properly be the dento-palatal 'অ become the palatal छ, and we have वच्छ for वत्स, अच्छरा for अप्सरम् and मच्छर for मत्सर.

The dentals following a र in a Sanskrit word are in Pali often changed to cerebrals; as in बहुति for वर्धते, बहुति for बर्तते, छहुति for उर्दयति, अह for अर्थ &c. Here, as in the cases we have examined, the distinct sound is by the general rule the second, as we may observe even from the optional form बनाति for बर्तते, and अत्य for अर्थ. But, as before remarked, in all these Pali transformations of Sanskrit conjuncts we see an attempt to pronounce both the members. When the speaker, being about to put the vocal organs into the position necessary for the utterance of the first letter, which he has first heard though indistinctly, sees that the second which he has distinctly heard cannot be produced there, he gives it up, and then passes immediately to the next position. But if, at the first, he thinks he can produce something like the second sound, which he has distinctly heard, he pro-

nounces the letter there, and does not give up that position. Thus in pronouncing πq , he feels that nothing like the sound q can be produced at the position of q, and hence gives it up and passing on to the lips forms $\pi c q$; but in q q the q that he pronounces at the cerebral point sounds a great deal more like q than q, and therefore he does not pass on to the dental position. But such of the Pali speakers as could distinguish between q and q did not stop at the cerebral position to pronounce their conjunct, but passed on to the dental; hence the optional forms we have noticed.

Such words as मित्र, सत्र, सत्र, &c., differ from वर्ष, वर्त &c., in having the र after the distinct sound, so that the speaker resorts first to the dental position, and uttering the distinct sound there, is not carried away by the following र to the cerebral position, the sound of t being weaker. But if in the same word a dental follows such a conjunct, that dental is changed to the corresponding cerebral; as in परि for प्रति and परम for प्रथम. The cerebral element of these words has made a distinct impression on the speaker's ear, and he is conscious that his transformation of प्र into प्रभाch was necessitated by his inherent inability to pronounce the two consonants together, has not brought it out. He therefore realizes it by changing the following ति and प्र to र and to Dut if a consonant of another species follows, or if the conjunct ends the word, he cannot give effect to this impression.

The conjuncts in which the second sound is weak and consequently gives way to the first are क्य, स्य, ग्य, प्य, भ्य, द्य, स्य, क्र, अ, अ, अ, अ, अ, अ, क्र, क ज्व, त्व, इ. ध्व, द्व, &c., which have a semi-vowel for their latter member, and य, त्म, य, म. &c., which have a nasal. Thus we have सक्क for शक्य or शाक्य, अक्तान for आख्यान, योग्ग for योग्य, कुष्प for कुष्प, अक्भन्तर for अभ्यन्तर, पस्सात for पश्यति, तस्म for तस्य, सक्क for शक्र, अग्ग for अग्र, मित्त for मित्र, अहक for आईक, गिद्ध for गृप्प, विष्प for विष, अक्भ for अग्न, अस्सम for आग्रम, अस्सव for आग्नन, सक्क for शक्र, पज्जलित for पञ्चलित, नीलत्त for नीलत्व, विदेस for विदेष, अद्धा for अभ्वा, अस्स for अभ्व, &c., and अग्गि for आग्ने, अत्ता for आत्मा, उद्द for उद्य, सोष्प for स्वम, &c. The semi-vowel द after न in going out turns the न into the palatal अ, this latter representing the combined effect of both; as in अञ्ज for अन्य, राजञ्ज for राजन्य, &c.

We have noticed above the change of a to se, but more frequently it is transformed into and. This change is due to the latter w being pronounced not incorrectly like of, but correctly as a cerebral sound, which being hollow and distinguishable, is lost in the sound of z. This last is distinctly heard, and the effect of **प** is only to add heavy śvāsa to it and render it ख; and thus the whole becomes कार as in रक्स for दक्ष, लक्सण for लक्षण, पक्स for पक्ष, Upon the principles we have laid down, it does not matter whether the Sanskrit conjunct is composed of two or three consonants, since what is done in the Pali is to reproduce only the distinct consonantal sound with the other attendant characteristics; and thus we have of for क्ष्ण or ब्ली as in सण्ह for श्राहण and पण्डि for पार्चिंग, and म्ह for क्ष्म as in पम्ह for पक्ष्म, in which words the last is the distinct sound, and क्ख for क्ष्म as in लक्खी for लक्ष्मी. where the # must have been pronounced so as to merge into the preceding a.

A Sanskrit conjunct at the beginning of a word is reduced to a single letter; and the reason is obvious. For, as I have already observed, the distinctive characteristic of a conjunct consists in the previous vowel being pronounced with rapidity and force, and in the subsequent strong pressure of the vocal organs, which is rendered possible by the momentum acquired by that forcible utterance. It is the reproduction of this characteristic that makes a single consonant that is pronounced at any one of the vocal positions look like a double. When a previous vowel does not exist, that is, when a conjunct begins a word, this characteristic cannot be reproduced; hence there is no double consonant. Thus, we have खलित for रखलित, कमेण for कमेण, अमर for अमर, फरस for रखा. &c.

You will have seen that in all the changes of conjunct consonants which we have examined, no element of the two sounds is omitted by the Pali speakers. They had not the patience to hear and reproduce the two consonants immediately after each other, by putting their vocal organs into two different positions, or they had not the inndex a physical inaptitude for doing so, their tongue not being sufficiently trained for the successive movements. But short of this, all the constituents of the sound, the śvāsa, light and

heavy, the completeness of contact, and the force of utterance, are represented in their pronunciation, and the amount of muscular exertion involved is the same as in the case of the original. This may be called the energetic mode of pronouncing conjuncts.

There are, however, a few instances in which the components are separated by inserting a vowel between them. Thus Sanskrit सक्ष्म is changed to सुखुम, ओष्मिक to ओसमिक, श्लेष्म to सिलेसम, स्मरति to समरति, श्री and हो to सिरी and हिरी, बैल्व to बेलुव and औपश्लेषिक to ओप-सिलेसिक. The separating vowel is generally such as can be easily pronounced along with the previous or the following consonant, that is, belongs to the same organic position as either. Thus in the first four instances we have the labial उ in the syllables खु and स owing to the influence of the following म.

The conjuncts र्य and ह are almost invariably dissolved into रिय and रह as in कारिय, अरिय, स्थिय, विरिय &c. and अरह, गरहा, बरिह &c. for कार्य, अर्थ or आर्थ, सूर्य, वीर्य &c. and अर्ह, गर्हा, बर्ह &c.; and in one or two instances, we have the first change when the य is preceded by a consonant other than र as in चोतिय for चैत्य. This change is to some extent due to the य being pronounced weak, i. e. almost like इ.

In the same way, we have सिलांक, सिलंस, सिलाया, किलेस, किलन्त, गिलान, मिलान, पिलुवति, सुपिन, सिनिद्ध, नहान or सिनान &c. for श्लोक, श्लेष, श्लाघा, क्रेडा, क्लान्त, ग्लान, म्लान, प्रवात, खप्न, स्निग्ध, स्नान &c. This mode of utterance wants the force of the one we have examined, but both the sounds of a conjunct are clearly reproduced in it. have observed that the second member of the conjunct dissolved in this way is what may be called an imperfect consonant. i. e. a semi-vowel, aspirate, or nasal, in pronouncing which the breath is not completely stopped. They therefore act like a vowel, and render the sound of the first consonant comparatively distinct and audible, but are not so weak themselves as to melt away into that sound. Hence both the sounds are audible; but the Pali speaker not being able to put his vocal organs into two consonantal positions successively, as we have seen, reproduced the two sounds by interposing a vowel between them. But when in some cases the second member was weakly pronounced, it melted away into the first, and so we have the optional forms विस्सरति for विस्मरति. सेझ for श्लेष, सोप्प for स्वप्न &c. When, however, its pronunciation became stronger than that of the first, it prevailed, and so we have करवा for कार्य and अस्य for आर्थ.

Some conjuncts appear also unchanged in this dialect; as ज in the words जहा, जबीति and जहिति, ज्य in ज्याधि, ज्यम्म, ज्यम्म &c., g in ह्रवङ्ग, ह्रवति, and ह्रव, स्त in स्तेह &c., Such as have a nasal for their first member and a mute for the second are also unchanged, since the nasal, even according to the rules of Sanskrit, belongs to the same organic position as the mute.

We will now proceed to notice the changes of single consonants. An unaspirate is changed to an aspirate when it is followed in the same word by a sibilant; as in will for year, where for परुष, फुरस for पुष्प, सुखुमार for सुकुमार, थुस for तुष &c. The heavy $\dot{s}v\bar{a}sa$ that forms a constituent of the sibilant sound has made such a strong impression on the ear of the hearer, that he immediately prepares himself to let it out, and thus uses it even in pronouncing the letters which precede the sibilant and do not require it. pronunciation of a word is rendered easier by transferring one of the elements of a sound to another or others, that is, by assimilating them to each other as much as possible. In a few instances the simple breath or $\dot{s}v\bar{a}sa$ of a previous surd is transferred to the following, originally a sonant, as in थकेति for स्थगयति. The cerebral unaspirated sonant s between two vowels is softened into the corresponding semi-vowel æ, as in ताळन for ताडन, पीळन for पाइन, तळाक for तडाक &c. This peculiarity distinguished the old Vedic Sanskrit also; and the sound exists in the modern Marathi and Gujarati, though it is unknown to the other vernaculars.

I have already given instances in which the cerebral र of a previous syllable in going out changes the dental of the following to the cerebral, and to these I may now add निगण्ठ for निर्मन्थ, वण्ट for इन्त, कट for इन्त &c. In some instances, this change takes place without such an influencing cause, as in इसात and इंस for दश्ति and दंश, and डाइ for दाइ. The same phenomenon is observable in some conjuncts, as in विद्रुह for विद्रुप, हेट्टा for अधस्तात and टा or ट्रा for स्था in the several derivatives from that root as टाति, टापी, उद्घान &c. The dental nasal द is also similarly changed to w in a few cases, as in याण, ओणत, ओणीत, सणिक for ज्ञान, अवनत, अवनीत, शनकै: &c. The operation of this process is very limited, but still it

exists, and cannot be accounted for in any other way than by supposing that the vocal organs or the vocal habits of the Pali speakers were more adapted for the production of cerebral sounds, or, in other words, the people had a natural aptitude for them.

Sanskrit ज्वारे प्वre changed to म्, which is the only sibilant in the language. This change involves an economy of effort. The tongue in its several movements becomes a lever with the fulcrum at the inner end where it is fixed in the mouth, and the weight in its centre of gravity. The advantage increases with the distance from the fulcrum of the point which is moved, that is, the point where power is applied. Hence gutturals are the most disadvantageous, palatals next, and dentals, the least. cerebrals being pronounced by rounding the tongue and raising it very high, it is a question whether this additional effort does not neutralise the advantage they possess over the palatals by their position being more distant. Thus H is the weakest of the sibilants. But in the Pali the change is so universal, that we must suppose a special inaptitude in the speakers of that language for pronouncing of and of, as we had to suppose in the case of the conjuncts.

When, however, in a few cases, the peculiarity of the palatal চা was distinctly preceived, and it was felt that the substituted হা did not bring it out, that sibilant was changed to the corresponding mute of its position, i. e. to ত্, which resembles হা in the heaviness of the simple breath required for pronouncing it. We have thus তুব for হাব. তুক for হাকুর and তুাঘ for হাব. The change of বৃদ্ধ 'six' to তু is also to be similarly accounted for.

I have already remarked that sometimes प must at an early period have been pronounced very much like ज्ञ. Besides these changes there are solitary instances of others, such as the softening or toning of surds as in स्म for स्क, or the dropping of the mute element of the sonant aspirates as in होति and हेट्टा for भवति and अधस्तात्. But these will be more fully discussed in connection with the Prakrits and the vernaculars, in which these processes have a much wider range.

The vowel क is changed to अ as in किस for रूपि, तण्हा for तृष्णा, गह for यह, घत for घत, मचु for मृत्यु &c.; to इ as in दिह for इस, तिक for

तुण, मिन for मृग, ातीने for तृप्ति, गिद्ध for ग्रध &c. : and to द as in अस for भश, सद्भ for सद, सुसा for मृषा, बुस for तृष, बुद्धि for तृष्टि &c. The last change generally takes place when the vowel is preceded by a labial; so that the vocal position of the consonant influences that of the vowel. When there is no such influence, it is changed to and F. Now, the vowel are is composed of a consonantal and a vowel element, the former of which is subordinated to the latter. On this account it does not give to the consonant to which it is added the character of a conjunct, and the preceding vowel is not rendered heavy. In Pali this consonantal element disappears in virtue of the inherent inability, which we have considered at such length, of passing from one vocal position to another without letting off the breath; but the previous consonant is not doubled because the usual character of a conjunct is absent. Or the disappearance may be accounted for by the fact that the consonantal element is so subordinated to the vowel element as to escape notice, and that the letter, as a whole, is difficult to pronounce. The vowel element of π is pronounced by bringing the root of the tongue in contact with the root of the palate, i. e. in the position of the gutturals; and is unrepresented independently in the Sanskrit or Pali alphabet. Hence it is pronounced either lower down, in the position of अ, or higher up, in that of g, while it is sometimes carried so far to the outside as the position of 3, especially when a labial precedes. That the cerebral or ₹ element did exist, and was occasionally preceived by the Pali speakers is proved by such examples as रिते for ऋते and रुक्स for दक्ष, and also by the circumstance that in some cases, though it disappears, it changes the following dental to a cerebral, as in बहि for रादि, विसर for विस्त, कर for रुत &c. From these observations it would appear that the vowel we have been considering must have been in those days pronounced just in the manner in which Marathi Pandits of the present day pronounce it, and not like अर्, इर्, र् or रि as is supposed by several European

¹ This fact is accounted for by the authors and the commentators of the Prātišākhyas by supposing that the vowel element envelops the Con all sides i. e. precedes it and follows it. (See Vājasaneyi-Prātišākhya, in Indische Studien, Volume V, p. 145; and Atharva-Prātišākhya, edited by Whitney I, 37.)

scholars. If घृत were really घर्त, or मृग, मिर्ग, the Pali corruptions would be घत्त or मिग्ग; and if सुकृत were सुक्रत, or ताहरा were तादिश, we should have सुक्रत or तहिश instead of सुकृत and तादिस, and there is no reason why ऋतु and ऋषि should have lost their र and become उत्त and इसि if they were really pronounced like रितृ or रतु and रिषि or रषि.

The sounds of the Sanskrit diphthongs & and an are like those of अइ and अउ uttered rapidly, i. e. without allowing any appreciable time to elapse between the two elements. In forming 37, the tongue and the lips are in a natural position, the lips, however, not being closed but a little opened; while F requires that the middle of the tongue should be brought close to the palate, and 3, that the lips should be completely rounded. Hence, in pronouncing रे and औ it is necessary to pass from one vocal position immediately to another, a process of which, as we have seen, the Pali speakers were incapable. These diphthongs are therefore changed to v and 31 which partake of the character of both the components. In the formation of the tongue is not horizontal as in the case of 3; its middle is raised up but not brought so close to the palate as in the case of z. Similarly, in pronouncing sit the lips are not so completely rounded as in the formation of 3; neither are they in a natural position as in the case of अ. These sounds, therefore, being produced in a position between those of m and g, and m and 3. combine the characteristics of both, but are simple, i. e., formed in one position only. Thus we have सेल for शैल, तेल for तैल, कंबड़ for कैवर्त, खोम for श्रीम, कोसंख्य for कोशेय, मोलि for मौलि &c. Similarly अय and अब frequently become ए and ओ; as in कथेति for कथयति. पुजेति for पुजयति, नेति for नयति, आंधि for अवधि, आंकास for अवकाश, नोनीत for नवनीत &c. The sounds of these dissyllables differ from those of d and and in this respect, that the a of the former is not rapidly pronounced as is that involved in these diphthongs; or, in the words of the grammarians, the value of the first 3 is one matra and of the other one-half. In the same way the of the two dissyllables is followed by the semi-vowel a and a, while that of ऐ and औ has the corresponding vowels इ and उ after it.

¹ The explanation of this vowel sound and the others that follow is based upon the mode in which we Marathas pronounce them at the present day, and which is sanctioned by the Pratisakhyas.

^{37 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

अय and अब are hastily pronounced, this distinction disappears, and these dissyllables assume the form of the diphthongs र and औ. which by the rule just discussed become ए and ओ.

A long vowel is shortened when it is followed by a double consonant; as in मग्ग for मार्ग, पत्त for प्राप्त, इक्खण for ईक्षण, कित्ति for for कीर्ति, तिब्ब for तीव, रुक्ख for रूक्ष, मुत्त for मुत्र &c. The strong pressure that is necessary for the pronunciation of a conjunct cannot be properly exerted, as formerly observed, without momentum, for the acquisition of which the previous vowel has to be uttered with force and with a jerk. For this purpose a short vowel alone is fitted, but if a long one precedes, its utterance being by its nature slow and weak, the organs for want of momentum do not strike against each other with force, and hence the pressure they exert is weak. But the Pali speaker, catching from his Sanskrit teacher only the generally strong nature of the pressure involved in the utterance of conjuncts, realized it to the fullest possible extent, without stopping to observe how much it was impaired by the length of the previous vowel, by pronouncing the previous vowel with force and rapidity, and thus rendering it short. And in this way the real quantity of the syllable is not diminished. Though the vowel is short, the vocal organs take some time to emerge from the close contact, and the strong pressure resulting from its forcible utterance, and hence the whole syllable इक, for instance, in इक्खण, has the metrical value of a long vowel, i. e. is equal to two $m\bar{a}tr\bar{a}s$ or syllabic instants. In the original इक्षण, on the contrary, the pressure in the pronunciation of ex, being weaker in consequence of the slowness of the previous vowel utterance, occupies less time; so that in the one case the shortness of the vowel is accompanied by a longer duration of the contact, and in the other the length of the vowel is attended by a shorter duration of the contact. The change, then, we have been considering, is due to the pressure necessary for the formation of the conjunctal sounds in these words having made a strong impression on the ear of the Pali speaker. When, however, the length of the vowel prevailed, and neutralized the pressure to such an extent as to render it incapable of attracting attention, the conjunct came to be in the condition of one standing at the beginning of a word; and, like it, preserved only the more distinct sound and dropped the other, leaving the long vowel unchanged.

We have thus सीस for हार्ष, दीघ for दीघे, सासप for सर्पन, &c. It is, however, clear that a long vowel followed by a double consonant is an impossibility in Pali. A Sanskrit conjunct, whenever it made a distinct impression, was pronounced with the usual characteristics of that sound, viz., the previous rapid and forcible vowel utterance and the subsequent strong contact and strong pressure, the perceptible effect of which was the shortening of the previous vowel and the doubling of the following consonant.

Without the momentum acquired from the force and rapidity of the previous vowel utterance, the Pali speaker could not form a strong contact and exert strong pressure, that is, without a short preceding vowel they could not pronounce a double consonant. If then the Pali has such words as तेतिस (त्रयश्लिंशत्), सिंह (श्रेष्टिन्), नेत्त (नेत्र), सोत्थिय (श्रोत्रिय) योग्गा (योग्या), मोक्ख &c., it follows that the vowels q and si were in such cases pronounced short. Similarly, when before doubles g and 3 are changed to them, as they often are, they must be short. This change of z and z to z and an arises from the fact that the force and rapidity of the jerk with which the current of breath is sent up to pronounce the former vowels, is apt to prevent the tongue from rising as close to the palate or the lower lip to the upper, as is necessary for the formation of z or z, or they are apt to be forced down by the current. And T and A differ from g and g simply in the distance between the pronouncing organs being greater. This change, therefore, really involves an economy, since the effort to raise up the tongue and the lower lip, across the strong current of breath blowing above, is saved. We have thus, ओह for उष्ट, पोक्खर for पुष्कर, पोत्थक for पुस्तक, सोण्ड for ग्रुण्ड, नेक्ख for निष्क, नेसिंस for निश्चिश, वेस्सम् for विश्वम् &c. In some cases both vowels are in use, as in the word नेक्स which has another form निक्ख. Sometimes, especially before य, ए was invariably pronounced short, though no conjunct followed, and to make up for the loss of quantity thus occasioned the consonant was doubled; as in थेय्य for स्थेय, गेय्य for गेय, कोसेय्य for कोशेय &c. The vowel ओ was also similarly treated in a few cases, as in ओस्सजित for अवस्जित. Thus then not only has the Pali a short v and A, but the speakers of the language seem to have possessed a predilection for those Besides the changes we have examined, there are stray sounds.

examples of others, such as उस and उच्छ for इस and इस, in which the उ of the following syllable influences the utterance of the first vowel, सोप्प for स्वप्न, in which the semi-vowel इ is dissolved into the corresponding vowel उ, and thence transformed to short ओ, मोर for मस्र, in which the स being lightly pronounced loses its consonantal character and the vowel उ with the preceding अ forms ओ, and others.

You will thus have observed that the phonetic changes which Sanskrit words undergo in passing into the Pali may be brought under a few general rules. There are not such various and extensive corruptions both of vowels and consonants as we find in the later dialects and in the modern vernaculars. It has been estimated that two-fifths of the Fali vocabulary are composed of pure Sanskrit words, and the remaining three-fifths, of words altered in one or other of the modes explained above. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is, that when the Pali was in use, the tradition of the original Sanskrit was not distant; the words, so to say, did not stray away long from the motherlanguage, so as to undergo extensive alterations. If so, how is it that some of the changes such as the transformation of & and औ into ए and ओ and the assimilation of consonants are so universal, the first being without any exception, and the second with but a few unimportant ones? The principle which guides phonetic change is the economy of effort, understanding the word in its widest sense. This economy is observable in the two kinds of changes, as well as in the transformation of surds into sonants. the elision of consonants or of some of their elements, the assimilation of the vowels or the single consonants that make up a word. and in several other processes. But in the Pali there are very few instances of some of these, and none at all of others. The language had not a sufficiently long duration of independent existence to bring them into extensive operation. If, then, the two processes we have noticed are found in full play in that dialect, the reason must be sought for in the vocal peculiarities of the people who spoke it. Though they heard conjunct consonants and the diphthongs & and m pronounced by the speakers of anskrit, as c recetly as the other letters which they did not corrupt, their organs were not fitted to utter them. These peculiarities may have been natural or acquired. If natural, the people

who first corrupted Sanskrit into the Pali must have belonged to an alien race which came into close contact with the Aryas and learnt their language. If they were acquired, a branch of the same Arvan race must be supposed to have been isolated in some part of the country, and to have developed them, in consequence of being cut off from the main body. But this supposition must be rejected for the reasons that have been already given. Such complete isolation as could give rise to new vocal peculiarities must be expected to have occasioned greater phonetic decay in other respects than is observable in the Pali. And our analysis of the Sanskrit conjunctal and the Pali double sounds favours the first view. For, we have seen that these latter represent all the elements of the former, but they are combined in a sound produced in one vocal position only. The Pali speakers endeavoured to reproduce the sound of a conjuct faithfully, their pronunciation was not weak, as is that prevailing in modern times. but energetic and correct in every other respect; but they could not combine energy of utterance with two successive movements of the vocal organs. This could only be because their organs were not sufficiently trained for the purpose; in other words. because the sounds were foreign to them. The condition of men who have to learn the language of others is similar to that of children, whose organs of speech are being exercised for the first time. Healthy children, whose utterance is energetic, pronounce the conjuncts almost in the same way as the Pali speakers did. And there is another instance in History of an alien race having treated the sounds of the language of a civilized community in just the same way. The Barbarians who overran ltaly and developed the Italian from the Latin, showed the same inability to pronounce the Latin conjuncts, and assimilated them as our Pali ancestors did.

If this supposition is correct, we must find other traces of the peculiarities of this alien race. And such we do find. The existence of the short \(\mathbf{q} \) and \(\mathbf{m} \) in the Pali, and the predilection the people showed for them, as well as the change of dentals to cerebrals without any influencing cause, are similarly to be attributed to the natural vocal tendencies of the people. These sounds must have existed and played an important part in the original language of this people, so that they were unable to shake

them off entirely, even when they left their own tongue and learned that of the more civilized Aryas with whom they came to be closely incorporated. If the original Pali speakers belonged to the same race as the Dravidians of Southern India of the present day, we have a reason to believe that their native tongue contained them; for they exist in the Dravidian languages and are very characteristic of them.

We shall also find in the Pali, and even in the passage placed before you, examples of another phenomenon presented by a growing language. Several new words, unknown to Sanskrit. but formed from Sanskrit roots, have come into use. Such is मनापो, derived very likely from मनस 'mind' or 'heart' and आपू 'to obtain' 'to meet,' so that the word signifies 'something that comes up to the wishes of the heart', 'pleasing'. The word सचे is from चेत with स prefixed, which स seems to be the same as the nominative singular of the masculine of तद. For, it is so used in Sanskrit before चेत्, though it has there an independent sense : as in स चेन्स्रनिदौहित्रस्तल्क्षणोपन्नः (Śākuntala). Often used together in this way, the two words formed a compound expression, and, the independent character of # being forgotten, it came to be looked upon as one word. In the same way, सन्तिक must have come into existence from the frequent use of such expressions as तस्सन्तिकं, ब्राह्मणस्सन्तिकं &c. made up of the genitive singular of a noun or pronoun ending in अ and अन्तिक. The portion सन्तिक then came to be regarded as an independent word, and was used as such. Another new word is will or will a 'agreeable', 'pleasant', corresponding to such a Sanskrit word as स्पर्ध or स्पर्शक formed from the analogy of such verbal derivatives as भिक्ष, इच्छ, or लायुक, पातक &c., and meaning 'that which is or deserves to be touched ', or 'pleasant to the touch'. Other instances are पिलन्धन 'an ornament ', पेय्याल ' plentiful ' &c.

(B)

GRAMMAR OF THE PALI DIALECT

We will now proceed to the examination of Pali grammar. When after years of successive creative efforts, the language of our Aryan ancestors came to be so rich in all kinds of grammatical forms, as the Vedic or middle Sanskrit is, it became cumbrous, and the tendency set in, as we have seen, of dropping away some of them and rendering the grammar simpler,

The duals of both nouns and verbs are unnecessary; the occasions for using them do not often present themselves. Hence, even in Sanskrit, their use must have been rare, and the Pali, which, in its original form at least, must be taken to represent the current usage, has dropped them away altogether.

But the manner in which the process of simplification is principally carried on is by the use of false analogies. Thus in Sanskrit nouns ending in इ and उ of the neuter gender prefix न to the terminations of the vowel cases. But in Pali it is added to those of the corresponding cases of masculine nouns also in मच्नो for चलो: in the passage before us. Similarly, from the analogy of neuter nouns in अ which form their nominative and accusative singular by adding म, the pronouns यह and तद come to have मं and तं for the corresponding cases, instead of the Sanskrit यद and तद.

In Sanskrit, the conjugation that is very often used is the first, in which अ is tacked on to the root in the special tenses, and it embraces a large number of the most ordinary roots. Here, in our passage, we find the analogy extended to the root हिंस the present tense of which is in the mother dialect ordinarily formed by inserting न between the two letters, and adding the termination to the final (हिनस्ति 3rd person singular), and we have हिंसति. The root जा takes the form of जा in the present and other special tenses, and to it is added the conjugational sign ना, so that it becomes जाना. Now, this special form is generalized, and used in other tenses also, such as the Aorist and the Future. Thus, we have here संजानिस्त as one of the forms of the Future, The special forms इच्छ, परम, ज्ञा, सुस्य, काल पर्य are similarly generalized, the last four being phonetically changed to परस, सुण, सुम्य and पज्ञ.

In the same way, in forming the causative of a root, प or आप is added in Sanskrit to roots ending in आ and to a few others. It is extended to all roots in the Pali, and thus we have तिकिन्छापेडि for चिकित्सय in the above passage.

The termination at of the absolutive is in Sanskrit replaced by a when a root has a preposition prefixed to it. But here no such distinction is observed, and at is used in all cases.

The operation of this law of false analogies is very extensive

in the grammar of Pali and the later Prakrits; and by its means, new forms have been made up instead of those current in the primitive language. But side by side with these, we often find the latter also in use currupted by the usual phonetic laws, and having a sort of isolated existence, since they transgress the general rule that has newly come into operation. Thus we have जानिस्तति, पस्तिस्ति and लिभस्ति according to the law of analogy; but अस्तात from ज्ञास्यति, दक्खात from इध्यति, and लच्छाते from लप्स्यते are also in use. These three processes then, viz., the dropping away of forms, not required for the expression of the current ordinary thought, the formation of new ones on the principle of analogy, and the preservation of the old ones in what may be called an isolated or petrified condition, have contributed to the formation of the grammar of this and the succeeding languages. With these preliminary observations, I will now hastily pass under review the principal points in the grammar of this dialect.1

The Pali has lost the dual, and also the dative and ablative cases, except of masculine and neuter nouns ending in अ.* The only occasion when the first is ordinarily used is when 'giving' is expressed, but the genitive case has such a comprehensive signification in Sanskrit that it denotes the dative relation also, and is often used in that sense. Most of the relations expressed by the ablative are denoted by the instrumental, and for the expression of the peculiar ablative sense, viz., the separation of one thing from another, the particle तस had come into very general use, even in the parent language. The genitive and instrumental thus took up the place of those two cases. But people do not forget what they have frequent occasion to use. The great majority of nouns in Sanskrit end in 31, and of these the singular is oftener used than the plural. Hence the singulars of the dative and ablative of these nouns are preserved in the Pali, notwithstanding the operation of the causes that drove away these cases from other places.

The w of the termination of the instrumental plural is optionally changed to w. The locative singular of masculine and

¹ My authority in this portion of my subject is Kacchsyana, as edited by M. Senart.

^{*} The ablative अस्मिरमा-म्हा, भिक्युरमा-म्हा do, however, occur in the literature.

neuter nouns ending in a vowel is formed by adding the pronominal termination स्मिन, phonetically changed to स्मि and मिह; and the ablative स्मान् in the form of स्मा or महा is used optionally in the case of nouns in अ. The termination स्म of the genitive singular of this class of nouns is generalized, and in the form of स्म applied to all nouns of the masculine and neuter genders. It should be remembered that in accordance with the general rule, the Sanskrit grammatical forms drop the final consonant, including a visarga, in passing into the Pali. The nasal म is changed to an anusvāra, and since this, like a conjunct consonant, necessitates the rapid utterance of the preceding vowel and renders it heavy, the vowel is shortened. We have thus न for नाम, स्म for स्पाम, प for पाम, &c. The न of स्मिन and of the syllable अन occurring in some of the cases is also changed to anusvāra.

[THE NOUN]

MASCULINE NOUNS ENDING IN 37

The nominative singular always ends in ओ. In Sanskrit we have this form before a short of a sonant only. Here it is generalized. The accusative plural ends in was we. When the final consonant is dropped according to the usual phonetic rules, the Sanskrit nominative and accusative plurals become exactly alike. To distinguish the one from the other, therefore, this form is appropriated in the Pali for the latter. The wappears to be the termination of the nominative plural of pronouns, and it is transferred to nouns in the same way as the others we have noticed above. But it is used here in an accusative sense.

The forms of the singular and plural of the nominative of neuter nouns, and of the plural of many more, are the same as those of the accusative in Sanskrit, and this fact must have led to a tendency to liken the two cases in other places also. Hence the pronominal nominative came to be used like an accusative. We shall directly see this tendency to confuse the two cases manifested more clearly as regards the plural, and it may be remarked that as regards both the numbers, it went on increasing at each successive stage, until in the latest Prakrit and in the vernaculars the distinction has entirely disappeared.

28 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

The termination of the instrumental plural is एभि as in बुद्धार्भ, or, with the mute element dropped, एहि which is traced to the Vedic एभि: in such forms as देवेभि:. But it may be explained otherwise. The Sanskrit बुद्धे: becomes बुद्धे by the dropping of the visarga and the change of the diphthong to ए, and this is the same as the locative singular, and is by no means distinctive of an instrumental sense. Hence to बुद्धे was added the instrumental termination भि or हि which all other nouns in Sanskrit and Palitake.

The other cases are the same as in Sanskrit, subject to the general remarks made above. The ablative and locative singulars have the new pronominal forms in the or the in addition to the old ones. In the vocative singular, the final of is optionally lengthened.

MASCULINE NOUNS IN & AND &

The nominative and accusative plurals have two forms and they are the same for both the cases, as अग्गी and अग्गयो, भिक्खू and भिक्खां. Now अग्गी and भिक्खां are the Sanskrit accusative plurals अग्नीन and भिक्खां, and अग्गयो and भिक्खां the nominative plurals अग्नयः and भिक्खाः. The distinction between the two is lost, and both are used indifferently in the sense of the nominative and accusative.

The termination of the instrumental plural is भि or हि. The singulars of the genitive and locative are, like those of the corresponding neuter nouns or nouns ending in इन such as दण्डिन, formed by the addition of न, as अग्गिनो and भिक्खुनो, अग्गिने and भिक्खुनि. They have also the forms indicated in the general remarks, viz., अग्गिस and भिक्खुस्स and अग्गिसिंग—म्हि and भिक्खुस्स—म्हि; and the dative and ablative are, as usual, like the genitive and instrumental. The vocative is like the nominative, except in the plural of nouns in उ which ends in बो or बे as भिक्खबे or भिक्खबे. The rest are old or Sanskrit; the final vowel being, however, lengthened in the plural of the instrumental and locative, and the syllable प्रि of आग्नि being optionally dissolved into ग्गिने in the nominative singular.

MASCULINE NOUNS IN =

The nominative has the old Sanskrit forms; as सत्था and सत्थारो

for जास्ता and जास्तार: from जास्त. The accusative plural is the same as the nominative plural. The augmented form of the Sanskrit nominative plural, viz. सत्थार for ज्ञास्तार, is taken as the base for the plural of the instrumental, genitive, and locative, and declined like nouns in 37. The genitive plural is also formed by taking the nominative singular as the base, as सत्थानं. The instrumental singular has the new base and the old termination आ; and thus we have सत्थारा. The genitive singular has three forms, one of them being the old one with the final I dropped, as सत्य, and the other two made up by taking this form as the base. and appending the terminations which nouns in उ as भिक्स take, as सत्थुस्स or सत्थुनो. The singulars of the accusative and locative have the Sanskrit forms, as सत्थारं and सत्थारे; and the vocative singular has besides the old one another with the vowel lengthened, as सत्य or सत्या. You will thus see that there are four bases, the old one which gives the old forms, and three new ones, सत्था and सत्थार generalized from the nominative, and सत्थ, from the genitive.

MASCULINE NOUNS ENDING IN A CONSONANT.

There can be no consonantal declension proper, since a final consonant is dropped, and the noun treated as one ending in the preceding vowel. But relics of the Sanskrit forms of the consonantal bases are preserved and used along with the others.

In the declension of the noun आत्मन, there are two new bases अन and अन्तन, generalized from the forms of the singular of the Sanskrit nominative, and of the instrumentals and others, आभा and आत्मना &c., and declined like nouns in अ. The first is used in the singular of the accusative, and the plurals of the genitive and locative, which are अनं, अनानं and अनेस: and the second in the plural of the instrumental which is अननेहि-भि. The remaining forms are old, the portion आत्म being corrupted to अन ; they are अना nominative singular, अनानं nominative and accusative plural, अनानं accusative singular, अन्तनं instrumental singular, अन्तनं genitive singular, and अन्तनं locative singular. The vocative is अन or अना, like that of nouns in अ.

In the declension of the noun राजन, the base राज is used in the singulars of the accusative, the instrumental, and perhaps the ablative also, and the forms are राज, राजन, and राजस्मा or राजन्हा.

The old forms are found in the nominative (राजा, राजानो), and in the singular of the accusative which has thus two forms राजे and राजाने, and the plural of this last case is, as usual, the same as that of the first. The singulars of the instrumental, genitive, and locative are the same as those in Sanskrit, but ज being changed to ज्ञा, we have राजा, राजा, and राजा. In the last two cases the conjunct is also dissolved into जिन, wherefore we have राजानो and राजाने also. The genitive plural is राजा and, ज्ञा being dissolved into जन, the form राजाने is used, in addition. This राजा is made the base of the plurals of the instrumental and locative; and thus we have राजािन है and राजा . The vocative singular is like that of nouns in अ.

The suffixes बत and मत् of such nouns as एणवत् and सतिमत् are regarded as if they were बन्त and मन्त, and the nouns declined like those ending in अ in the singulars of the nominative, accusative and genitive, and in the plurals of the accusative, instrumental, genitive and locative; and, according to the commentator of Kacchāyana, in the singulars of the instrumental and locative also; as एणवन्तो, एणवतो, एणवन्तो, एणवतो, एणवता, एणवतो, एणवतो, एणवतो, एणवतो, एणवतो, एणवतो, एणवतो, एणवतो, एणवता, एणवतो, एणव

FEMININE NOUNS

The nominative, besides the old forms, has another transferred from nouns in ई; as कञ्जायो. The singulars of the instrumental and the succeeding cases, excepting the vocative, have one same form made up from the Sanskrit genitive by dropping the visarga and shortening the final vowel; as कञ्जाय, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, and locative singular. The others and also the locative singular have the old forms; as कञ्जाबि-हि instrumental and ablative plural, कञ्जाने genitive and dative plural, and कञ्जायं and कञ्जास locative singular and plural.

The final member य of the conjunct which appears in the caseforms of nouns in ई such as नदी, is dissolved into इय, and thus we
have नदियो from the Sanskrit नय:; and this and नदी from the
Sanskrit नदी: are both of them the plurals of the nominative and
accusative; नया the singular of the instrumental is dissolved into
नदिया, and also नया: of the ablative and genitive which, after
dropping the visarga, becomes नया;* and this is extended to the
locative singular, which has also another form नदियं, from नयाम्.
There is nothing particular about the rest. Nouns in short इ are
declined in exactly the same way, except that Kacchāyana gives
such forms as रखा and रखं in addition to रिनया and रिनयं for the
singular of the ablative and locative.

Nouns in उ or ऊ follow completely the analogy of those in ई; the forms of ৰম, for instance, are not derived from the corresponding Sanskrit forms of the noun, but are made up by adding the final syllables of those of নহা; as ৰম্মা nominative and accusative plural, ৰম্মা singular instrumental, ablative, genitive, &c.

NEUTER NOUNS

The singular of the nominative and accusative of neuter nouns ending in a vowel is the same as in the parent tongue, but the forms of the plural are optionally like those of the corresponding masculine nouns; as रून or रूपानि nominative plural, and रूपे or रूपानि accusative plural; अही (like अग्गी) or अहीनि nominative and accusative plural, आयू or आयूनि nominative and accusative plural.

As in the case of masculine nouns, such neuter uouns as have a final consonant in Sanskrit drop it and are treated as if they ended in the preceding vowel. But in the singulars the jold forms are preserved; as मनो or मने nominative and accusative, मनसा or मनेन instrumental, मनसो genitive, मनसि, मने or मनस्मि-म्ह locative.

PRONOUNS

As pronominal terminations have been transferred to nouns, a few nominal ones have been extended to pronouns, thus carrying on the process of unification a step further. The plural of the nominative of feminine pronouns has a form ending in $\overline{\Psi}$, and the singulars of the instrumental and genitive end in $\overline{\Psi}$

^{*} The Sanskrit form नेपा corrupted to नेजा is also found used.

that of the locative in t, as in the case of the corresponding nouns; as सायो nominative plural, ताय or तस्सा, इमाय or इमस्सा, असुवा or असुरता genitive singular, and तायं or तरसं, इमायं or इमिरसं, असुयं or असर्स locative singular, of तद, इदस and अदम्. All pronouns of the third person, of whatever gender, form the genitive plural by adding सं from the Sanskrit साम, and also सानं which is made up of सं, the pronominal, and नं, the nominal termination, so that the second form is the genitive of the first taken as a base, as तेसं or तेसानं, तासं or तासानं, &c. Similarly, the bases एती and इसी which are substituted for unt and san in the singulars of the genitive and locative, and an which optionally replaces at in these cases, have a genitive singular with a double termination; as तस्ता, तिस्ता or तिस्ताय, एतिस्ता or एतिस्ताय, इमिस्ता or इमिस्ताय, where स्ता. Sanskrit स्याः, is the pronominal, and आय the nominal termination. The plurals of the nominative and accusative have the same form, as ते, सब्बे, ता or तायो, &c., and the instrumental plural of the masculine has, like that of nouns, the termination एभि or एहि. The remaining terminations are the same as in Sanskrit.

The correlative or remote demonstrative as has, besides the usual Sanskrit base, another न which has all the cases नं. नेन. &c.. except the nominative singular. The base is generalized from the एनम. एनेन &c. of the accusative, the singular of the instrumental, and the dual of the genitive and locative, which are used in making anvādeša as it is called by Pānini, i. e. in referring to one who has already been spoken of. The near demonstrative इटम has two bases, अ and इस. In Sanskrit this latter is used in the nominative dual and plural and in the accusative. Here it is extended to all the cases except the nominative singular, and so we have इसे, इमिना, इसेहि, इसस्मा, इसस्स, इसेसं, इसरिंस, and इसेसु : इसाय, इमिस्सा, &c. The first base is used, as in Sanskrit, in all cases except the plural of the nominative and accusative and the forms are अयं, अनेन, एहि, अस्मा &c. The pronoun अद्स् has the base अस for the nominative singular, and Ag for all other cases and this latter is lengthened in the plural; as अम्रना, अमृहि, अम्रस्मा, अम्रस्त, अमृसं: अम्रया. अवस्ता. &c. The nominative and accusative of the neuter is अहं.

The singulars of the pronouns of the first and second persons are the same as in Sanskrit; as अहं, मं, मया, मम or मे, and मिय ; त्यं, त्वंग, तव or ते, and त्विय. This syllable त्व is optionally dissolved

into त in the nominative and accusative, which have thus तुवं, and changed to त in the latter as well as in the instrumental and locative; and so we have तं, तया and तिय also. The dative and genitive being confounded, the Sanskrit महाम and तुभ्यम् of the former are in the form of मर्व्ह and तुम्हं used for both cases. The latter has also the forms ममं and अम्हं and तुम्हं, the anusvāra being inserted from the analogy of the plural. The plural of आहं is मर्य in which the initial a of the Sanskrit form is changed to म; and in the accusative, instrumental, and locative, the Sanskrit base अस्म in the form अम्ह is declined like the masculine तद्, and the forms are अम्हे, अम्हेहि and अम्हेस्ट.

The यु of युष्मह् was probably weakly pronounced, hence the singular base तु has been transferred to the plural, and the peculiar syllable of this number स्म tacked on to it, and the whole in the form of तुम्ह is declined like तद in all the cases except the genitive; as तुम्हें, तुम्हें हैं &c. The forms of the plurals of the last are like those in Sanskrit; as अम्हाकं and तुम्हाकं. The accusative singulars of these pronouns have the forms समं and तवं, besides those mentioned above. These are made up by adding anusvāra, the sign of the accusative, to the form of the genitive used as a base.

On the same principle we have अम्हार्क and तुम्हार्क for the plural, but as the genitive forms have an anusvāra already, the addition of the accusative sign makes no difference. This is an isolated instance in this dialect of a method of constructing new caseforms, which is, we shall find as we proceed in our investigations, largely used in the later dialects and especially in the modern vernaculars.

You will have seen how naturally the new formations we have noticed grew up. A language is well learnt by others or correctly transmitted to them only when they are in constant and close intercourse with those who know it, or when they are deliberately taught. When for some reason or other this is not the case, and the linguistic tradition is imperfect, men proceed from what is more in use and consequently better known to that which is less used and less known. Nouns in 34, for instance, constitute a very large portion of the ordinary Sanskrit names. Their case forms were most used, whence they were well known and those of the other nouns not being so often used were less known. In

these cases these less forms had to conform to the model of the more known, and thus we see a tendency to bring nouns as close as possible to the of declension, as you have seen in such nouns as आत्मन, रुणवत, गच्छत, ज्ञास्त, and even आग्नि. And it is also clear that the new 3 base is generally taken from the nominative, which case is oftener used than others, as अत, राणवन्त, इच्छन्त, and सत्तार i. e. जास्तार. In the same way we have observed a strong tendency to obliterate the distinction between the nominal and pronominal declensions, and fuse them into one, and this tendency succeeded everywhere except in the genitive plural. at the time when Pali arose, the traditions of the original Sanskrit were not entirely lost, wherefore we have old forms used side by side with the new ones. The same process is observable in the conjugations of verbs. already remarked. It will thus be seen how less is the opinion of those who maintain that these Prakrits or derived languages were simply literary languages, or were constructed by Pandits. But this point will be discussed at length hereafter.

Inattention to this law of false analogies or generalization, and to the wide range of its operation in the formation of Pali grammar has led some scholars to set down as Vedic certain forms which exist in this dialect but are not to be met with in classical Sanskrit. Such are इमस्स the genitive singular masculine of इदम, फला the nominative plural of फल, अद्भी and मध्य nominative and accusative plural of अस्थि and मधु, अम्हे the general plural base of the pronoun of the first person, and गोनं genitive plural of गो. I see no icason why इमस्स should be regarded as Vedic and not the other forms that have इम for their base, such ss इमस्मा, इमेसं, &c., or why कहा should be so and not कहे the accusative plural; अम्ह and not तुम्हे, अद्भी and not अद्भिस्त, or गोनं and not अभिन्तनं. If these latter forms and a host of others must be explained with reference to a thoroughly different principle, why should the former, which are kindred to them and are as completely capable of that same explanation, be traced to a Vedic origin? The fact that they happen to resemble certain Vedic forms does not prove their derivation from them. The same process of generalization and the same natural tendency to construct the less known forms from the analogy of those that are more known brought them all into use. The forms फल and फले and अद्भी and मध्य are, as stated before, made up upon the analogy of the corresponding masculine, and herein we observe the beginning of a tendency to obliterate the distinction between the masculine and neuter, which went on progressing until now, in the Hindi, Sindhi, and other vernaculars of Northern India, the neuter gender has totally disappeared, while in the Marathi the distinction remains in the case of pronouns and certain nouns, and in the Gujarati only in the latter.

Π

THE VERB.

We will now examine the Pali verb. The distinction between the special and general tenses and moods is almost lost, the special form being used in the general, as in गिन्छस्सति the future of गम, or the general form in the special as गमेति. We have also गमिस्सति and गच्छति. A large number of roots used in ordinary intercourse belong in Sanskrit to the first conjugation; this and the sixth are the easiest of the ten; in many cases there is no practical distinction between them, and in others they are so greatly like each other that they are capable of being confused together. Hence the rule of constructing verbal forms common to these two conjugations, viz. the additition of the personal terminations through the intervention of M, has become general in Pali. A good many roots belonging to the other classes are conjugated according to this rule; as दोहति, विदति, and रवति, for दोग्धि, वेति, and रौति, of the second class; पोसति for उच्यति, सुसति and बन्धति for सुज्जाति and बध्नाति. &c. The tenth conjugation is almost equally common in Sanskrit, whence a great many roots are conjugated necessarily or optionally in this way; as बदेमि or बदामि, गमेति or गच्छति, सिलेसोति, वेदेति or विदति, विगाहेति, &c. from बद, गम, श्लिष विद, गाह with बि, &c. The प in these forms stands, you will remember, for the Sanskrit স্ব, which is the characteristic of the tenth class.

The second conjugation has gone out, except in isolated forms such as अत्थि for अस्ति, and the third has left some reduplicated roots, as व्वासि, जहाति, &c. The fourth has preserved a good many of its roots but its य is corrupted according to the usual phonetic rules; thus इंध्य becomes इंज्य; पय, पज; ब्त्य, नव; सन्य, सञ्ज, &c. The

^{39 [}R.G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

fifth and the ninth are confounded, and roots of the former take the termination of the latter also; as पाएणोति or पाएणाति for पाप्रोति; सक्चोति or सक्चणाति for राष्ट्रोति &c. In the last instance the base is सक्क derived from सक्कोति the corruption of शक्कोति, thus showing that the forms in ना are a later growth. The seventh inserts, as before remarked, a nasal in the body of the roots and transfers them to the first; the eighth remains in a few cases such as तन and &, though this last takes a peculiar form also, as तनोति, करोति or किएरोत; and the ninth adds ना as in Sanskrit, as किणाति, धुनाति, खुनाति पुनाति, &c.

But it is to be observed that the more common of the roots belonging to these conjugations only have preserved their peculiar forms; the rest are conjugated according to the rules of the first, sixth, or tenth. Since the distinction between the special and general tenses and moods is lost, the effect of these conjugational peculiarities is only to constitute a new or augmented root.

Of the ten tenses and moods in Sanskrit, the Pali has lost two, the first future and the precative. The two Padas or voices remain, but the distinction is lost in most cases, such forms as धुवति, लब्भिति, प्रवति, &c., though passive, taking Parasmaipada terminations.

The following are the terminations:

Paragm

PRESENT TENSE

X tm

	I al ab	ш.	Aum.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1st pers.	मि	म	ए	महे
2nd "	सि	थ	से	व्हे
3rd ,,	ति	अन्ति	ते	अन्ते
Ex.	पचति	पचन्ति &c.	पचते	पचन्ते &c.
		IMPERA	TIVE.	•
1st pers.	मि	म	ए	आमसे
2nd ,,	हि, or none थ		स्य	व्हो
3rd "	∞त	अन्तु	तं	अन्त
Ex.	पचत	पचन्त &c.	ਪਚਰ	प्रसम्बं क्षेत्र

IMPERFECT

			•				
1st pers.	अ	म्हा	ई	म्हसे			
2nd "	ओ	त्थ	से	व्हं			
3rd "	आ	<u>ক</u>	स्थ	ત્યું			
Ex.	अपचा	अपचू &c.	अपचत्थ	अपचर्धुं &c.			
POTENTIAL							
1st pers.	एय्यामि	एय्याम	एय्यं .	एय्यम्हे			
2nd "	एय्यासि	एयाथ	एथो	एयक्हो			
3rd "	एय्य or ए	एच्युं	एथ	एरं			
Ex.	पचे or पचेरय	पचेय्युं &c.	पच्चेथ	पचेरं &c.			
AORIST							
1st pers.	ई	म्हा	अ	म्हे			
2nd ,,	र ओ	न्ध् <u>य</u>	₹i	र हें इहें			
3rd ,,	ξ	उं or इंस	आ	ऊ			
Ex.		अपचुं or अपचिंस &c.		अपचू &c.			
PERFECT							
1st pers.	अ	म्ह	Ę	म्हे			
2nd "	ए	त्थ	त्थो	व्ह ो			
3rd "	अ	उ	त्थ	रे			
Ex.	पपच	पपचु &c.	पपचित्थ	पपचिते &c.			
FUTURE							
1st pers.	स्सामि	स्साम	स्सं	स्सम्हे			
2nd "	स्सास	स्सथ	स्ससं	स्सव्हे			
3rd "	स्सति	स्सन्ति	स्सते	स्सन्ते			
Ex.	भविस्सति	भविस्सन्ति &c.	भविस्सते	भविस्सन्ते &c.			
CONDITIONAL							
: '							
1st pers.	स्सं	स्सम्हा	स्सं	स्साम्हसे			

The terminations of the Present of both Padas are the same as in Sanskrit, with the exception of the plural π and \overline{R} , the \overline{R} of

स्सथ

स्संस

अभविस्सम्र &c.

स्संस

स्सथ अभविस्सथ स्सव्हे

स्सिस्र

अभविसिंसस &c.

2nd ,,

3rd "

Ex.

स्से

अभविस्सा

the second person plural of the Atmanepada being a corruption of w. This tense is most in use; hence the Pali speakers learned it well, so to say, from their Sanskrit teachers.

The other tenses, except the Future which, like the Present. is also entirely Sanskrit—and the moods have preserved such of their forms as are more frequently used in ordinary life. is, for instance, greater occasion for the use of the second person singular of the Imperative Mood, and also for the third person Hence these are the same as in Sanskrit, but the second person plural termination थ, and the first person singular मि and the plural #, Parasmaipada, have been transferred from the Present. As to these, even in Sanskrit we find the Present used very generally for this Mood in the first person; as in कि ते भूप: प्रियमपहरामि Sak.. कि ते भूप: प्रियं करोमि Mrc., &c. where the forms should be उपहराणि, करवाणि &c. The rest are the same as in Sanskrit. The second person singular is formed in two ways, viz. without adding any termination as in the conjugations which give an ending of to the base, and by appending fe as is done in the others. The Atmanepada स्व is changed to स्त, the a being dissolved into 3. since 74 renders the previous vowel heavy, the resulting स is doubled to preserve that effect. The plural ध्वम is altered to को ; the म and the mute element being dropped, we have इह the final vowel of which is transformed into ओ through the influence of the preceding a. The tof the first person singular becomes y, or this may be considered to have been transferred from the Present, and for the plural we have आमसे which is an old Vedic termination of the Atmanepada first person plural corrupted in Sanskrit to आमहे. The तं and अन्तं of the third person are the same as the ताम and अन्ताम of the parent language.

The Potential has preserved the old forms of the third person only, viz., पचे for पचेत्, and पचेखं for पचेद्र: The य is doubled as in धेखं for स्तेय according to a general rule which we have noticed before. The singular of this person is also formed by adding एख made up on the analogy of the plural एख and also of such forms as सुनुषात. The final vowel is, however, shortened, but in such cases as जानीया for जानीयात् it remains long. This form with the final long is used as a base, and the terminations of the first person and second person of the Present added to it to form the

corresponding person of the Potential. The Atmanepada एथ, एर, and एथा are the same as एत, एरन, and एथा: of the Sanskrit अ-conjugations, the त of एत being rendered an aspirate and the आ of एथा: shortened. The Parasmaipada singular एयम as in पचेयम is adapted for the Atmanepada in the form एथा and the plurals of the second and first persons are formed by taking एथ्य as the base and appending खम corrupted to दो and मह of the Present.

In the Imperfect the an and a of the third person seem to be generalized from such forms as अयात and अयु: The termination उम, is, as you know, applied in Sanskrit optionally to roots ending in an and necessarily to as and such as are reduplicated. The en of the singular, however, may be considered as due to the lengthening of the previous of such Sanskrit forms of the अ-conjugations as अपचत, when the final consonant was dropped. This lengthening was brought about by the forcible pronunciation of the exrendered necessary in Sanskrit by the final consonant. The second person singular is sit, which corresponds to the Sanskrit अ:, and अ of the first person singular to the अम with the nasal dropped. The Atmanepada second person singular it is transferred from the Present, of is tan, and s is generalized from the forms of the non-अ-conjugations, such as अलुनि, अददि, &c. The Perfect has preserved the third person singular a and plural 3 and the first person singular 3, of the Parasmaipada; and it of the Atmanepada. Of the rest, v second person singular Parasmaipada is perhaps the v of the Sanskrit Atmanepada singular of the first and third persons; and the z of the Atmanepada is transferred from the Imperfect.

In the Aorist the third person singular ई is the termination of the fifth form of the Sanskrit Aorist with the final द dropped as usual; and the plural द is generalized from such forms as अस्पुर. Some roots, such as द and क have सि for the singular as अहोति, and अकासि, the सि of which is to be traced to सात. Another plural termination is इस in which we can recognize the Sanskrit इद्य. The second person singular ओ is from the अस of the second Aorist; and the first person singular is इ resulting from the fusion of the augment इ with the अस of the second Aorist. The third person singular and plural and the first person singular of the Atmane-

pada are the same as the corresponding ones of the Parasmaipada Imperfect, both numbers of the second person are the same as the corresponding Atmanepada of the Imperfect, and the set of the first person plural is transferred from the Present.

The terminations of the Second Future are made up as in Sanskrit by prefixing स्स = स्प to those of the Present. The Atmanepada first person singular has however स्सं instead of स्से. In one instance, viz., होहिति, होहिन्ति from हो, the स्स is corrupted to ह. In the Conditional terminations the स्स occurs everywhere, but the other portions are transferred from other tenses. The ending आ of the third person singular स्सा is of course the आ of the Imperfect; the अंग्र of the plural has been transferred from the Aorist, Imperfect, or Potential; the से and अ of स्से and स्सथ are brought over from the Atmanepada and Parasmaipada of the Present; स्से is स्पन्न, and the म्हा of स्मन्हा the plural is from the Imperfect. In Sanskrit, the short terminations of the Imperfect and other tenses are added to the स्प in the Conditional; but here there is a mixture of both the same mixture in the Atmanepada.

It will thus appear that the Present and Future have preserved most of the Sanskrit terminations, and the other tenses only about two or three. Besides the terminations that have thus been preserved or transferred by analogy from one tense to another, there are others which cannot be thus explained. Such are महे Atmanepada first person plural of the Present; त्य and म्ह of the Parasmaipada second and first person plural, and a third person singular. त्थो second person singular and महे first person plural of the Atmanepada of the Perfect; त्य second person plural and महा first person plural Parasmaipada, and a and a third person singular and plural and महिस first person plural Atmanepada, of the Imperfect; र्थ second person plural and महा first person plural Parasmaipada of the Aorist, and refirst person plural of the Atmanepada of the same; म्हे first person plural Atmanepada of the Future; and ह्या Parasmaipada and म्हस Atmanepada of the first person of the Conditional. These are unquestionably forms of the root अम tacked on to the base in the particular tenses when the old terminations were forgotten, or some of them may be traced directly to the terminations of the Sanskrit Aorist स्त, स्था: and स्म, which themselves.

as you know, are forms of अस. Of these, the Parasmaipada second person plural त्थ is to be traced to the corresponding Sanskrit स्थ of the Present of अस and म्ह and महा first person plural to the स्म of आस्म of the Imperfect and स्म: of the Present respectively. The penultimate अ of स्म: is lengthened for the same reason as that of अपचत is in forming अपचा. The Atmanepada त्थों of the second singular comes from the स्था: of आस्था: of the Imperfect, त्थ third person singular, from the स्त of अस्त of the same; and महे and ससे first person plural are to be referred to such Atmanepada forms as स्मे and समसे. Of the last two, स्मे appears to be a new formation form स्म, and समसे is the old Vedic archetype of स्महे.

You will thus see that when the original Sanskrit forms were forgotten, new ones corresponding to them were constructed in the Pali, not only by the use of false analogies, but also by taking one form distinctively expressive of the sense of a particular mood or tense as a base, and appending first only the personal terminations of the Present, as in the case of the Potential; and secondly, the forms of the root and. You will hereafter find that the modern vernaculars have resorted to one at least of these two modes of reconstruction; and similarly, the beginnings in the Pali of a mode of constructing new case-forms widely prevalent in the modern dialects was brought to your notice before; so that the spirit or turn of mind which has been in operation in the formation of the vernacular speech of the country, has been the same since very remote times.

The terminations with an initial consonant are in the general tenses appended through the intervention of the vowel \$\overline{\pi}\$; but in some cases there are forms directly corrupted from Sanskrit; as दक्ति Sanskrit इस्पति, मोक्सति = मोस्पति. The temporal augment आ is often omitted, as गमा or अगमा, गमी or अगमी, गमिस्ता or अगमिस्ता. The several varieties of the Aorist, and the many special forms of the Perfect, have for the most part gene out of use. The Passive is formed by the addition of \$\overline{\pi}\$ as in Sanskrit, sometimes with the augment \$\overline{\pi}\$, sometimes without, in which last case the conjunct consonant is corrupted according to the prevailing rules; as शुज्जियते, पचते, उच्मते, करियते. The forms in a good many cases are the same in Sankrit, only phonetically altered; as शीयते, उच्चते, इजते in which cases we see the that the आ of स्था is changed to \$\overline{\pi}\$, and

बच्च and यज under Samprasārana. The causal is formed by adding आपे or आपय and ए or आप; as कारापेति or कारापति and कारेति or कारापति. These forms I have already explained. The Past Passive Participle is formed as in Sanskrit, and in many cases the forms are the same. The Absolutive is formed by using the terminations त्न, त्यान, and त्या. The first is the same as the second, the semivowel क having only undergone Samprasārana; and they are to be traced to such Vedic forms as इष्टीन, कृत्यान &c., which have disappeared in Classical Sanskrit. The Infinitive is formed by adding तु as in Sanskrit, or तव which, I have already observed, is one of the many ways in which the Vedic Infinitive is formed. It has become obsolete in the later Sanskrit.

Now if the Pali grew up naturally in the manner I have described, it could not come to possess the several grammatical forms it exhibits unless they were in use in Sankrit at the time when it branched off. It has, as we have seen, preserved eight of the ten Tenses and Moods, whence it follows that verbal forms of these were then current in the language. Pali therefore represents Middle Sanskrit or the usage that prevailed during the period between the composition of the Brāhmaṇas and Yāska or Pāṇini and must have begun to be formed during that period. We shall hereafter find that latter Prakrits represent the third stage in the development of the Sanskrit that in which a good many of the verbal forms ceased to be used; and thus bear to what I have called classical Sanskrit the same relation that the Pali does to Middle Sanskrit.

* * *

We will now proceed to consider those valuable specimens of the ancient languages of the country which have been preserved in inscriptions. The most important of these are the edicts of Aśoka, the pious king of Pātaliputra in Magadha, the modern Behar, who flourished in the middle of the third century before Christ. These edicts contain the king's religious and moral injunctions to his subjects, and set forth his own ideas, belief, and conduct in these matters. Five different versions of them have been discovered, inscribed on rocks in different parts of the country. There is one at Girnar, near Jungad in Kathiawar, another at Dhauli in

Kattak, and a third at Kapurdigiri or Sahbazgarhi in Afghanistan. These have been published and examined. The Girnar version has been copied several times, but the other two only once, and hence there are a good many imperfections in our existing copies of them. Another version has recently been discovered at Jaugad near Ganjam, in the Northern Circars, and copied by a Madras Civilian. It is unfortunately greatly mutilated, not more than two of the fourteen edicts being found complete, and but a few words left of some. The fifth has recently been discovered by General Cunningham at Khalsi, near Masuri in the Himalayas, and has not yet been published.* Other edicts of the same king are found inscribed on columns which exist at Delhi, Allahabad, and other places. At Dhauli and Ganiam there exist, along with the edicts mentioned above, others which answer to these. Another Inscription of Aseka has been found at Babhra in Rajputana, which consists of a letter to the Budchist congregation.

These Inscriptions are in three different dialects, closely related to each other. The Girnar dialect is very much like the Pali. That of the Dhauli, Ganjam, and Khalsi versions presents peculiarities which are found in a later Prakrit called Māgadhī by the grammarians. Such are the substitution of of for t, v for the sit of the nominative singular of masculine nouns in st, the termination of the locative instead of the Pali कि, and हक्ष for stat. The Babhra and the column inscriptions are also in this dialect. The Sahbazgarhi recension admits of some conjuncts such as w, and the sibilants wand which in the others and in Pali are changed to to. But it is a question whether these are dialectic peculiarities, or are to be attributed to a confusion of the vernacular with Sanskrit. I will now place before you short specimens of these dialects.

Girnar, edict VIII.

अतिकातं अंतरं राजानो विद्वारयातां अयाद्ध । एत मगज्या अञानि च एतारिसानि अभिरमकानि अर्द्वेष्ठ । सो देवानंपियो पियदसी राजा दसवसाभिसितो संतो अयाय संबोधि । तेनेसा धंमयाता एतयं होति बाम्हणसमणानं दसणे च दाने च थैराणं दसणे

Published since in Corp. Insc. A sixth version existing at Manshera in the Panjab was discovered after the above was published. I have made use of the latest readings of the versions.

^{40 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

च हिरंबपटिविधाने च जानपदस च जनस हसनं धंमानुसस्टी च धंमपरिपुच्छा च। तहोषया एसा भूयरति भवति देवानंपियस प्रियद्सिनो राओ भागे अंत्रे.

Sanskrit :--

अतिकान्तमन्तरं राजानो विहारयात्रां निरयासिषुः। अत्र सृगयान्यानि चैतादृशान्य-भिरामकाण्यभूवन्। स देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा दशवर्षाभिषिकः सम्नयासीत्संबोधिम्। तेनैषा धर्मयात्रा । अत्रेदं भवति ब्राह्मणश्रमणानां दर्शनं च दानं च स्थविराणां दर्शनं च हिरण्यप्रतिविधानं च जानपदस्य च जनस्य दर्शनं धर्मानुशास्तिश्व धर्मपरिपृच्छा च । तदीपर्यादेषा सूर्योरतिर्भवति देवानां प्रियस्य प्रियद्शिनो राज्ञो भागेन्यस्मिन् ।

Translation :--

"Some time ago kings went on pleasure excursions. Hunting and such others were the diversions here. But Priyadarsin, the favourite of the gods, began the search of enlightenment when he had been a crowned monarch for ten years. Hence this excursion (course) of righteousness. It consists of this, viz. seeing Brāhmanas and Śramanas, and bestowing gifts, seeing the religious elders and presenting gold, and seeing country-people and giving instruction in righteousness and in the investigation of the law. Since that time king Priyadarsir has been taking great delight in the glories of the next world."

It is not usual in these inscriptions to mark the double or assimilated consonants. Hence we do not find them here except in the case of double nasals which are indicated by an anusvāra followed by the nasal. There is, as in Pali, no other phonetic change; पति we see becomes परि and भ becomes optionally ह; and राजानो the nominative plural, राजो for रज्जो the genitive singular, सन्तो the nominative singular, and all other cases are just like those in that dialect. We have the Aorist forms ending in an anusvāra followed by E. as in Pali. But there are some differences; प्तारिस is प्तादिस in Pali as it is in the other recensions of this same inscription, अहंस is अहंस, though अहंस agrees with the rules of Pali grammar and must have existed in the language; the ऐ of धराण is opposed to Pali usage, but the engraver may have committed a mistake : ञेयास is for निय्यास, इ being changed to T before the conjunct according to the rule we have noticed. बान्डण is बाह्मण in Pali: but the inscription perhaps represents the prevailing usage more correctly; and the आ is lengthened in राजो probably through mistake. There are thus very few cases of real difference, and though they might be considered to point to a dialectical variety of the nature of those we find in the different versions of the edicts, still the language is in the same stage of growth as the Pali.

The following is the Dhauli version collated with that at Khalsi and completed:—

अतिकंतं अंतलं । लाजानो विहालयातं नाम निस्तमिस् । हिदा मिगिषया अंनानि च 5 एदिसानि अभिलामानि 3 हुवंति नं । से देवानं पिये पियदसी लाजा दसवसाभिसिते 4 संते निस्तमि 5 संबोधि । तेनता धंमयाता 6 हेता इयं होति समनवा 7 भनानं दसने च दाने च 8 बुद्दानं दसने च हिलंनपटिविधाने च ।

We here observe the varieties mentioned before, the change of र to ल and the nominative in ए. We also see निखमिसु for अयास एदिसनि for एतारिसानि, बुधानं or बुढानं (= कुदानां) for थैरांन. and बंभन or बाभन for ब्राह्मण.. So then here we have another dialect.

Kapurdigiri or Sahbazgarhi version:-

अतिक्रंतं अंतरं देवनंप्रिय विहरयत्र नम निक्रमिषु अत्र ब्रुगय अञ्जिन च हेदिशानि अमिरमिन अभवसु सो देवनंप्रिय प्रियद्रसि रज दशवपिभिसितो सतो निक्रमि संवोधि तेनदं धमयत्र अत्र इयं होति अमणब्रमणनं दशने दनं &c.

Here we have the conjuncts भि, जा, ज, &c., and the three Sanskrit sibilants; and also होदिशनि for ईद्दशानि.

The reason why we have not one same version at all the three places must be that it was the intention of the king to publish the edicts in the dialect of each particular place. The Dhauli-Khalsi dialect is as observed before, used in the column inscriptions, and also in that found at Babhra. The king's predilection for it can be plausibly accounted for only on the supposition that it was his own native tongue. If so, this dialect must have prevailed in Magadha, which country was under his immediate rule, and the capital of which was Pātaliputra, where he reigned. And this accounts for the fact that it is used in the inscriptions at Dhauli and Ganjam, since they are situated in the contiguous country. One peculiarity of this language, viz. the nominative singular of nouns in π ending in π is met with even in the Girnār recension,

^{1.} देवानं पिया Kh.

^{2.} हेडिसानि Kh.

^{3.} हुसु for हुत्रंति नं Kh.

^{4.} Dh. om.

^{5.} निखमिठा Kh.

^{6.} ततेस for हता इयं Dh.

^{7.} बंभ Kh.

^{8.} **बुधानं** Kh,

which may be explained by the supposition that the edicts were drawn up first in the king's dialect but were translated into the dialect of each province, the translation however being not executed carefully enough to expunge all peculiarities of the original draft. It would thus appear that the grammarians of the later languages had more solid grounds than mere fancy for calling that Prakrit which bears close resemblance to this language by the name of Māgadhī. Here then we find specimens of three dialects prevalent in three widely distant provinces; but we should bear in mind that the difference between them is small, while in the languages that are spoken in these countries at the present day it is so great as to make it difficult for the natives of one province to understand those of another.

In the many other ancient monuments existing in the country we often find inscriptions which are principally in two languages. the Sanskrit and the Pali or Prakrit, understanding by this term simply a dialect derived from the Sanskrit. Those in the latter (Pali) are mostly connected with Buddhism; though some Buddhistic inscriptions also, such as those discovered by General Cunningham at Mathura several years ago, are in Sanskrit. In the caves at Kanheri, Nasik, Junnar, Nanaghat, Karla. and some other places in this Presidency, and in the Bhilsa topes, we have Pali or Prakrit inscriptions. Most of these are short, but at Nasik we have long ones, in the caves of Usavadāta. and Gotamiputra. The language of these latter is Pali: and but a few forms are peculiar, such as दत्त and कित for which the Pali has दिण्ण and कत. Past Passive Participles of दा and इ: and दे for the numeral two, the Pali form being हे or दुवे. In Usavadāta's caves we have one inscription entirely in Sanskrit, the rest are in Pali or Prakrit, but we have an intermixture of Sanskrit words, and the conjuncts \(\mathbf{x} \), \(\mathbf{x} \), and \(\mathbf{x} \) often appear. In these and smaller inscriptions we have such words as बार for बार, बारसक for वार्षिक, वरिस for वर्ष, उदिस for उद्दिश्य, while the Pali forms of these words are द्वार, वस्सिक, वस्स, and उद्देसेत्वा. Some of these inscriptions were engraved so late as the third century, when the Pali could hardly have been the vernacular; but it had become the sacred language of the Buddhists; the mendicant priests for whom the caves were intended and even educated lay members of that persuasion understood it; and hence it was used in these inscriptions as Sanskrit was in others.

The style of Gotamiputra's charters, abounding as it does in long compounds and elaborate expressions, is very unlike the plain and simple language of Asoka's edicts. And at the end of these and that of his son, we are told that the officers of these kings who caused the charters to be engraved acted under the command, i. e. wrote to the dictation of "respected persons who were the compilers of all such document. " It thus appears that the Pali was at that time a sacred and a literary language among the Buddhists. And as to the language of the other inscriptions, which like those of Gotamiputra and his son were not composed by learned men, one can easily understand how ignorant persons. not knowing Sanskrit or Pali well, but still not ignorant enough to know nothing of those languages, would confound together Sanskrit, Pali, and vernacular words. Even in our days we find the phenomenon in the patrikas or horoscopes written by our Josis or astrologers, which are neither in pure Sanskrit nor in pure vernacular, but contain a mixture of them both, and the Sanskrit words and forms in which are incorrectly written.

And an explanation of this nature I have also to give of another variety of language that is found in the writings of the Northern or Nepalese Buddhists. These unlike those of the Ceylonese and Burmese Buddhists are written in Sanskrit, but in such works as the Lalitavistāra or the life of Buddha we find, along with prose passages in pure Sanskrit, a number of verses which contain words or forms which are not Sanskrit. Thus, for instance, we have:—

सर्वश्चभकर्महेतोः फलामिदं शृखतास्य कर्मस्य पूजारहो भवितुं सर्वजगे अनुबन्धत इससनन्तयशं ॥

You will here see that कर्मस्य, जमे, and यशं are as in the Pali treated like nouns in अ, अई is dissolved into अरह, and there are a few other instances of this process, such as किलेश for हा, शिर, for आ, हिरी for हा &c. but that generally the conjunct consonants are retained as they are in Sanskrit, and not assimilated. So also you have चोदेन्ति for चोदयन्ति, मायाय genitive singular of माया, उपजित्वा शुणिव्यति, निरीक्षण; Imperative second person plural, शमेण for शमयत, &c., and even such words as सनाप which are Pali in

every respect. But along with these there are other peculiarities which must be attributed simply to carelessness. For instance, the case terminations are often omitted, a thing never done either in Sanskrit or Pali, as काम सेविति for काम सेवते, द्वगत for स्गतं when governed by प्रजयितं, मोक्ष भोज्यति for मोक्षा भविष्यति, &c. Such constructions as क्षान्त्या सोरभ्यसम्पन्नाः for क्षान्तिसोरभ्यसंपन्नाः जीलसमाधि तथा प्रजमयं for जीलसमाधिपज्ञामयं, are often to be met with.

This language has therefore no fixed characteristics at all. We have seen that in such words as कर्म, जग and यज above, the final consonant is dropped, and these as in Pali and Prakrit made nouns in अ. But पदान is used in the Sanskrit form also, as कीर्त-ৰ্থকাশ্ব: and there are instances in which other final consonants are preserved. Along with such a form as शुणिष्यति noted above. which is constructed on the same principle as the Pali सिंग्सित. such a Sanskrit one as अण्यन्ति is found. It therefore appears to me that this is not an independent language; but that the writers of the Gathas knew the spoken language or Pali, and that they were imperfectly acquainted with Sanskrit, knowing enough of it to see that the assimilation of consonants was a vulgarity, but not acquainted with its grammar. They intended to write in the more polished or literary language, but not knowing it well, often used unconsciously the grammatical forms and the peculiar words of the vernacular. At the time when the Gathas were written the claims of the Pali to be considered a separate language were probably not recognised, and it constituted the speech of the uninstructed. Those who in this condition of things wished to write, could not think of doing so in that form of speech, and therefore wrote in what they considered the language of educated men: but they knew it imperfectly, and produced such a heterogeneous compound as we have seen.

LECTURE III.

THE PRAKRITS AND THE APABHRAMSA.

On the last occasion we examined the language of the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists, and found that a large portion of the words it contains are pure Sanskrit and the rest are Sanskrit words corrupted or transformed according to certain laws of phonetic decay. Then by the law of false analogy the less used and less known declensional and conjugational forms have been in many cases brought over to the type of those more used in Sanskrit and consequently better known. So that in the vocabulary and the grammar, the laws of growth I traced in the opening lecture are in operation, but their range is limited, and the dialect is in what may be called the first stage of departure from Sanskrit. We then examined the language of the Inscriptions of Asoka and found that it is either the same as Pali or in the same stage of development, and that there existed in those times two or three varieties of speech slightly differing from each other. day I propose to examine certain other dialects which ethibit a much greater departure from the parent tongue. These are the so-called Prakrits. For a knowledge of these languages we have not to go beyond India, as in the case of the one we have examined. Prakrit dialects possessed a literature and a portion of it has come down to us.

THE PRAKRITS.

There exist about six treatises on Prakrit grammar, the most ancient of which is Vararuci's Prākrtaprakāsa. Next comes Hemacandra, a Jaina scholar of Gujarat, who lived in the twelfth century. His work on grammar is known by the name of Haimavyākarana, the eight chapter of which he devotes to the grammar of the Prakrits. Hemacandra's treatment of these dialects is fuller than Vararuci's; and his observation was wider. He shows a very intimate knowledge of the existing literature of these languages, both sacred and profane, Jaina or Brahmanical. His work, and especially the last portion, is full of quotations. He must have availed himself of the labours of former scholars, since

he often mentions $P\bar{u}rv\bar{u}c\bar{u}ryas$. Hemacandra also wrote a Koşa or thesaurus of the Deśi words existing in these languages. Vararuci gives the grammar of four dialects, which he calls Mahārāṣṭri, Śauraseni, Māgadhi, and Paiṣāci. The names of the first three themselves would show that they were the languages spoken or used in the provinces from the names of which they are derived, but doubts have been raised as to their genuineness, which will be hereafter considered. The Mahārāṣṭri is called the principal Prakrit. For instance, Dandin in his Kāvyādarśa says-

"The language prevalent in Mahārāṣṭra they regard as the Prākṛta pre-eminent; it is the ocean of jewels in the shape of good literary works, and the Setubandha and others are written in it!."

Vararuci devotes the first nine chapters of his work to the Mahārāṣṭrī, and then a chapter each to the rest. The peculiarities only of the latter dialects and their differences from the Mahārāstrī are given, and in other respects they are to be considered similar to the first. Hemacandra follows the same method; but he does not mention the name Mahārāstrī and speaks of the dialect only as the Prakrit. These grammarians and all others who have written on the subject treat of the grammar of the language etymologically. They take Sanskrit as the original language or prakti and give rules about the various phonetical and grammatical changes which have reduced Sanskrit to the Prakrit form. The Pali grammarian Kaccayana treats the dialect not as one derived from Sanskrit as these writers do, but as an independent language, though it is very probable he knew Sanskrit, since he uses Sanskrit grammatical terms, and his Sutras greatly resemble those in the Katantra and even Panini. Vararuci and Hemacandra derive Sauraseni also from the Sanskrit as they do the Mahārāstrī or the principal Prakrit, but make the Sauraseni the Prakrti or basis of the Magadhi and the Paisaci. This appears to be the tradition; whence it would seem that older and more developed language or the language of respectable people was the Sauraseni, and the other two were the dialects of border countries used by persons in a lower scale of

महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः। सागरः त्रक्तिरत्नानां सेतुवन्धादि यन्मयम्॥

society. They have some of the peculiarities of the Sauraseni, and come nearer to it than to the Mahārāṣṭrī. Hemacandra gives the grammar of two more dialects. the Cūlikā Paišācī and the Apabhramśa, the latter of which was according to Daṇḍin, the language of Abhīras (cowherds) and others. Another grammarian of the name of Trivikrama gives in his Prākṛtasūtravṛtti the grammar of these six dialects. He lived after Hemacandra, since he mentions him in the introduction to his work, and his book resembles Hemacandra's a good deal. There is another work by Candra called Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā which is a meagre production. Another still of the same nature, the author of which is Laksmīdhara, mentions the same six dialects; so that the expression Ṣaḍbhāṣā seems to have become proverbial.

The Mahārāstrī derived its importance from its literature. From the manner in which Dandin speaks of that literature it appears to have been very extensive and valuable. He himself mentions one work, the Setubandha, a poem attributed to Kālidāsa but written by one Pravarasena, whose "fame," Bana says in his Harsacarita, " reached the other side of the ocean by means of the Setu." I find in a Ms. in the colophon at the end of each asvasa or canto, sometimes इअ सिरीपवरसेणविरद्दए दहमुहबहे (thus in the Dasamukhavadha composed by the prosperous Pravarasena), and sometimes, इअ परवसेनविरइए कालिदासकए दहमुहबहे (thus in the Dasamukhavadha, the work of Kālidāsa, composed by Pravarasena). Some kings of Kasmir bore the name of Pravarasena, but there is nothing to show that any one of them was the poet who wrote this work. There is a collection of seven hundred songs, chiefly of an amorous nature, by a poet of the name of Hala, which is called the Saptasati. We have an edition of this in Roman characters by Prof. Weber. Another long poem entitled the Gaudavadhakāvya by a poet named Vākpatirāja, who lived at the court of Yaśovarman, king of Kanoj, in the early part of the eighth century. was discovered by Dr. Bühler about three years ago. And several other works may turn up, if diligent search is made for them. The Kāvyaprakāsa contains about 75 Prakrit verses quoted to illustrate the rules laid down by the author, and Sarngadhara also gives a good many in his Paddhati.

The religious books of the Jainas form another very extensive

41 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

branch of Prakrit literature. Prof. Weber thinks the language of these to be later than the Pali and earlier than the Prakrits, so as to occupy a middle position, and calls it Jaina-Māgadhī. But Hemacandra himself, who must have known his religious books well, and was, as I have observed, a great Prakrit scholar, treats it as the principal Prakrit or Mahārāṣṭrī, and in his grammar of this he in several places gives forms of words peculiar to his sacred language, which after the example of his Brahmanic brothers he calls Arsa Prākrta.1 In giving his first rule about the Magadhi dialect, viz., that the nom. sing. of Masc. nouns takes the termination v, he says:-" As to what the fathers have said about the Arsa (works) being composed in the Ardha-Māgadhī dialect in such words as these: 'the ancient Sutra is composed in the Ardha-Magadhi dialect', they have said so in consequence of the observance of this rule and not of those that follow.2 Thus if one chooses to call the sacred language of the Jainas Ardha-Māgadhī on account of this Māgadhī peculiarity and a few other archaisms, one may do so; and I shall presently have to observe that the great many dialects which writers on poetics give, differed from each other in such insignificant particulars only. But it is clear that Hemacandra considers the distinction to be slight, and identifies the dialect with the principal Prakrit; and both he and the Jaina fathers refer it to the class of the Prakrits of the grammarians.3

¹ आर्षम् । ३। ऋषीणामिद्मार्षम् । आर्षे प्राक्ततं बहुलं भवति । तदपि यथास्थानं दर्श-विष्यामः । आर्षे हि सर्वे विषयो विकल्पान्ते । He has also said before, that the rules he is going to give even with regard to the ordinary Prakrit should not be considered universal.

² यद्पि पोराणमञ्ज्ञमागहभासानिययं इषइ स्तामित्यादिनार्षस्यार्धमागधभाषानियतत्व-माम्नायि दृद्धैस्तद्पि प्रायोस्यैव विधानाञ्च बक्ष्यमाणस्रक्षणस्य ।

³ The only specific grounds one can find in Prof. Weber's book in support of the assertion that the Jaina dialect occupies a middle position are these:

1. That uninitial \$\overline{\pi}\$, \$\overline{\pi}\$, \$\overline{\pi}\$, \$\overline{\pi}\$, \$\overline{\pi}\$, \$\overline{\pi}\$, and other consonants are dropped in the Mahārāṣṭrī leaving only the vowel, and preserved or softened in the Pali, while in the Jaina books \$\overline{\pi}\$ is substituted for them; i. e., the different stages of phonetic corruption in this case are, the consonants in their original or softened forms, then \$\overline{\pi}\$ for them, and lastly their elision. 2. That \$\overline{\pi}\$ is preserved in the Pali, and changed everywhere to \$\overline{\pi}\$ in the Mahārāṣṭrī; while in the Jaina dialect initial \$\overline{\pi}\$ remains unchanged except in enclytics.

3. That the loc. sing, of nouns in \$\overline{\pi}\$ ends in \$\overline{\pi}\$\$ which we find in the

But it is in the dramatic plays that we find these dialects principally used. Writers on Poetics prescribe that a particular dramatic person should speak a particular dialect. Sanskrit is assigned to respectable men of education, and women in holy orders; Sauraseni, to respectable ladies in their prose speeches, and the Mahārāṣṭri or the principal Prakrit, in the songs or verses put into their mouths. Sauraseni is also assigned to inferior characters; and the Māgadhi and Paiṣāci to very low persons. The general rule is that a dramatic person should speak the language of the country to which he or she is supposed to belong. Later writers give more minute rules. For instance, the author of the Sāhityadarpaṇa assigns Māgadhi to the attendants in the royal seraglio, Ardhamāgadhi to footmen, royal children, and

language of the column inscriptions; while it is RH and RE in the Pali and RH in the Prakrit.

Now as to the first, the द is not prior to the elision, but contemporaneous or subsequent to it, being found even in the modern vernaculars. It was introduced simply to facilitate pronunciation; i.e., it is a strengthened form of the vowel. Thus the Prakrit of पाद foot is पाअ, but in Marathi we have पाय; so राजन Skr., राअ Pr., राय H.; सोदर Skr., सोअर Pr., सोयरा M., &c. &c. The & occurs not only in Jaina books, but everywhere, e. g. in the Gaudavadhakāvya (see below); and Hemacandra does tell us in his Sutra अवर्णो पश्चति: that the आ that remains after the elision of a consonant is pronounced like a soft य. With regard to the second, initial व is found unchanged in the Gaudavadha in a great many places. Thus in stanza 242 we have the negative particle न. in 241 निवहड़ for निपतति, in 245 नाह for नाथ, and in 251 नह for नख. These instances I have found on simply opening the Ms. at random and no great search was necessary. Hemacandra also in his Sutra बादी following another, नो ण: says that the initial I is sometimes changed to W, sometimes not. As to the third, the termination i may constitute a peculiarity of the language, but it is by no means an index to its higher antiquity, since it occurs in the pronominal locative of the principal Prakrit. There are several peculiarities in the Jaina books, and a good many of them are noticed by our Grammarian, but they do not show an earlier stage of development.

This continues still to be my view, notwithstanding all that has since been published on the subject. Dr. Hoernle, in the introduction to his edition of Canda's Prākṛtalakṣaṇa makes an elaborate attempt to prove that the dialect, the grammar of which is given in that book, is more ancient than the Prakrit of Vararuci and Hemacandra. But it is not at all difficult to see that he is altogether on a wrong track. He says there is

merchants, Prācyā to the Vidūṣaka and others, Āvantiki to sharpers, warriors, and clever men of the world, Dākṣiṇātyā to gamblers, Śākārī to Śakāras, Śakas, and others, Bāhlikā to celestial persons, Drāviḍī to Draviḍas and others, Ābhīrī to cowherds, Cāṇḍālikī to outcastes, Ābhīrī and Śābarī, also to those who live by selling wood and leaves, and Paiṣācī to dealers in charcoal. Hand-maids, if they do not belong to a very low class, should speak Śaurasenī. Some of the modern grammarians also mention as large a number of dialects. But whether these were actually used by writers of dramatic plays in accordance with the rules of Rhetoricians, or, if they were, what constituted the exact difference between these various languages, it is impossible to determine so long as we have not got satisfactory editions of the plays.

nothing in Hemacandra corresponding to the rule given by Canda about dropping the final vowel of the first member of a compound when the initial vowel of the second is followed by a consonant, in such words as dhana + adhya, deva + indra, &c., which in that Prakrit have the forms dhanaddha, devinda, &c. This change, however, does come under Hemacandra's rule I.84, which provides for the shortening of a long vowel when followed by a conjunct consonant. The short vowels corresponding to ए and ओ are g and द ; and among the instances given by Hemacandra, we have narindo for narendra, abaruttha for adharostha, niluppala for nilotpala &c. Dr. Hoernle thinks the changes of i to short e and of u to short o are later Prakrit changes. But he will find many instances of them in the Pali, which certainly is an older dialect than any Jaina Prakrit. They are, he says, unknown to Canda. Canda's work is a very meagre production, in which very little endeavour is made to classify facts; and thus he must be supposed to include these changes under his very general rule that one vowel takes the place of another rowel (II.4). The instance ginhati incidentally given by him in connection with another rule does not show that in his Prakrit the form genha did not exist, much less that the change of i to e was unknown. Then with regard to consonants, Dr. Hoernle says that there are five points in which the "older Prakrit" of Canda, as he calls it, differs from the Prakrit of Vararuci and Hemacandra. One of these is "the preservation of the dental n in every case." For this statement the Doctor quotes the authority of a Sutra in which we are told by Canda that ₹ and ₹ do not exist in the Prakrit, as compared with another version of that Sutra which says that E, I, and I do not exist (II. 14). This last version no doubt provides for the change of I in all cases; but the other which denies the non-existence or affirms the existence of \$\exists cannot mean that it exists or is unchanged in all cases. The denial of non-existence or

Still in those cases in which we have the assistance of the older Prakrit grammarians, the characteristics of each can be made out with fulness and certainty. To illustrate his rules about the Māgadhī, Hemacandra quotes from the speeches of the fisherman and the two policemen in Śakuntalā, of the Kṣapaṇaka from the Mudrārākṣasa, and Rudhirapriyā from the Venīsamhāra.

The points in which the Māghadhi chiefly differs from the principal Prakrit and Sauraseni are these :-- र and स of these are changed to ल and ज: स्थ and घं of Sanskrit to स्त, and घ to स्ट; and स is not assimilated as in परस्तलि from प्रस्तलि, the nom. sing. of masc. nouns ends in ए instead of ओ, which is the Prakrit ending; the gen. sing. of masc. and neut. nouns optionally in आह as कम्माइ; and the form of the nom. sing. of the first personal pronoun is हते.

affirmation of existence only proves its existence or remaining unchanged in some cases. Besides we have a specific rule where we are told that a letter of the Z class takes the place of the corresponding letter of the Z class (III. 16), thus providing for the change of $\overline{\mathbf{q}}$ to $\overline{\mathbf{u}}$; and the instance given is audi for areas. But this rule, the Doctor thinks, holds good in cases, for which however there is no authority whatever, and he gives none. Again, he says that his statement is proved by the uniform spelling of the Prakrit examples with n in MSS A and B, which, according to him, contain the older version of the work. I, however, find that the spelling in his edition, which is the spelling of A and B, follows uniformly, with one or two exceptions, in which we must suppose a mistake, the rule laid down by Hemacandra, viz, that initial n is optionally changed to n, while medial n is necessarily so changed. The instances are .- all the caseterminations which are to be traced to the Sanskrit terminations having n in them, such as जो, जि, and जं: मुजिजो for मुनीम (I.1), गयणओ for गगनत: (I, 16), मणिस्सा A. (I, 21), नाणी (I, 24) for ज्ञानी, सक्कीसाणा for शक्रेशानौ (II. 1), काणं (II. 15), गयणं for गगनम (II. 21), पिलणं for पीड-नम (II. 24), नाणं for ज्ञानम (III. 6), ज्ञान्त्रणं for यौवनम् (III. 15) and रअण for रत्न (III. 30). The second point is "the preservation of the medial single surd unaspirate consonants with the only exception of k." This simply means the preservation of c, t, and p which according to the other grammarians are generally dropped. Canda agrees with these in dropping not only k, but g, j, and d. Whether therefore the preservation of c, t, and p, supposing that Canda really allows it, marks off his Prakrit as older than that of Hemacandra or Vararuci is more than questionable. But, as a matter of fact in III. 12, he does provide for their change to j, d, and b; and the change of t to d is a Sauraseni, i.e., a local change, and does not indicate priority of time. Besides, even

If we apply the test furnished by these rules to the severa dialects used by the characters in the Mrcchakatika as it is in existing editions, which play contains a large variety of characters, and consequently of speech, we shall find that the language of the Cāṇḍālas, the Śakāra, his servant Sthāvaraka, and even Kumbhīraka and Vardhamānaka, is Māgadhī, though the rules about रूप, र्य, and द are scarcely observed. There is hardly any dialectic difference in their speeches. But the Sāhityadarpaṇa would lead us to expect his Cāṇḍālikā and Śākārī respectively in the first two cases, and Ardhamāgadhī in the last three. As before observed, some admixture of Māgadhī characteristics constitutes this last dialect. Under this view there are instances of the use of the Ardhamāgadhī, as Lassen remarks, in

the dropping of these consonants must have been contemplated by him. For in the instances given in the book, they are dropped in all the manuscripts used by Dr. Hoernle, even in A and B, which according to him contain the older version. Thus we have us for und (I. 12), numail-3 or ग्यणाओ-उ for ग्गनतः (I, 16), क्यं for कृतम् (I. 23 and everywhere else), इहागओ-उ for इहागत: (II. 1.), इच्छिअं for इच्छितम (II. 3), कायव्यं क्वं for कर्तव्यम्; सङ्गं for सूचीनाम् (II. 4), नेउरं for नूपुरम् (II. 4), धयं for धृतम्, काउण for कृत्वा, दीसङ for दृश्यते (II. 5), गच्छा for गच्छति, वह for पति: (II. 10), सरिआणं or सारियाणं for सारिताम् (II. 11), गइ-ई for गति: मड-ई for मति: (II.17), &c. &c. It is very much to be regretted that the Doctor should in all these cases have set aside the readings of his manuscripts and invented his own with the q, q, and q standing in the words, instead of being dropped. This invention or restoration, as he calls, it, is based on a singular inference that he deduces from a single word, a given as a Prakrit word in the book. He says it must originally have been and but the copyist, not knowing of such a word being in the later Prakrit which he knew, took it as the Sanskrit हतं. and wrote accordingly. If, therefore, कर्त was the Prakrit word in this case, it must have been so in all those cases in which and occurs in the book, and so Dr. Hoernle makes it and throughout. But it did not strike him that if the copyist knew Prakrit enough to see that the was not a Prakrit word, he must have seen that कर्त also was not a Prakrit word and could not have given it as such. Now the reason why these consonants were not admitted by Canda, according to the manuscripts A and B, among those that are dropped, but only among those that are softened must be that all these rules are only general and not universal, and there were as many instances of softening as of dropping. Besides, I have already said that Canda's work is perfunctory,

the Prabodhacandrodaya. The dialect used by Māthura, the keeper of the gambling-house in the Mṛcchakaṭika, is somewhat different. In his speeches, we sometimes find a and used for and a, and sometimes not. The nom. sing. ends in at, as in the Maḥārāṣṭrī or Śauraseni, in some cases, in others it ends in a sin the Māgadhī, and sometimes in a sin the Apabhramśa; and the gen. sing. sometimes ends in use as in the Māgadhī. If the text is to be depended on, the Dākṣinātyā which Viśvanāthal attributes to gamblers may be such a mixed language.

It would thus appear that if all these inferior dialects did exist and were used by dramatic writers, they differed from each other in unimportant particulars, and that most of them belonged to the Māgadhī species, since the MSS. have confounded them with the Māgadhī of the grammarians. Hence we are justified in taking the real number of Prakrit dialects used for literary purposes to be six, viz., those mentioned by Hemacandra, Trivikrama, and Laksmīdhara.

and does not show accuracy of observation and statement. The third point is the preservation of the medial single surd aspirate consonants with the only exception of kh; i. e., \mathbf{z} , \mathbf{w} , \mathbf{v} , are preserved. But III. 11 provides for the change of these to \mathbf{z} , \mathbf{v} , and \mathbf{w} , if we look to the sense of the Sütra and also to some of the instances that are given. The change of \mathbf{v} to \mathbf{v} is a Sauraseni peculiarity. Of the two remaining points one is the insertion of \mathbf{v} to avoid the hiatus caused by the dropping of a consonant, about which I have already spoken, and the other is unimportant.

There is, therefore, no question that the Prakrit, a meagre grammar of which is given in the work edited by Dr. Hoernle, is not older than Hemacandra's.—(1887).

1 Another gambler without a name is introduced in the same scene, whose language Prof. Lassen thinks is Dāksiṇātyā and Māthura's, Āvantiki. Very few speeches, however, are given to the former, and it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion from them; but so far as they go, there is hardly any difference between his dialect and that of Māthura. The Professor is led to attribute two languages to gamblers by the annotator on the Sāhityadarpaṇa whom he quotes, and who explains धूर्त by अक्षदेषिन. But if the word is to be so understood, दाञ्चाल in the next line is not wanted, and neither योध nor नागरिक. For, supposing the warriors and clever worldly men were gamblers, gambling was not confined to them; whence there is no reason to mention them in particular.

Dandin mentions a work of the name of Brhatkathā written in the language of the ghosts, i. e., in the Paisāci. Dr. Bühler has recently obtained a trace of the work, and arrangements have been made for getting it copied. It is traditionally ascribed to a poet of the name of Gunādhya.

Let us now examine cursorily the principal Prakrit and the Sauraseni which ranks next to it in literary importance, but, which, as the model of the inferior dialects and as the language used by the higher class of Prakrit-speaking dramatic persons in their prose speeches, is more important than the other. Here, as before, I will place a specimen of each before you:—

[Mahārāstri]

- 61. निय[अ]आए चिय[अ] वायाइ अत्तर्णा गास्वं निवेसेन्ता । जे यन्ति पसंसं चिय[अ] जयन्ति इह ते महाकडणो ॥
- 63. दोग्गर्चमि वि सोक्खाई ताण विद्वेष वि होन्ति दुक्खाई । कत्वपरमत्थरसिया[आ]ई जाण जायन्ति हियया[अआ]ई ॥
- 67. सोहेइ सहावेइ य[अ] उवहुज्जन्तो लवो वि लच्छीए । देवी सरस्सई उण असमग्गा किंपि विणडेड ॥
- 99. अत्थि निय[अ]शिय[अ]नीसेसभुषणदुरिया[आ]हिनन्दिय[अ]महिन्दो । सिरि जसबग्मो शि दिसापडिलग्गगुणी महीनाहो॥

(Gaüdavaho).

The Sanskrit of this would be :-

- 61. निजयेब बाचयात्मनो गौरवं निवेशयन्तः। ये यान्ति प्रश्नेसामेब जयन्तीह ते महाकवयः॥
- 63. द्दीर्गत्येपि सीख्यानि तेषां विभवेपि भवन्ति दुःखानि । काव्यपरमार्थरासिकानि येषां जायन्ते हृदयानि ॥
- 67. शोभयति छखयति चोपशुज्यमानो लवोपि लक्ष्म्याः। देवी सरस्वती पुनरसमग्रा किमपि विद्वम्बयति॥
- 99. अस्ति निवर्तितनि:शेषभ्रवनदुरिताभिनन्दितमहेन्द्र: । श्रीयशोवर्मेति दिशाप्रतिलग्नगुणो महीनाथ: ॥
- 61. "Victorious are the great poets who, establishing their greatness by their own words, do obtatin praise only."

¹ So Dr. Buhler told me at the time; and on a subsequent occasion I myself thought I had found a trace of the work. But up to this time all our search has proved fruitless. (1887).

- 63. "Those whose hearts appreciate the true beauty of poetry experience joys even in poverty and sorrows even in prosperity."
- 67. "Even a small degree of Laksmi when enjoyed adorns and delights, but the divine Sarasvati if imperfect is an unspeakable mockery."
- 99. "There lives a king named Yasovarman who delights Indra by removing all the distresses of the world and whose virtues have reached the ends of the quarters."

[Śauraseni]

कर्ष अणुगहीदिन्ह । इअमालिङ्गामि । दंसणं उण विअसहीए बाहुप्यिडेण णिरुद्धं ण हम्भीअदि । सिंह कटारकमलवम्हला अण्णारिसा जंडव दे अजा णिव्वावेदि सरीरफंसी । किं अ मडिलिबिणिवेसिद्ज्जली मह वअणेण विण्णवेहि तं जणं ण मए मन्दभाइणीए विअसन्तपुण्डरीअलच्छीविलासहारिणो मुहचन्दमण्डलस्स दे सच्छन्ददंसणेण संभाविदां वितं महुसबो लोअणाणं ।

The Sanskrit of this would be :--

कथमनुयुद्दीतास्मि । इयमालिङ्गामि । दर्शनं पुनः प्रियसख्या बाष्पोत्पीडेन निरुद्धं न स्रभ्यते । सिक्त कठोरकमलपक्ष्मलोन्यादृश एवं तेय निर्धापयित शरीरस्पर्शः । किंच मौलि-विनिविशिताञ्जलिर्मम बचनेन विज्ञापय तं जनं न मया मन्द्रभाग्यया विकसन्प्रण्डरीक-स्रभीविलासद्दारिणो सुखचन्द्रमण्डलस्य ते स्वच्छन्ददर्शनेन संभावितश्चिरं महोत्सवा स्रोचनानास् ।

"What! thou hast obliged me. Here I embrace. But I do not catch a glimpse of my dear friend, my sight being obstructed by the flow of tears. Friend, the contact of thy body, hairy like a ripened lotus, cools my body in a peculiar manner to-day. Moreover, with thy hands clasped and placed over thy head, do at my request humbly say to that person, 'Unfortunate as I am, I have not feasted my eyes long, by looking freely at the moon of thy face which rivals the blown lotus in beauty ".

In the MS. of the Gaudavadha, from which the first extract is given, अ and आ preceded by अ and इ, are marked as य and या. In MSS. of other works, the य does not appear; but there can be no question that it represents the later pronunciation correctly, since as already remarked in a note, this य is observed in some of the modern vern-naculars. But it is to be pronounced like a strengthened अ or आ

42 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

and not like the heavy semi-vowel that I mentioned in my observations on the Pali.

(I) PHONETIC CHANGES COMMON TO PALI AND PRAKRITS

From these extracts you will observe that phonetic decay has made greater progress in these dialects than in the one we have examined. The changes in the Pali are, with a few exceptions, such as may be attributed to the circumstances and vocal peculiarities of a foreign race. But in the Prakrits the ususal processes of curruption have a wider range of operation; though even here we shall, as we proceed, find it necessary to ascribe a good deal to an ethnological cause.

And first as regards the phonetic transformations which we have noticed in the Pali, I have to observe that Prakrits also exhibit the same with but slight differences. The vowel ऋ is changed to अ as in पआ, तण, मआ, &c. for घृत, तृण, सृण, &c.; to इ as in किवा, हिआअ, किस, &c. for रूपा, हृद्य, रूश, &c.; to उ as in पुरृष्ट, पाउस, बुहू, &c., for पृथियी, पाउप, रुद्ध, &c. When standing alone, it is more often changed to िर than in Pali; as in रिद्धी and रिच्छ for ऋदि and ऋभ; रिण or अण, रिज्ञू or उज्जू, &c., for ऋण, ऋज्ञु, &c., while the Pali forms of these words are इदि, अच्छ, अण and उज्ज.

The diphthongs पे and औ are, as in Pali, changed to ए and ओ, as in केलास, बेज, केहब, &c. for कैलास, बैच, केटस, &c.; and in जोज्जण, कांमुई, कोल्युह &c., for योवन, कौमुदी, कौस्तुम, &c.; but in a good many instances they are dissolved into their elements अइ and अउ, as in दृहच, भहरव, दृहवअ, सहर, &c., for देत्य, भेरव, देवत, स्वेर, &c., and पउर, कउसल, सउह, मउली, &c., for पौर, कौशल, सौध, मौलि, &c. This change resembles the dissolution of conjunct consonants into the different members, and like it, is due to a weak or languid way of pronunciation. In पे and औ the first element or अ is rapidly pronounced, and the temporal value assigned to it by the authors of the Prātišākhyas is, you will remember, half a mātrā, while in the Prakrti transformations it is one mātrā.

The long vowels are, as in Pali, shortened when followed by double consonants; and there is the same or even stronger evidence of the existence of short q and sn. In Pali short q and sn, followed by a conjunct are in certain cases changed to q and sn, and from that fact we inferred that they were short. Here in a

great many more cases, when so followed, short wis optionally interchangeable with ए. and short उ is necessarily replaced by ओ, as in पिण्ड or पेण्ड, पिट्ट or पेट्ट, निद्दा or नेद्दा, &c., and तोण्ड, मोण्ड, पोक्खर, &c., for पिण्ड, पिष्ट, निद्वा, तण्ड, मण्ड, प्रकर, &c. In several cases ए, not followed by a conjunct, is optionally changed to इ, as in विभण or बेअजा for बेदना, दिअर or देअर for देवर, &c. The v in these words must for some reason that we will hereafter consider have been pronounced short and hence interchangeable with z. Sometimes the consonant following an ए or ओ is doubled, as in तेल, पेम्म, सीत्त, जोकन, &c., for तेल, प्रेमन, स्रोतम, यौवन, &c., which could only be because those vowels were pronounced short, and the loss of quantity thus occasioned was made up for by rendering the pronunciation heavy and forcible. In other cases the q was so pronounced by some and not by others; and so we have एक or एअ for एक, सेट्या or सेवा for सेवा, &c. The syllables अय and अब are changed to v and sit oftener than in Pali, the sav of the causative and the tenth class becoming t necessarily throughout, as in कारेड, हासेड, कहेड for कारयति, हासयति, कथयति &c.

All the sibilants are reduced to स as in the Pali, but in the Magadhi dialect to ज: जालज्ञ, प्रलिश for सारस, पुरुष, &c. These dialects do not possess the cerebral æ, and therefore we have ल in the place of the Pali æ, and in some cases the original Sanskrit इ, as in तलाअ, गरुल, कीलड़ for the Pali तळाग, गरुळ, कीळति and Sanskrit तडाग,गरुड, कीडति, &c., यल or यह, णाली or णाडी for the Pali खळ, नाळी, &c. and पीडेड, नीड for the Pali पीळेति, नीळ, &c.

There are a good many more examples of the change of dentals to cerebrals than in the Pali, both through the influence of a neighbouring र or without it. The द and द which correspond to त and थ are in most cases softened to ह and इ. Thus we have पिंड for the Pali पिंट, as in पिंडिंग, पिंडिंग, for प्रतिमा, पितहार, &c., and पहुंडि, पडण, बहेडअ, for प्रमृति, पतन, बिमीतक; होला or दोला, डम्म or दम्म, डम्म or दम्म, दम्म, दम्म, दम्म, दम्म, स्व.; पडम (Pali पटम), सिहिल, मेही, ओसड for प्रथम, शिथिल, मेथि, औषध, &c.

In Pali the dental nasal न is changed to ज in but a few instances; but here it is so changed throughout, necessarily when uninitial, and optionally when at the beginning of a word; as कणज, मजज, बजज, for कनक, मदन, बदन, &c., and जर or नर, जई or नई, जेइ or नेइ, for

नर, नदी, नयति, &c. The opposite process is however observable in the Paisaci dialect, where not only have we no instances of this change but even the original Sanskrit ण is changed to च as in एन, गन, for एण, गण, &c.

The conjunct consonants are transformed in the Prakrit in the same way as in the Pali. In the former however, ज्ञ and न्य are changed to ण्ण, and not to ज्ञ्य as in the latter, as in जाण, सण्णा, अण्णा, सण्णा, अर्णा, हिण्णा, for ज्ञान, संज्ञा, अन्य, शून्य, &c. To be thus corrupted, ज्ञ must in the original Sanskrit have been pronounced as if it were composed of ज्ञ and नः and sometimes the latter must have been so weakly pronounced that the sound of ज्ञ prevailed over it and the whole became ज्ज्ञ, as in जाण or जाण, सत्वज or सत्वण्ण, मणीज or मणोण्णा, for ज्ञान, सर्वज्ञ, मनोज्ञ, &c. In the Paisaci and the Māgadhi, however, the Pali transformation is retained; as in मञ्जा, सवज्ञ, कञ्चका, अभिमञ्ज, for संज्ञा, सर्वज्ञ, कञ्चका, अभिमञ्ज्ञ, for संज्ञा, सर्वज्ञ, कञ्चका, अभिमञ्ज, for संज्ञा, सर्वज्ञ, कञ्चका, अभिमञ्ज, for संज्ञा, सर्वज्ञ, कञ्चका, अभिमञ्ज, for संज्ञा, सर्वज्ञ, कञ्चका,

The conjunct $\hat{\mathbf{v}}$ is sometimes changed to \mathbf{v} corresponding to the \mathbf{v} of the older dialect, and \mathbf{v} to \mathbf{v} in which case the heavy $n\bar{u}da$ of \mathbf{v} is transferred to the \mathbf{v} which takes the place of \mathbf{v} as in change of \mathbf{v} to \mathbf{v} .

In Pali the consonants of \mathbf{z} only interchange places; *i.e.* it becomes \mathbf{z} . From this and from the change of the initial uncombined \mathbf{z} to \mathbf{z} , it appears that very often the Sanskrit \mathbf{z} , was pronounced heavily when the Prakrits arose. The Sauraseni and the dialects allied with it have, however, both the Pali and the Prakrit corruptions of $\mathbf{\hat{z}}$.

A dental forming a conjunct with a following द is in a few cases changed to the corresponding palatal; as in भोचा for अक्ता, चचर for चत्वर, पिच्छी for पृथ्वी, विज्ञं for विद्वान, दुज्झा for दुखा, झअ for ध्वज, झणी for ध्वति, सज्झस for साध्वस, &c. This seems to arise from the fact that द was pronounced so lightly that it lost its distinctive character, and the conjuncts came to be confused with those containing a dental and द which, you will remember, are changed to a double palatal. In Pali the द is retained in these instances, and the द and द are changed to द and द according to the general rules, and the ध्व of पृथ्वी becomes थव. Besides the conjuncts disjoined in Pali by the interposition of a vowel, we have of and द also so treated in the Prakrit, sometimes optionally

and sometimes necessarily. Thus mast becomes mindth or mind, (P. min); gasin, galand or gian, (P. min); gasin, galand or gian, (P. min); gasin, galand or gian, (P. min); galand or galand or gian, (P. min); galand or gian, (P. min); galand or galand or gian, (P. min); galand or galand or gian, (P. min); galand or galand

(II) PHONETIC CHANGES IN THE PRAKRITS

Having noticed the changes common to the Prakrits with the Pali, we will proceed to consider others distinctive of the former. Most of these were due to the continuous operation of processes which come into play in a living language. The Pali exhibits but few instances of these processes. The changes observable in it are mostly to be traced to one or two vocal peculiarities of the men who spoke it. At the time when the language received the form in which we now find it, the tradition of the original Sanskrit was still distinct; the Pali had not lived an independent life detached from its mother for a long time. But with the Prakrits the case is different. They show a great many more instances of the usual processes, and consequently a much greater departure from the parent tongue. We will begin by noticing what may be called the softening process.

The vowels and are softened, as we have seen, to short q and si before conjuncts. These latter sounds are, as indicated in the last lecture, more open than the former; that is, do not require the tongue to be raised so high as in the case of \$\ and \$\ \text{3.} They are therefore softer. But since the change principally takes place before doubles it may, I believe, be traced to their influence, as I have already observed. In that case this would be an instance of assimilation. But the change of long f and 37 to long v and 37 is due to softening alone; as in पेऊस for पीयन, आपेल for आपीड, बहेडअ for बिभीतक, केरिस for कीहरा, and एरिस for ईट्टा, नेड for नीड, पेड for पीठ, तम्बोल for ताम्बूल, तोणीर for तृणीर, थोर for स्थूल, and गलोई for ग्रह्मची. In the same way, इ and उ are in rare cases softened to अ, as in হলহা for हंरिद्रा, पहंसुअ for प्रतिश्चत्,and जहिद्विल for सुधिष्टिर. अ requires no movement of the tongue or lips, while \ and \ do. It is therefore softer than those two vowels. Both these changes contradict another principle to be hereafter noticed, the operation of which is wide, and they must therefore be considered special or peculiar changes. The manner in which we is softened has been already detailed.

The semivowel ए is often softened to ह, as in विजय for व्यजन, विलिअ for व्यलीक, भीण for स्त्यान, उन्त्रीह for उह्नपूह, जीआ। for ज्या, &c. Here the effort necessary to bring the middle of the tongue closer to the palate is economized, while the position of the organs in other respects is the same. The प of the conjunct प is sometimes softened in this way to g and sometimes to gs. In the former case the resulting g is transferred to the previous syllable and forms u with the secontained in it; as in परन्त for पर्यन्त, अच्छेर for आश्चर्य, बस्सचेर for बहाचर्य, सुन्देर for सीन्द्यं, &c. Similarly a is changed to s as in धुग्गी for ध्वनि, बीसुं for विध्वक, गउओ for गवय, सुबह for स्विपित g for हि, &c.

The surds are softened into sonants. The pronunciation of these requires, as you will remember, less exertion than that of the former. For, sonants such as v, v, v, &c., are pronounced by means of $n\bar{a}da$, or vocal sound which is produced when the glottis is in its natural condition and the chords vibrate, and the surds इ, ब्, ब, क, क, &c. are uttered by sending forth simple breath or $\dot{s}v\bar{a}sa$, to produce which it is necessary to stretch the glottis. This effort is saved by changing the surds to sonants. Thus a is changed to म as in मरगञ for मरकत and गेन्द्रञ for कन्द्रक ; द to इ as in नड, भड, and घड, for नट, भट, and घट, and in पिंड for प्रति and the other instances given above; a to a as in He, He, ahe, gett, and पढ, for मठ, शह, कमह, कहार, and पह; and त and थ to द and थ as in एद for पत, नाथ for नाथ &c. (in Saur.). The cerebral, and द resulting from the original dentals a and w are also similarly softened to इ and इ as in पड़ि for पति (पटि in Pali), पहुड़ि for प्रभृति, बहेडअ for विभीतक, इरडई for हरीतकी, महअ for सूतक, &c., and सिहिल for शिक्ल, पुरुषी for पृथिबी, पहम for प्रथम, &c. The sonant answering to प is द but this is further softened to a, as in ga, sano, gove, तबइ, &c., for क्रप, कपाल, कुजप, तपति, &c.

An original ह is softed to ल, in which case there is a saving of two efforts. The complete contact necessary for the pronunciation of ह being avoided, we have ल. This sound is similar to ल in the fact that the breath before the break of the contact or close approach is allowed to pass out by the sides of the tongue, but is more difficult or harder because its position being higher up, the tongue has to be raised higher than in pronouncing ल, the position of which is near the root of the upper teeth. This additional exertion is saved by proceeding from ह, at once to ल. We have thus बहुल, तलाज, कीलह, दालिम, एल, नाली, for बहुल, तहाज,

क्रोडात, दाहिम, एड, नाडी &c. In the Pali, however, you will remember and probably in some unwritten Prakrits also, the cerebral character of the letter was preserved, and we have द instead of ह.

Sometimes इ is softened to र only. The position of this is lower than that of इ, and the contact is incomplete. It is therefore softer than इ but harder than छ. This last sound is produced lower still, but a light close approach is formed, and the breath is allowed to escape by the sides of the tongue; while in uttering र, the tongue is kept in its position with greater force, and the breath is allowed to vibrate. This change is principally to be met with in the case of the इ resulting from an original इ in such words as एआरह, बारह, तेरह, &c., for एकाइश, द्वादश, अयोदश, &c., the इ of which must first have become इ. In कलम्ब, दोहल, and पिलस, for क्वम्ब, दोहल, and पिलस, we have instances of an original इ passing into छ.

An original र is changed to ल which, as just observed, is softer than र, as in हलही, दलिह, सहल, इक्राल, &c., for हरिता, दरित्र, सखर, अक्रार, &c. When the र forming the first member of a conjunct is softened in this way, and the following member is weak or is itself capable of becoming ल, the whole conjunct becomes हु; as वर्षस्त becomes पहुट्ट तथ; पर्याण, पह्णण; आर्द्र, अहं or ओहं; मर्द, मह्न, &c. The sibilant म, which is the only one we have in the Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī, is sometimes softened to ह, that is, the simple heavy breath somewhat compressed at the dental position is made uncompressed heavy vocal sound; as in दिवह, पाहाण, दह, एआरह, बारह &c., for दिवस, पावाण, दहा, एकादहा, हादहा, &c.

Another phenomenon characteristic of the Prakrits is the dropping away of single uninitial consonants. The क is dropped, as in सअड, कुम्मआर, for शकट, कुम्मकार, &c.: ग as in नअ, नअर, साअर, for नग, मगर, सागर, &c.; च as in वअण, सूई, for वचन, मुचि, &c.; म as in रअअ, राआ, गअ, for रजत, राजा, गज, &c.; त as in विआण, पआवई, गअ, for वितान, मजापति, गत, &c.; द as in मअण, पाअ, कअल, for मदन, पाद, कदल, &c.; द followed by any vowel except अ, as in रिऊ, कई, विउल, for रिपु, कपि, विपुल, &c.; द as in वाउणा, णअण, for वायुना, नयन, &c.; इ as in जीअ, दिअह, for जीव, दिवस, &c. The vowel अ or आ that remains after the elision is, when preceded by अ or आ, pronounced like a light द. We find it written in mss. also, as in सयड, तित्थयरो, नयर, &c.

In the same way, the mute element of the aspirates is dropped, except in the case of the palatals and of क, the ह or the heavy nāda or vocal sound being alone preserved. Thus we have हुह, लिह, सही, for मुख, लिख, सखी, &c., मह, माह, पाहुण, for मेघ, माघ, पाषुण, &c.; नाह, मिहुण, कहा, for नाथ, मिथुन, कथा, &c.; बाहेर, बहू, साहु, for बधिर बधु, साधु, &c.; लाह, सोहरग, सोहरग, सोहर, for लाभ, सौभाग्य, शोभा, &c.

The range of the operation of these processes is very wide, and the number of words transformed in accordance with them is very large. Now, the principle which is at the bottom of this elision of consonants is the same as that which brings about softening, viz., economy of exertion. But in a growing language which knows of no accidents in the course of its history, there is another principle which counteracts this, viz., the necessity of pronouncing words in the manner to be understood by others. Hence a wholesale elision is impossible; and the natural course is to soften sounds away, until finally they are elided. This of course must be a very slow process. But in the Prakrit, and especially the Mahārāṣṛṭi, we do not find it to be slow.

Elision seems to be a distinguishing characteristic which strikes one very forcibly on reading a Prakrit passage. It is too regular, systematic, and far-reaching, to have been the product of a long course of softening. In fact, because it is so systematic and general, some writers have doubted whether the Prakrits were genuine dialects, and have expressed their belief that they are the creation of Pandits. But we shall find that the modern vernaculars retain the words shorn of their elements by the Prakrits in this way; and that these latter dialects were the immediate parents of those we now speak in Northern India. If this general mutilation of words was brought about by a natural decay, we must suppose the process to have gone on for a great many The Prakrit vocables that have descended to the centuries. modern vernaculars have not, since the period when the Prakrits arose about fourteen centuries ago, suffered at all so much as Sanskrit words in passing into the Prakrits. We have not dropped away any of the elements of Prakrit vocables, though we may have re-arranged them in some cases. If, then, fourteen centuries have not been sufficient to make words lose any of their elements by the action of natural causes, the process by which Sanskrit

words were mutilated and became Prakritmust, if it was natural and ordinary, have been in operation for a considerably longer period, a supposition which appears extremely improbable. And it is questionable whether a language which has not been exposed to accidents in the course of its history suffers so much, even after the lapse of any conceivable time. The Teutonic languages, though they have been going through an independent course of development, since the period when the ancestors of the modern English and Germans separated from the ancestors of the Hindus in pre-historic ages, have preserved the elements of old Aryan vocables which the Prakrits lost. They may have transformed the words, but have not mutilated them to any great extent. English words father, mother, brother, foot, and others, have all the elements of the old पितृ, मातृ, भातृ, पद् (पाद), and others; while the Prakrit पीआ or पीउ, माआ, माइ or माउ, भाआ or भाउ, and पाअ, and the modern vernacular पिउ, माउ, मा, माई, भाई, भाउ, and पा or पाय, have lost all except the first consonantal sound.

The elision of consonants on a large scale in the Prakrits is therefore to be accounted for in another way than by attributing it to a natural process of decay. The Prakrit words must be taken to represent the pronunciation of the corresponding Sanskrit words by an alien race. The vocal organs of the people of that race were unused to the utterance of Sanskrit sounds and in this respect, they were in the condition of children, making their first attempts at articulate speech, and elided uninitial consonantal sounds and assimilated cojunct consonants as these do. When a child or a barbarous foreigner listens to an elderly or more civlized person, he has not the patience to attend to all the sounds composing a word and to reproduce them carefully, or has not acquired the habit of doing so. The first letter alone makes a strong impression on his ear, and this he faithfully reproduces; and as to the rest, he realizes their quantity by pronouncing the vowels, but his tongue being untrained, the peculiar movements necessary for uttering the consonantal sounds he cannot go through, and avoids. In going over the Pali we had to attribute the assimilation of conjuncts and other peculiarities observable in that dialect to such a cause; and now the elision in the Prakrits that we

have been considering must, I believe, be accounted for in the same way.

But what could be the historical events which led to the wholesale assimilation of consonants in the first place and to the similar elision of uninitial consonants in addition to the assimilation, in the next? I would put forward the following hypothesis. It would appear that when the Aryas moved from the land of the five rivers and settled in the country known afterwards as Brahmāvarta and Kuruksetra,—that is the country about Thanesvar,—they formed a consolidated community, in which an aboriginal or alien race was incorporated and the language represented by the Pali was the language of this race. When, however, the consolidated community spread eastwards and southwards, they met other alien races, and the dialect, spoken by the lowest class of the consolidated community, was learnt by these new alien races, and the words which were in the Pali stage, were further corrupted into the forms which we find in Prakrits. dialects of the Asoka edicts do not show instances of the Prakrit rule of elision, though some peculiarities of one or two later dialects are discernable in them. Does this necessarily show that the Prakrits had not developed in the time of Asoka? I think not. The dialects of the edicts represent the spoken language of the more cultured portion of the consolidated community, and not that used by the races, which were newly incorporated with the community, and formed a class lower in the scale, though the Prakrits must have begun to be developed about the time of Asoka. In the Nasik cave inscriptions of about the second century of the Christian era, we observe some instances of the Prakrit peculiarity of elision, whence it would appear that the Prakrits had then come into existence, though they were still regarded as vulgar and were neglected, the principal inscriptions being in the Pali which had then become a learned language. The conclusion we came to in the last lecture. that the Pali represents middle Sanskrit in a vernacular form, while the Prakrits correspond to the last or classical stage, is in harmony with this view.

Another process which transforms the words of a language is assimilation. We have already discussed the assimilation of the

members of a conjunct and of the dipthongal sounds दे and औ, and will now consider the application of the process to the different syllables composing a word. The अ of the second syllable of ईपत, बेतस, and इपण, is changed to इ, because the vowel in the first is इ or द, the ऋ of इपण being changed to इ; and we have इसि, बेडिस, and किविण. Similarly, the अ of मरिच and बही, and the इ of इस्रु are changed to इ, द, and उ through the influence of the following इ, ई, and उ; and the forms are सिरिअ, बेही, and उच्छ.

Sometimes, when u as a member of a conjunct is changed to a palatal, it influences the preceding vowel and brings it over to its own position, as in them for view, House for unit, acc. An original palatal also produces similar effect, as in जिसह or जैनड for जनति.

In the words प्रहम for प्रथम, पोम्म for पद्म, and ओप्पेड for अर्पवाति, the adjoining vowel is changed to 3 to make it go easily with the labial q. You will observe that it is a that yields so readily to the influence of an adjoining letter, because in pronouncing it no movement of the tongue is necessary. It is sounded by letting off $n\bar{a}da$ or intonated breath, without offering any obstruction to it; and this current gives rise to the different vowels when it is obstructed in various degrees by various movements of the tongue and the lips; so that if the organic position of the previous consonant remains a little longer. or if the following is begun a little earlier, the sucurrent assumes the form that that position gives it. An aspirate or an aspirated mute existing in a word influences an adjoining vowel or a consonant; that is, the heavy breath that is necessary for the utterance of the aspirate mingles itself with the other sounds also. Thus कासित becomes खासिअ: परुष, फरुस: परिघ, फलिड: परिखा, फलिडा: पनस, फणस: and बिसिनी, भिसिणी, in which instances क, पू, and प are changed to w. T. and w. In other cases the heavy breath is transferred to an adjoining vowel which becomes z: as in with for स्फटिक, निहस for निकब, बिहत्थी for बितस्ति, बसही for बसति, भरह for अरत, in which cases, by the dropping of the mute, we should have, but for this heavy breath, फलिअ, निअस, विअत्यी, वसई. and भरअ. The words सटा and शकट become सडा and सजह. the द resulting from the transference of the heavy breath being softened to K.

Another kind of assimilation must be noticed here. The vowels are open sounds and the consonants close. These being used together, the openness of the former has a tendency to diminish to assimilate them to the latter, and the closeness of the latter has a similar tendency to yield to the openness of the former. This latter change involves economy and is the same as softening: and a for instance become more and more like vowels, when they are changed to ₹ and ₹, and thence to ₹ and ₹; while the latter ultimately does become the vowel 3. But, the former does not involve softening in itself but rather hardening, since ए or इ, and ओ or उ, to which अ is sometimes changed, occasion motions of the tongue and the lips, which the latter does not. But in this change, there is an ease of pronunciation, such as is involved in assimilation. Immediately after one closing of the passage of the breath, it is easier to make a shorter opening for it such as g and g require, before another closing, than a longer one, such as the pronunciation of ए and ओ requires, or a complete one, such as is necessary for अ. This last vowel therefore has a tendency to pass off into v and z, or si and z. But whether the shorter opening is to be made at the middle of the palate or at the lips, that is, whether wa is to be changed to T and इ. or ओ and उ. depends on the vocal habits of a people. Some are accustomed to open their lips and round them, others not. Similarly, whether the opening shall be the least possible or a little more, that is, whether I is to be changed to v or I first. and then to s or s, or at once to s or s, depends upon habit. the ease of pronunciation involved in this kind of assimilation is also relative. Some people may feel the muscular effort required for s and s to be more intolerable than the wider or complete opening, and prefer ए and ओ or even अ, as in the instances given under vowel softening, and in others occurring in some of the modern vernaculars. The Prakrits change अ to इ in virtue of this law of assimilation, as in पिक for पक, इक्नाल for अक्नार, मुहक्र for सदक्क, सिविण for स्वप्न, and णिडाल for ललाट ; and to ए in गेन्द्रअ for कन्तुक, एत्थ for अत्र, देक्ख for द्रक्ष &c.

Opposed to this process of assimilation is dissimilation. When the same vowel occurs in two successive syllables, it is felt to be burdensome, and hence a dissimilar vowel is substituted for it in one of the two. We have thus बहेडअ for बिभीतक, सहिल for शिथिल, प्रहवी for प्रथवी, मउल, मउड and मउर for मुकुल, मुकुट and मुकुर, भिउडी for भुकुटी, पुरिस for पुरुष, निउर or नेउर for नुपुर, दुअल for दुकुल, सोअमल for सौकुमार्य, अगरु for अग्रुर, गलोइ for गुडूची, and गरुअ for ग्रुरुर.

The words Again and Ever for Eggi and Ever must also be considered as instances of the same law, though another syllable intervenes between the two containing the same vowel. Instances of this process must necessarily be few, since there are not many words containing the same vowel in successive syllables. But we have got so many here, that the substitution of a dissimilar vowel in such cases may be considered a general characteristic of the Prakrits. It will also be seen that in these instances, we is substituted for throughout, and for woostly; so that these may also be considered as instances in which the most open sound was preferred by the Prakrit speakers to to so, as involving less exertion.

The first अ of समृद्धि, प्रसिद्धि, पकट, प्रतिपद्द, सदृक्ष, &c., is lengthened optionally; and we have समिद्धि or सामिद्धि, प्रसिद्धि or पासिद्धि, प्र-पाअड, प्र-पाडिव, स-सारिच्छ, &c. On the other hand, the आ of यथा, तथा, उत्तवात, संस्थापित, पाछत, हालिक, कुमार &c. is optionally shortened; and these words become जह-हा. तह-हा, उक्सअ-क्साअ, संठविअ-ठाविअ, पअड-पाअड, हलिअ-हालिअ, कुमर-मार &c.

The ई of पानीय, अलीक, जीवति गभीर, द्वितीय, तृतीय, &c., is necessarily shortened, and we have पाणिअ, अलिअ, जिवह, गहिर, दुइअ, तइअ, &c.

Changes of this nature seem to be due to some kind of accent with which the words must have been pronounced. When one of the syllables of a word is accented, the whole vocal weight of that word gravitates towards that syllable. It is sounded with greater force and pitch and with a jerk which are apt to cause a wider opening between the organs of speech than is necessary. Hence the less open vowels A, T, and T have a tendency to become more open, i.e., AT, T, and T. Similarly the force and the jerk tend to prolong the time occupied by the utterance of the vowel, that is, to lengthen it. And long vowels occurring in the unaccented syllables often become short, since they are uttered hurriedly or carelessly. Supposing under was pronounced with the accent on W, that would be a reason why the

म should become मा in the course of time; and if दिलीय was pronounced with the accent on य, we can understand why the ती should become short.

But the real nature of the old Sanskrit accents, notwithstanding the labours of the grammarians, is little understood. How words were actually pronounced in this respect it is difficult to say. If the udātta was really the acute accent, it falls in some of the above words on syllables, by being on which, it could not have operated in the manner indicated above. The supposition that the svarita was the acute accent fails equally. But perhaps the old accents went out of use very early, and others took up their place. Whatever may have been the case, the changes we have been considering seem to have risen from an accent of some sort.

The ए of बेदना, चपेटा, देवर, and केसर is optionally changed to इ; for, supposing that the accent fell on the second or third syllable, the force necessary to pronounce it could not be successfully exerted if the mouth had to be previously opened wide for sounding ए. It is thus reduced to the close vowel इ; and so we have विजया, चिवडा, दिवर and किसर. The dropping of initial vowels as in रणण for अरण्य, and डाबू for अलाबू, must also be traced to those vowels being unaccented. The accent on the penultimate vowel, which is very general in the vernaculars, as will be noticed in the next lecture, had probably its beginning in these Prakrits, and of this fact these six words are instances. This penultimate accent seems to have had a wider range in the later stage of these dialects represented by the Apabhramsa.

There are several instances in these dialects of the interchange of consonants. The word स्तुपा becomes स्पन्न, while regularly it ought to be पहुसा; पह and म thus interchange places. Similarly, करेण is transformed to कणेस, बाराणसी to बाणारसी, अचलपुर to अलखपुर, आलान to आणाल, लघु to हल (लहु also being used), महाराष्ट्र to मरहटू, &c. In the case of विच्छुआ for राश्चिक, we have an interchange of vowels, for the उ resulting from म is transferred to आ, and its इ to ब. In ordinary life we often find that a man, speaking hastily, makes the sounds of a word thus interchange places. When several people happen to do so in the case of particular words, the new transformations come in the course of time to be regarded as the true words and acquire a recognized position.

The Prakrits sometimes change a labial to the nasal of its class as in नीम for नीप, आमेल for आपीड, कमन्य for कबन्य, नीमी for नीचि, समर for शबर, and सिमिण for स्वप्न. These are optional changes; the forms of the words with a or a instead of म also existing. Though the change involves softening, since a portion of the breath is sent through the nose and the force of the contact weakened, it must be attributed to a tendency to speak through the nose.

Similarly, the Prakrits introduced an anusvāra into words which did not originally contain it; where also the breath was discharged through the mouth as well as nose. In this manner, बक्र became बंक; अश्रु, अंग्र; इमश्रु, मंग्र; स्पर्श, फंस; एच्छ, एंछ; मूर्घा, ग्रंडा; हुप्न, ग्रंथ: दर्शन, दंसण; दक्षिक, विद्युअ; मार्जार, मंजार; मतिश्रुत, पढंग्रआ, &c.

The last syllable of the absolutive termination ऊण and of the case endings एण and एस is also sometimes nasalised, as in काऊण or काऊण for कत्या, and बच्छेण or ण and बच्छेसं or स for दक्षण and दक्षेत्र.

On the other hand, the existing anusvāra of a few words is dropped, probably from a feeling that its existence in those words was due to a mistake and from a desire to correct it. Thus we have मास or मंस for मांस, कास or कंस for कांस्य, पास or पंस for पांस, वाल or पांस for वाल or पांस for पांस, कास or कंस for कांस्य, पास or पंस for पांस, वाल or पांस for पांस, कास or कंस for कांस्य, पास or पांस for पांस, वाल or पांस for पांस, and णं or पांस as the termination of the gen. pl. The letter ए is, in a few cases optionally, sometimes necessarily, transformed into प्, as in पांसल or लाइल, पाइल or लाइल, पाइल or लाइल, वाइल, कांसल, लाइल, कांसल, लाइल, कांसल, कांस

The remarks I have hitherto made apply to the Mahārāṣṭri or the principal Prakrit. The Saurasenl differs from it in but a few particulars. It does not drop त and श, but softens them into इ and श, as in पूरित, मारुदि, तथा, नाथ, &c., for पूरित, मारुदि, तथा, नाथ, &c. The conjunct न्त is often changed to न्द, as in निश्चिन्दो, अन्देउर for निश्चिन्ता, अन्देउर, &c.

In addition to these peculiarities, in the Magadhi the र and इ of the principal Prakrit are represented by इ and इ as in नह, इल, झाइझा, उल्लिश, for नर, कर, सारस, पुरुष, &c. The झ of a conjunct is not assimilated but preserved, and the q changed to स, as in परस्वलिंद इसी for मस्सवलिंद इसी, ग्रुष्क दाल for ग्रुष्क दाल, कस्ट, for कष्ट &c. The double द and the conjunct ह are changed to स्ट, and स्थ and र्थ to सा; द and य being thus softened to द and त. Thus we have मस्टालिका for महारिका, ग्रुस्ट, for ग्रुप्ट, उबस्तिद for उपस्थित, शस्तवाह for सार्थवाह, &c. The consonant ज whether original, or derived, as in the Prakrit corruptions of य or य, was pronounced lightly, that is softened to य, as in याणादि for जानाति, अय्य for अय &c. The conjuncts ज, न्य, and उद्य are, as before mentioned, changed to ज्ञ्य, as in Pali; and च्या to अव, as in ग्रुप्त, युक्त for गर्चल, पूच्छ, &c. The क्ष्र of प्रेश and च्या is changed to स्ट, as in पेस्किंद for प्रेशते and आचस्किंद for आचशते.

In the Paisāci, the changes of single consonants that we have noticed in the case of the Mahārāṣṭrī and Śauraseni do not take place; that is, the consonants are not dropped or softened, nor are they transformed by the process of assimilation. The dentals are not changed to cerebrals, but the original Sanskrit cerebrals are optionally changed to dentals, as in कुतुस्बक or कुदुस्बक for कुदुस्बक; and an original ज to न throughout, as in सनगन for राजगण. The sonant द is hardened to त, as in तामोतर for रामोदर, पतेस for पदेश, &c. The sibilants are changed to न as in Pali and the principal Prakrit, and न and न्य to ज्ञा as in the former.

In the Culika Paisaci, the sonants are throughout changed to surds, as in नकर, मक्कन, मेख, बक्ख, राजा, चीमृत, &c., for नगर, मार्गण, मघ, स्याप्र, राजा, जीमृत, &c.

Phonetically, the Paisāci appears to be in nearly the same condition as the Pali, but the hardening of sonants is peculiar, and may be compared to the change of Sanskrit sonants to surds in the Teutonic languages, as in foot for \(\pi \), tooth for \(\pi \), know for \(\pi \), &c. Such changes involve no economy whatever; and like the change of dentals to cerebrals, they must be attributed to certain peculiarities of the vocal organs. Even in the operation of the usual processes we have, as you will have seen, found very wide scope for the play of similar special aptitudes. The characteristic of the dialect we have been considering, of not changing dentals to cerebrals as the Pali and the Prakrits do, and even the dentalising of cerebrals, would appear to be truly Aryan. Perhaps then, this was the language of an Aryan tribe that had remained

longer in the original seat of the race, and was connected with the ancestors of Teutons, so as to develop a phonetic peculiarity resembling theirs, and emigrated to India at a very late period and settled on the borders. Or it might be, that the tribe came to India along with the others; but living in the mountainous countries on the border, in a sort of rude independence, it developed this peculiarity of pronunciation, which to my mind betokens a rude and uncontrollable force of breath. Since, under this supposition, they could not have come in very close contact with their more civilized brethren of the plains, their language did not undergo some of those phonetic modifications, which Sanskrit underwent in the mouths of the aboriginal races. And in a Sanskrit verse quoted by Mr. Ellis in his preface to Campbell's Grammar of the Telugu language, the countries where the Paisaci is said to have prevailed are such border countries as Gandhara or Afghanistan. Nepal, Bāhlika or Balk, &c. 1

III THE GRAMMAR OF THE PRAKRITS

We will now proceed to examine the Grammar of the Prakrits. As in the Pali, the dual and the dative case are wanting. The termination of the instr. pl. is हि, the other Pali भि having disappeared. The ablative pl. which was lost in the older dialect is made up by adding तो, Skr. तम्, to the हि of the instr. pl., which was used in Pali for the abl., and to इ, the termination of the locative, and using हिन्तो and इन्तो as the terminations for all nouns. This तो in the from of दो and इ is also used to form the abl. sing. of all nouns. This is according to Vararuci. But Hemacandra gives दो and इ as the Sauraseni terminations and जो and द as those in the principal Prakrit, which is according to the usual phonetic rules. The grammarian gives तो as an additional termination for both numbers, and जो and द to the plural also, and दिन्तो to the singular. In Prakrit, sometimes consonants are doubled even when there is no conjunct in the original

¹ Names of other countries in Central or Southern India also occur; but the reading of the verse is evidently corrupt.

² I shall in all my observations on the Prakrits follow Hemacandra, since he is full and explicit. Vararuci is indistinct in several cases, and his rules on that account have been misunderstood by all writers who have followed him; and he is incomplete.

Sanskrit. Hence we have नो; and the reason why this and दो and दु or ओ and उ are extended to the plural is that in Skr. the expression made up of a noun and this termination has both senses; as आमतः may mean from a village or villages. The gen. sing. स्म from the स्प of Sanskrit nouns in अ is generalized as in Pali and applied to all masc. and neut. nouns; and the pl. is formed by the old Skr. term. नास, Prakritized to जं, as in the older dialect. The Pali pronominal abl. स्मा or म्हा has disappeared and the loc. स्मि or म्हा has assumed the form of स्मि and is used for all nouns of the masc. and neut. genders as in the other language. The voc. pl. is as in Skr. and Pali the same as the nom. pl.

Masculine Nouns in अ

The nom., acc., and instr. cases of nouns in अ are the same as in Pali; but here the nom. pl. form बच्छा is optionally transferred to the acc. pl. also, thus giving another instance of the strong tendency to confuse the nom. and acc. that I have spoken of. The dat. sing. in आय like that in Pali, is preserved in solitary instances in which it has the sense of "for the sake of". The abl. sing., besides the general forms mentioned above, has the old one ending in आ, as in Pali, and a new one in आहे which is used in the plural also. This आहे is used in Sanskrit in the words दक्षिणाई and उत्तराई, which have an ablative signification. It must in its origin be considered the same as the instr. termination भिम्. The loc. sing. besides the general form has, as in Pali, the old one in ए. The voc. sing. has also the two Pali forms देव, देवा, and another देवा the same as the nom. sing.

Masculine Nouns in g and g

The nom. pl. has a form made up according to the analogy of neuter nouns or nouns ending in इनः as अभिणो and साहणो. This does not exist in the Pali, the analogy being there extended to the gen. and loc. sing. only. The Prakrit has also the two Pali for as अग्गी and अग्गयो, which latter is transformed into अग्गओ and अग्गयो ; and साह and साहयो, the latter appearing also in the form of साहओ and साहय. The acc. pl. has also the neuter form अग्गिणो or साहणो in addition to the Pali अग्गो or साह. Besides the general forms mentioned above, the abl. has in the sing. the neuter form अग्गिणो or साहणो also. The Pali loc. sing. अग्गिणो does not appear.

¹ Prof. Lassen derives them differently.

The other forms of these nouns are like those in the older dialect. The voc. sing is आगि or साह as in Pali and अग्गी or साह. We here see the analogy of neuter nouns or nouns ending in इन् extended to all vowel cases except the loc. sing.

Masculine Nouns in w

Two bases, one ending in आर as in भत्तार from भर्त and the other in उ as भत्त, are used, the former throughout all the cases and the latter in all except the sing of the nom. and acc. The first is declined like nouns in अ, and the second like those in उ as साह. The nom sing has also the old form भता. In the Pali, you will remember, the first base is used in the plural of four cases, and the second in the gen. sing. only; while the singulars of three cases have the old Sanskrit forms. Here the two bases have been extended much further and one old form only, that of the nom. sing., remains. Nouns expressive of relationship such as िपत, आतु and जामात् are declined similarly, the final syllable आर being shortened to आर as it is in Sanskrit and Pali in those cases where the base is used. The voc. sing is भत्त, and of the latter class of nouns it ends in अ or आर, as पित्र or पित्ररं.

Masculine Nouns in अन्, अत् (present participle), बत्, मत् &c.

राजन has four bases. The old one राजन with the old Sanskrit forms only phonetically corrupted (st becoming out) is used in all the singulars except that of the loc. and in the nom. pl.; as राआ, राआणो, राआणं, रण्णा, रण्णो and रण्णो. In Pali it is used in the loc. sing. and gen. pl. also. The second বাস, Prakritised into বাস, is used in both numbers of all cases except the nom. sing., and in Pali in all except the nom. sing, and pl. and the acc. pl. It is declined like a noun in अ; as राआ nom. pl., राअं acc. sing., राआ-राऐ acc. pl., राएण instr. sing., &c. The third, राजिन, is employed in the gen. sing., in the older dialect; but here, as राइन, in all cases and numbers except the nom. sing. It is declined like an ordinary Sanskrit noun in इन्; as राइणी nom. and acc. pl., राइणं acc. sing., राइणा instr. sing., &c. The fourth is राजान, Pr. राआण, used in all cases and both numbers. Vararuci, however, does not give this, and omits the others in some of the cases. This base is unknown to Pali, but occurs in the word आत्मन in the form of अलाण, and is used in the plurals of the instr. and loc., while here it is extended

to all cases. This noun and such others ending in আৰু are in the Prakrit declined like বাসৰ; the base in আতা is general to all and used throughout, but the others occur in certain cases only. The voc. sing. of বাসৰ is বাস or বাস in the Sauraseni, the former of which does not occur in the Mahārāṣtrī.

The base of the present participles ends in अन्त and they are declined like nouns in अ. The Pali, you will remember, uses the old base in some of the cases and has the old forms; but here they have disappeared. Similarly बत् and मत् become बन्त and मन्त throughout, i. e., end in अ. Other final consonants are dropped and in feminine nouns sometimes आ is added.

Feminine and Neuter Nouns

The Prakrit feminine declension differs from the Pali in little more than a phonetic corruption of the terminations.

The प of the instr., abl., gen. and loc. of nouns in आ, and the पा of those in इ or ई, are weakened into ए or इ or dropped, leaving only अ and आ. In the latter class of nouns this आ is further optionally shortened to अ. Thus we have मालाए-इ-अ and नईए-इ-आ-अ. &c.

The optional loc. forms in एं are lost; and the यो of the nom. plurals मालायो and निदयो leaves only the vowel ओ which is again shortened to उ. The abl. forms in दो-दु or ओ-उ are of course new. Fem. nouns in क substitute आ for the final and are declined like nouns in आ; as, नणन्दा, नणन्दाओ, &c. मात्, however, has another base मातरा when it signifies a "goddess." In the Pali four bases are used, the old one, मातर, declined like masc. nouns in आ, मात्, and माता. This last is used in the gen. pl. only along with मातराण, and मात्त.

The nom. and acc. of neuter nouns in अ are in the Prakrit the same as in Skr. only phonetically corrupted, as वर्ण sing., वणाई-इं-जि pl.; while the sing. of those in इ and उ have an anusvāra optionally attached to them, as वृद्धि or वृद्धि sing., वृद्धीई-इ-जि, pl. The optional Pali plurals in आ and ए are lost. Sanskrit neuter nouns in अन and अस become nouns in अ, and are masculine.

Pronouns

The nom. pl. in प is preserved, as in सब्ये, जे &c. The gen. pl. has fit for its termination formed by adding a light इ to the साद of

Sanskrit, which, according to the usual rules, should be corrupted to \$\ddot\$, and is also fromed upon the model of the corresponding nouns; as सब्बेसि or सब्बाण-णं, जेसि or जाण-णं, &c. The Pali has सं, and its double gen. साने is wanting. The loc. sing. has the termination (स्त, a form not existing in the older dialect, in addition to the raced for nouns, both of which are to be traced to the Skr. स्मिन, as in सञ्चरिस or सञ्चन्मि, जरिस or जन्मि, &c. This सिंस is further changed to हिं as in सन्बहिं, जिहें, &c., or better, this latter may be traced to the Pali fee. Another loc. sing. term. is a which reperesents अ, as सन्धरथ, जत्य &c. The abl. sing. स्मात is optionally used after किम, यद, and तद only, in the form of महा, as कम्हा, जम्हा, and तम्हा; in Pali it is necessarily used after all pronouns. other respects pronouns are declined like the corresponding nouns; as सद्धं, सद्धे acc., सद्धेण, सद्धेष्ठं instr., सद्धनो-दो-दू, सद्धाहिन्तो-सन्तो abl. The instr. sing. is optionally formed like that of nouns in F in the case of some: as sिमणा, जिणा &c.

You will thus observe, that except in the nom. pl., there is no distinction between the two declensions; the peculiar pronominal forms I have mentioned being only optional. Of the fem. of तद, यद, and किय, the gen. sing. is optionally तिस्सा or तीसे &c., where the base is at &c. The other forms are like those of nouns in ई. as तीआ-ई-ए &c. This base is used throughout along with the other in Mr. In Pali it is used in the gen. and loc. sing. only along with the other, and the gen. forms are तिस्सा and तिस्साय, the latter of which is, as I have said, a double genitive. This the Prakrit has preserved in the form of तीसे, originally तिस्से, where the T represents the T of the older dialect, as it does in the feminine nouns. The other base of किस and तद has also its genitive singular in स, as तास, formed by transferring the masc. termination; or it is to be traced to atta. The genitive plural forms of the masc., such as तेसि and ताज, are also sometimes used in a feminine sense. The loc. sing. of किस, यद, and तद is optionally formed by extending the masc, termination & to the base in आ. as ताई &c. These peculiarities are only optional; so that the feminine pronouns are declined like nouns in 347 or \$. Thus we have जा, जाओ-उ. जीओ-उ nom., जं. जाओ-उ. जीओ-उ acc., जिणा, जाहिं, जीहिं instr., जादो-दू, जीदो-दू, जाहिन्तो-सन्तो, जीहिन्तो-सन्तो, &c. abl. जस्सा, जिस्सा, जीसे, जासं, जासिं, जोसें, जाण, जीसिं, जीणं gen., जाहिं, जाह, जीह loc.

The optional instr., abl., gen., and loc. singulars are जाए-इ-आ and जीए-इ-आ-अ.

The pronoun न in the form of or exists as in the Pali; इयम has two bases, इस, which is used throughout, as इसी, इसे nom., इस, इसे acc., इसेज-सिजा, इसेहि, instr. &c; and अ from which we have optionally अअं nom. sing., अस्स and अस्ति, gen. and loc. sing., and एहिं and एस instr., and loc. plural, and आहि instr. pl. of the feminine. इसी, इसस्स, इसस्स &c. are also in use. The base अ is used in the Pali in the instr. sing., gen pl. and abl, sing. also.

The demonstrative अदम् has one base only, अस, which is declined like nouns in उ; as अस्, असणो nom., असं असणो acc., असणा, अस्हिं instr., &c.

The pronoun of the second person has, according to Vararuoi, five bases त, तुम or तुम, तुन्झ, तुम्झ, तुम्म, वो and थे. The first is derived from the त्व of त्वम; तुम or तुम from the same with the व softened to उ; तुम्झ from तुम्यम through the intermediate Pali from तुम्हं, the last conjunct of which is changed to उझ, by a rule formerly given; तुम्ह is made up by putting together the तु of the singular and the स्म of the plural, as explained in going over the Pali; तुम्म is another form of तुम्ह; वो is the old Sanskrit वम; and थे seems to be derived from the म्हे of तुम्हे as बम्भण is from बाह्मण. Hemacandra adds तुम्म, to be derived from the Sanskrit तुम्म or from तुम्ह, मह being changed to उम; उज्झ, from तुज्झ by the dropping of तुः तुम्ह and उम्ह, other forms of तुम्मस; तुम, from त्य by the insertion of उ; तुम्ह from तुम्हं, उम्ह, by the dropping of the तु of तुम्ह; and उम्म, by treating तुम्म in the same way. The Pali has only त, तु, and तुम्ह; and the several old forms it had are lost in the Prakrit.

Nominal terminations are used in a good many cases. Thus we have तं, तुं, तुवं, तृह, and तुमं for the nom. sing., these and तुए and तुमं for the acc. sing., तह, तए. तुमइ, तुमए, तुमे, तुमाइ, and also तुमं, भे, ते, दे, and दि for the instr. sing. The form तुमं properly belongs to the nom. and acc. cases and ते to the gen., दे and दि being only ते softened; but several cases are here confounded. The abl. sing. has तहत्ती ओ उ-दो-दु-हि-हिन्तो, तुवतो-ओ &c., तुमत्ती-ओ &c., तुम्हतो ओ &c., तुम्हतो अो &c., तुम्हतो अच्छ, तुम्ह, तुम, तुमे, तुमो, तुमो, तुमो, तुमा, ह, दि, दे, इ, ए, तुम्म, उम्म, उम्म, उम्ह, तुम्ह, तुम्

and उज्झा. The loc. sing. has तुमे, तुमए, तुमाइ, तह, तए, तुम्मि, तृष्टिम, तृष्ट्रम, तृष्ट्य, तृष्ट्यम, तृष्

The points to be observed in these forms are these. The nom. sing. has mostly the same forms as the acc. sing. This is due to the fact that the Sanskrit त्वास of the acc. becomes, when the आ is shortened by a Prakrit phonetic rule, a, i. e., the same as the nom. sing. Hence its Prakrit representatives तं, तुं, तुवं and तुमं are the same for both the cases. But a more probable reason. which explains a similar fact in the case of the first personal pronoun also, is that the plurals of the nom, and acc. having by natural processes already explained become exactly alike, the two cases came to be confounded; and the sing, forms also of the one were used for the other. The forms as, av, aus, auv, au, and THIS are common to the instr. and loc. sing. This probably arises from the fact that the Sanskrit त्वया, when the य is softened to ए or इ, becomes तए or तइ, and so does the त्विय of the loc.; and when the base a is seen to be interchangeable with an in the nom., the terminations T and T which are common to the two cases are applied to तुम also. ते and its softened forms दे and दि, and तइ are common to the instr. and gen. sing.; तुरह, तुहम, तुहह, तुहम are common to the abl. sing. and the gen. sing. and pl.; and A to the instr. sing. and pl. and the gen. sing.

Such a confusion of the case-relations must be expected in course of time. Even in Sanskrit the gen. and instr. &c. are used alike in connection with some participles: and the identification of the abl. and the instr. we have already noticed in the Prakrits. The gen. forms तुष्ह, तुष्म, त

pl. are tacked on to them to form these cases. Here the tendency to use the genitive form as a base for the formation of the other cases, a trace of which only we observed in the Pali, is seen more developed.

The pronoun of the first person has, according to Vararuci. the following bases :- हं or अहं and म from the Sanskrit singulars. मम the gen. sing., अम्ह from अस्म and णो from नस्, of which अम्ह is used in the plural. Hemacandra adds मह and मज्झ from महान. and में from महे or स्मे. He also gives अम्हि, अस्मि, and स्मि for the nom, and अस्मि for acc. sing. The first is clearly from अस्मि 1st pers. sing. present of अस, often used in Sanskrit as an indeclinable particle; and the others are also corruptions of the same, just as the termination for of the loc. is a corruption of form. The singular forms, therefore, are :-- अस्मि, स्मि, अस्हि, हं, अहं, अहरं nom.; णे. जं. मि. अस्पि. अस्ट. मस्ट. मं. ममं. मिमं, अहं acc. : मि. मे. ममं, ममप्, ममाइ, मह. मए. मयाह. णे. instr. : महत्ती-दो-दु-ओ-उ-हि-हिन्तो, ममत्तो &c., महत्तो &c.. मण्डाशो &c. abl.; मे, मह, मम, मह, महं, मण्डा, मण्डां, अम्ह, अम्हं gen.; मि, मह, ममाइ, मए, मे, अन्हिम्म, ममन्मि, महामि loc. The plurals are:-अन्ह, अन्हे. अन्हो. मी. वयं. मे nom.: अन्हे. अन्हो, अन्ह, णे acc.: अन्हेहिं, अन्हाहि. अन्ह. अन्हे. णे instr. : ममनो, अम्हत्तो, ममाहिन्तो-सन्तो, अम्हाहिन्तो सन्तो, ममेसन्तो, अम्हे-सुन्तो abl.; णे, णो, मज्झ, अन्ह, अन्हा, अन्हा, अन्हाण, ममाण, महाण, मज्झाण gen.; अन्द-न्हा-न्हेस-सम-सेस, मह-हेस, मज्झ-ज्झेस loc. Here also the same observations as these made in the case of the last pronoun are applicable.

In the Magadhi the ओ of the nom. sing. of nouns ending in अ is replaced by ए; as एशे उलिशे for एप उरुप: The स्स of the gen. sing is sometimes changed to ह and the preceding अ is lengthened; as शोणिवाह इन्में for शोणितस्य इन्म: The plural of this case is formed by adding आहं, as कन्माई for कमणाम. The anusvāra represents the ज of the original termination आज, and ह is introduced from the analogy of the sing. The regular forms शोणिवस्स and कम्माणे are also admissible. Such forms as these we shall meet with hereafter; and they belong to a later stage in the decay of our grammar.

IV. THE PRAKRIT VERB

Conjugations.—All the Skr. conjugations, with the exception of the second in the case of a few roots ending in a vowel, have

been brought over to the Atype, i. e., to the first, sixth, and the Some of the others have left a few traces; as, the fifth e d the ninth have preserved their or in such instances as got, fag. जाण, द्वण, पुण, भुण,--both conjugations being, as you may remember, confounded in the Pali, the third the root at pres. tense बीहदि—the ह standing for भ; the fourth has preserved its य assimilated in a good many roots such तुद्र, नस्स &c.; and the seventh has preserved its र in रूप and others. But you will see that to these forms স is added and they are made roots ending in স; while a great many have lost even such traces. In the Pali, you will remember, the conjugational signs added to some of the roots are entire, as the ना of the sixth and the नो of the fifth, and अ is appended to roots of the seventh conjugation only, 3 being inserted before the the last consonant. But here the 3 takes the place of the ending vowel of the signs of the fifth and other conjugation also, so we have सण, कीण, and बीह,

Thus in the Prakrit most roots end in 3. There are some ending in other vowels, such as stand 3; but the rule of conjugation is the same for all, viz., to add the terminations to the root directly. There can be no consonantal root. Some forms, such as those of 3. have come down from the parent language only phonetically changed; but these are not formed in the Prakrit. They are really Sanskrit forms in what I have ventured to call a petrified condition. The roots ending in 3 change it to 4 optionally, i. e. they are conjugated according to the model of the first and of the tenth, as is the case to a great extent in the Pali also. The distinction between the special and the general tenses is of course forgotten.

The Prakrits have retained the Present and Future tenses and the Imperative mood entire; while the Potential and the Aorist have left the third person singular only. An isolated form of the Imperfect such as आस from the root अस remains.

The terminations of the Present Tense are—3rd pers. sing. दि and दे in Saur. and इ and ए in the principal Prakrit, pl. न्ति and न्ते; 2nd pers. sing. सि and से, pl. इत्था and इ for which last the Saur. has भ; 1st pers. sing. मि, pl. मो, स, and म.

Of these दे, or प्, से and न्ते, of which the last is not given by 45 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

Vararuci, are remnants of the old Atmanepada, and the first two are used after roots ending in अ only. With the exception of the first pers. pl. म and the 2nd pers. pl. इत्या, the terminations can readily be traced to the corresponding Skr. Parasm. The Sanskrit 2nd pers. pl. य becomes य in the Saurasen and इ in the Mahārāṣṭrī by the phonetic rules already noticed, and मो or its shortened form म is the Skr. मम. In these points the primitive and derived languages perfectly agree; but म and इत्या are new terminations and were first used in Pali, the latter however in the form of त्य. The first is, as I have observed, transferred from the Imperative and other tenses, and त्य is the Skr. स्य 2nd pers. pl. of root अम. To this is prefixed in the Prakrit the usual augment इ, which मो and म also take optionally. The terminations मो and म are unknown to the Pali.

Other forms of the first pers. sing. and pl., made up by adding निह and मह or महो, as in करोम्हि, करेम्ह, गच्छम्ह, &c., occur in the plays, though the grammarians have not noticed them. These terminations are evidently the Skr. स्मि, 1st pers. sing., and स्मः or स्म, pl. of अम्. 'You will remember that a good many verbs are made up in the Pali by adding forms of this root. Hemacandra notices also another termination of the 3rd pers. pl. viz. हरे, which is transferred from the Perfect.

The Imperative forms are made up by adding \(\) Saur. \(\) Prakrit, 3rd pers. sing., and \(\)

^{1.} Prof. Lassen traces these to the root आस, but इत्था to the Skr. I to which I is, he says, prefixed because the previous vowel must have been pronounced with some accent. But considering that many forms of set are used as terminations it is more natural to take this also as such a form-

The consciousness that the future is made up by prefixing == R. & Pali to the terminations of the present has never been lost, and whatever changes these terminations undergo are transferred to the future : so that the Sauraseni and Magadhi future differs from the Pali in those respects only in which the Present tenses of the two differ. The first person sing., however. is optionally changed to an anusvāra; or the anusvāra may be a remnant of the conditional terminations; as हासिस्सं. In the principal Prakrit the स्य is still further corrupted to हि, य being dissolved into इ and म changed to इ, as in होहिह for भविष्यात, होहिन्ति भविष्यन्ति, &c. In the first pers. we have, in addition to this हि, en which is lengthened as in Skr. and also its other form as as well as स्सं for the whole as in the Sauraseni, i. e., होहि स्सा-हामि or होहिस्सं, &c. A beginning in the direction of the हि was, you will remember, made in Pali. We have also a few petrified Skr. forms such as दच्छं for द्रक्यामि, मोच्छं for मोध्यामि which are more conditional than future in their origin; and to these as bases, are added the terminations of the present and also of the future to form new futures: as दिन्छ दिन्छ हिंह, &c. We have also काई and हाई from रू and दा.

The only Potential form left is that of the 3rd pers. sing.; as इसेज or इसेजा, होज or होजा. The termination is the same as in Pali, the ध्य of the 3rd pers. sing. being altered to ज, and the general form of the termination ध्या to जा. After bases ending in अ, ज or जा becomes एजा or एजा, as in Skr. and Pali.¹ This being an isolated form and derived from the Potential, which does not signify any particular time, it is used in the sense of the Present, Future, or Imperative in all numbers and persons; and after roots in अ the terminations u and so of the second pers. sing. of the Imperative are added to ज to make up new forms of that mood, as इसेज्य, इसेजिंड, and another form हसेजे is also mentioned. This Potential

¹ This fact strongly supports my derivation of the forms. Prof. Lassen derives them from the Precative. But the Precative was lost at an early stage, since it does not exist even in the Pali. The T is not the ST of the 10th conj, as the Prof. thinks, but the T, which bases ending in T take in the Pot. in Skr.

² Prof. Lassen derives these also from the Precative, and against the argument that that mood is rarely used in Skr. itself and was lost in the

form of roots ending in vowels other than wis used as a base, and the terminations of the two tenses and one mood are attached to it to make up new forms for them; as होजाइ, होजाइ, होजाइ, होजाइ, &c.

The Aorist also has left its 3rd pers. sing. only; the termination to be added to roots ending in a vowel, is सी, ही, or हीअ and for those ending in a consonant or or, i.e., such as take the augment s or change the अ to s. Of these, सी and ही are derived from the Parasm. And of the fourth form; the first is found in Pali, and fi is only another form of it. The Pali has f also for the 3rd pers. sing. corresponding to the fa affixed to Sanskrit roots that take the augment z. This is very likely the origin of हेअ also, since we have it after the roots which necessarily admit the augment; but the अ of this and of हीअ is difficult to explain. हींअ must correspond to some such form as सीय or सीत which, the म being dropped after the augment इ, is reduced to ईअ. These सीय and सीत are forms of the Potential Atm. of अस, and they may have been added as terminations to form the Aorist as other forms of sum are in this and other tenses in the Pali. Or the will of the Aorist may have been confounded with सात the pot. of अस from its resemblance to it.

These are rare and isolated forms, and past time is mostly expressed by the past participle passive which in the case of intransitive and some transitive verbs has also an active sense. The Sanskrit termination त is only phonetically changed to द in the Sauraseni and to अ in the Prakrit. Roots ending in अ change it to \$\frac{1}{2}\$ before the past participial termination. The past participles of some roots are not newly formed, but the old Skr. forms have come down only phonetically altered. This fact should always be remembered, that there are in all these derived dialects new formations called by Hemacandra साध्यावस्थ, as well as old formations, सिद्वावस्थ. This arises from the fact of the analogies not being made applicable throughout, as they would have been if the languages had been artificial. Contingency or condition is expressed by the present participle, as we do in our modern vernaculars.

Pali states that the Precative is found in the Vernaculars. But I have not found it. The forms करजे, करजो G., करिये, कंरियो H. I trace to the Prakrit Potential forms spoken of above.

The infinitive is formed as in Skr. by the addition of तुन्न changed to उं, the Pali त्वे being lost, and the absolutive by affixing the termination ऊण (दूण Sauraseni) from the Pali त्व and the Vedic त्वान or त्वीन. But the termination that is most used in the Sauraseni is इज from the Sanskrit य of roots with prepositions prefixed. Hemacandra also gives for the principal Prakrit त्या and तुआण, the origin of which is the same as that of ऊण, ता from त्वा, तु by the dissolution of the semi-vowel of त्वा, तु च by a confusion with the infinitive, and इज which is used in the Sauraseni. Of these, however, ऊण is the one that prevails; the others are rare.

The passive is formed by adding ईय and इजा, both of which come from the Sanskrit य with the augment इ prefixed as in Pali, the य being transformed to जा in one case and leaving its अ only in the other or being dissolved into इअ. Hemacandra gives a good many roots which preserve the Skr. forms, only phonetically changed, as दिसद from दृश्यते, बुबद from दृश्यते, गम्मद from गम्यते, लग्भद from हम्यते, बुबद from हम्या हम्यते, बुबद from हम्यते,

The causal terminations are ए from अय and आवे from आपय. These two are the same as in the Pali, the Sanskrit forms, also existing in the latter, being lost. Hemacandra adds अ and आव, i. e., the ए, answering to अय, is lost. But the Sanskrit vowel changes are preserved even when the अय gives place to अ; as दरिसइ.

The terminations of the absolutive, the infinitive, the potential participle (अवन from Skr. तन्य), and of the Future take the augment इ which also is transformed into a short ए of the same nature as that which is found before conjunct consonants, as in पेण्ड or पिण्ड. We have thus इसिज्जण or इसेज्जण, इसिजं or इसेजं, &c.

You will thus have observed a much greater progress in the operation of those principles, which we found at work in the construction of the Pali. Here as before we find that the less known forms are made up on the model of the more known. The number of old forms which still remained in some of the Pali declensions and conjugations, has been greatly reduced in the Prakrits, and a further advance been made in the introduction of uniformity and simplicity in the grammar of the language.

It is also worthy of remark, that in a great measure, the same false analogies which are used in the Pali have come down to the Prakrit, and their range extended. Thus the analogy of nouns in sa or neuter nouns in s or a has been carried much further in the declension of masculine nouns ending in F or J. Nouns in क, अन and बन have adapted themselves more closely to the model of those ending in sq. their Sanskrit nom. case supplying the new 37 base; and the 37 conjugations have more generally prevailed over the rest. The device of using such caseforms as सम and महाम as bases, and making up the cases by appending the proper terminations has also been more largely availed of. Some of these phenomena may be attributed to the operation of the same invariable laws in the development of either, without being an index to a more intimate connection between the two dialects. But there are individual forms in the two languages which, though they might be different, are yet the same in both. Such, for instance, are and acc. pl., the loc. sing. ending in the pronominal म्हि or मिन, the double gen. तिस्साय, the 2nd pers. pl. ending in sour of the present tense, and a good many others. The consonantal and vowel changes also, so far as they go in the older language, are the same. We may therefore safely conclude that the Pali represents generally an earlier stage of the same language which afterwards became the Prakrit or Prakrits.

But there are again in the Prakrits such forms as those of the ablative in दो and आहि instead of the old pronominal म्हा, the first pers. pl. of the Pres. in मो or म instead of the Pali म, the 1st pers. sing. of the Imperative in म instead of the Pali मि, the Sauraseni absolutive in इञ corresponding to the Sanskrit म, which does not exist in the older dialect, and others. These Prakrit forms cannot have been developed out of the Pali forms, but must have grown independently from the Sanskrit originals.

In the same way, though the Prakrit sounds are generally the same as, or further developments, of the Pali sounds, there are a good many which could not have grown out of the latter. Thus the रि of the Prakrit words रिद्धि, रिच्छ, रिण, रिज्जू, &c. cannot have been developed out of the इ or अ of the Pali इदि, अच्छ, अज, उज्जू &c., or the अइ and अउ of such words as वृह्च, भहरव, पटर, कडसल,

&c., from the ए and ओ of the corresponding Pali words, or the एण् for Sanskrit ज़ू from the Pali ज्ञ्य, though this latter exists in some of the Prakrit dialects, or the रिस for र्श or भे in such words as आअरिस, स्वरिसण, बरिसे, and परामरिस from the स्स or स of the Pali आवास, स्वरस्तन, वस्स, and परामस. The Prakrit sounds must in these cases be traced directly to the corresponding Sanskrit sounds.

It therefore appears that the Prakrits had also an independent development, which may be accounted for on the supposition, that they sprang not from the Pali but a sister dialect or dialects; or that, though originally they were the same as the Pali, their subsequent development was influenced by the parent language, and thus, other sounds and forms not existing in the earlier dialect, came in fresh from Sanskrit. But the first supposition is discountenanced by the fact that the resemblance between the Pali and the Prakrits extends even to isolated cases; and the second is supported by the circumstance that in one important particular, the Prakrits resemble the Sanskrit in the last stage of its development, while the Pali differs in that particular from both and agrees with an earlier form of the parent language. We have seen that in later Sanskrit verbal forms, especially of the past tenses were rarely used, and participles were employed instead; and we find that the Prakrits have mostly lost all the Sanskrit tenses and moods except three, and past time is generally expressed by the past participle and contingency by the present; while the Pali has, as we have seen, preserved eight, including all the past tenses and the conditional. Middle Sanskrit hears to later or Classical Sanskrit the same relation, in this respect. that the Pali bears to the Prakrits. The change that came over Sanskrit between the two periods left its impress on what may be called the Vernacular speech. This could not have been the case, unless Sanskrit had continued to influence that form of speech, represented first by the Pali and afterwards by the Prakrits. And it was because it continued so to influence it. that the Prakrits came to have sounds and grammatical forms also derived direct from Sanskrit and not through the Pali. This leads to the conclusion, which will be developed in detail in the last lecture, that when the Pali and the Prakrits came into stistence, Sanskrit had not been dead but was as much a living language as either of the other two, and both were spoken or used for ordinary purposes, one by men of culture and the other by ordinary people.

Sanskrit writers distinguish three elements in the Prakrit vocabulary which they call Tadbhava, Tatsama, and Desya. Such words as are derived from Sanskrit are called Tadbhava such as द्राण, कस, माग, कण्ण, &c. Tatsamas are those that are the same in Sanskrit and Prakrit as कमल, मण्डल, &c., the phonetic laws of the Prakrits not necessitating a change in them, and Desyas are such as cannot be derived from Sanskrit and must be referred to another source. A good many words of this nature we find used in Prakrit literature; and there exists a kośa or thesaurus of Desya words by Hemacandra. A large number of these Desya words exist in the modern vernaculars, such as:—

अका a sister, M.¹ आका, a term of honour used for an elder sister. अग्याडो an herb; M. आयाडा.

अवडो a well; M. आड.

उडिद a kind of pulse; M. H. the same.

उड्डाइ sleeps; H. उंघना G. उंघर्ड.

कुइं, कुईं, कोईं, wonder; M. कोड old.

कोडूं a town; M. कोट a fort.

कोडिम्बो a basin of wood for water; M. कोटंबा.

कोलिन a firebrand; M. कोलित.

कहाविजे to mix a liquid with a solid substance and stir it up; M. कालवर्णे.

गोहों a man, a warrior; M. घोव husband. चोष्पडह rubs, anoints; M. चोपडणें.

छिण्णो छिण्णी छिण्णालो

an adulterer or adulteress ; M. হিাৰক.

पोआलो an ox; M. पोळ.

पडरूडी a cow that has no milk; M. पाडशी.

पासहं slanting; M. पासलें lying down with the face upwards.

पोई belly ; M. पोट, H. G. पेट. फंसइ deceives ; M. फसावेंगें.

¹ M .- Marathi ; G .- Gujarati ; H .- Hindi.

फुका false, vain ; M. फुका.

बाउल्ली a doll; M. बाउली.

बप्पो father, a brave man: M. H. G. बाप, M. बाप्पा an able-bodied man.

There are a great many words set down as Desyas, which on close examination will be found to be Tadbhavas. They differ from ordinary Tadbhavas in having undergone great corruption. The following are instances. Some of the words in the above list may also be considered to be of the same nature. Thus फंसइ 'deceives' is a denominative or nominal verb from the word पाश 'a snare;' which in our modern dialects has the form of फांस; whence फंसई is 'to ensnare' or 'entrap.' So also इ.इ. काई and the old M. कोड are in all likelihood to be traced to the Skr. कींट्रक.

उव्बाह्निओं thrown upwards; Skr. उद्दर्तित:.

कन्दोद्ध a lotus; from Skr. कन्दोत्थ.

कुहुद्दो humpbacked. This may be traced to Skr. कुळा-कुट ; and ड is a termination which is used in a great many nouns.

कुरुच disliked, evidently from Skr. क and रोच्य.

कोणो black ; Skr. ऋष्ण-कण्ह-कोण्ह-कोण.

বজাৰ desolate; from Skr. বজাৰত bright, pure, cleared of every thing, desolate.

बङ्क a bullock ; from Skr. बलीवर्द.

छही rind, bark; may be from Skr. शल्य, शल्यक.

छासी whey; may be from Skr. तक.

ाईवइ touches; from हुए by a change of vowel.

ভিঅ a tail; from Skr. ডভ, by the consonants interchanging places, and the palatal ভ having its vowel হ.

पहोहर the hind part of a house; from Skr. प्रदेशह.

पेयालं, पेजल, a measure, a certain quantity, occurs in the Pali and is traced to Skr. पाय. It may also be connected with पाज्य.

ৰাপ্তৰ speaks; from Skr. সু by the change of to আ and the transference of the vowel to the first consonant—a thing often observable; আৰু ৰন্ত-ৰাপ্ত.

46 [B. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

The Sanskrit etymology of some of the words given by the lexicographers is evident; and one does not know how they came to be regarded as Desyas. Other words changed their sense in the course of time and so were referred to this class.

पम्हसइ forgets; from Skr. प्रस्य to steal,—a thing forgotten is as it were stolen.

बहुसहो a wicked person: from Skr. बहुसल, because a wicked person puts on many faces or appearances.

कामकिसोरो an ass;—a son of Kāma or love, devoted to pleasure, is often a donkey.

কুভিচ্মই pregnant; Skr. কুপ্লি originally 'side,' came to signify 'womb,' and that womb is worthy of the name which bears a child, hence কুश্লিमती lit 'having a womb' came to have the signification given.

A good many of the words given by Hemacandra do not occur in the modern Vernaculars, and we have regular Tadbhavas instead; as., হন্ত্ৰী a tiger, ইয় a nail, &c.

The number of Desya words, if properly examined, would be greatly reduced. Still a Desi element in the Prakrits and the Vernaculars must be admitted. These words must have come into the dialects from the language of the aborigines whom the Aryas conquered; and some are found in Sanskrit also.

THE APABHRAMSA

The dialect called the Apabhramsa by the grammarians presents Indian speech in a further stage of decay, and occupies a middle position between the Prakrit and the modern vernaculars, to some of which, especially to the old Hindi, the Brajabhāsā, and the Gujarati, it bears striking resemblances, as I shall hereafter show.

As mentioned before, we have the grammar of this dialect from Hemacandra, Trivikrama, and Kramadiévara; but Vararuci does not mention it. The Apabhramsa had a literature of its own. Hemacandra illustrates each of his rules about this dialect by quoting a verse. In the fourth Act of the Vikramorvasi the Prakrit speeches of the king in his madness are in this dialect. But it is a question whether they existed there originally, since in several

manuscripts on this side of India they do not appear. The metres employed in these and in Hemacandra's quotations are the same as those popularly used in old and modern Hindi or Braj viz. dohā or copui. Pandit Vrajalal mentions a work of the name of Muhājarāsa, written in the Apabhramsa, from which he gives a short extract, and another the hero of which is a king of the name of Prasenajita. He also quotes from another work; but the language of all these appears to be more modern than Hemacandra's Apabhramsa, and that of some of the verses makes a very near approach to the Gujarati. As before, I will introduce my remarks on this dialect by a specimen.—

APABHRAMSA

पत्तहे तेत्तहे बारि घरि लिच्छ विसंदुल धाइ।
पिअ पन्भट्टव गोरडी निचल किहींव न ठाइ।।
जे महु दिण्णा दिअहडा दृइएं पवसन्तेण।
ताण गणान्तए अङ्गुलिउ जज्जरिआउ नहेण।।
जीविउ कास्र न बल्लहउं धणु पुण्ड कासु न इहु।
दोण्णि वि अवसरि निविद्धिआई तिणसम गणइ विसिद्धु।।
जो ग्रण गोवइ अप्पणा पयहा करइ परस्छ।
तस्र हउं कलिजुगि दुल्लहहो बालि किज्जउं सुअणस्स्य।।
गङ्ग गमेप्पिण जो सुअओ जो सिवतित्थ गमेप्पि।
कीलिद तिदसावासगउ सो जमलोउ जिणेप्प।।

The Sanskrit of this would be :-

अञ्च तत्र हारे एहे लक्ष्मीर्विसंदुला धावति।
प्रियप्रश्नष्टेव गौरी निश्वला कापि न तिष्ठति॥
ये महां दत्ता दिवसा दायितेन प्रवसता।
तेषां (तान्) गणयन्त्या अङ्ग्रलयो जर्जरिता नखेन॥
जीवितं कस्य न वल्लमं धनं पुनः कस्य न इष्टम्।
हे अप्यवसरे निपतिते हणसमे गणयति विशिष्टः॥
यो ग्रणान्गोपायत्यात्मीयान्त्रकटान्करोति परस्य।
तस्याहं कलिगुगे दुर्लमस्य बालें करोमि छजनस्य॥
गङ्गां गत्वा यो मृतो यः शिवतीर्थं गत्वा।
क्रीहति त्रिदशावासगतः स यमलोकं जित्वा॥

"The unsteady goddess of wealth runs to this door and that, this house and that; like a fair one separated from her lover she does not remain firm anywhere."

"My fingers have worn away, rubbed against by my nails while counting, again and again, the days named by my lover [as the period of his absence], when he set out on his journey,"

"To whom is life not dear and to whom is wealth not an object of desire? But when the occasion comes, a worthy man regards them as straw."

"I worship that good man, so rarely to be met with in this Kali age, who conceals his own merits and gives publicity to those of others."

"He who dies after having gone to the Gangā and to Śivatīrtha, triumphs over the power (world) of death and sports in the habitation of the gods."

THE PHONOLOGY OF THE APABHRAMSA

The vowel अ of the derivatives of the pronouns यह, तद्, किन, and इदन is changed to s or ए. In the principal Prikrit we have noticed a tendency to such a change, and one of our instances was पत्य for अत्र. From the same tendency we have in the Apabhramsa जेल्थ for यत्र, तेल्थ for तत्र, and केल्थ for कुत्र, the उ of the latter being replaced by q in virtue of the analogy of the other pronouns. In the same way aga "in that manner," which after dropping the final consonant becomes तह, is changed to तेम, यहत to जेम, and किन्यत to केम. This ए is also rendered a more close vowel and changed to इ, and thus we have तिम, जिम, and किम. Thus the bases of these pronouns came to be considered as ते or ति, जे or जि, and के, or कि, and so we have तिथ for तथा, जिथ for यथा, and किथ for कथन. The mute element being dropped, these forms become तिह, जिह, and किह, and further तेह, जेह and केह. For similar reasons we have तेत्रिअ or तित्रिअ for तावत्क, जेत्रिअ or जित्रिअ for यावत्क, केत्रिअ or किलिअ for कियुक्त, &c., even in the Prakrits.

The nom. sing. termination of nouns in wais shortened to wa, and since a great many nouns were pronounced with this final wand its original sense was forgotten, it was transferred by way of analogy to other words or grammatical forms that did not possess

it before; and thus we have पुण and विष् for पुन: and ावना and जेल्बु, तेल्बु, जेहु, &c., in the above.

The long vowels are sometimes shortened as in the word nor in the last of the above verses.

The consonants क् and ख are sometimes softened to स and स, instead of being dropped, त and स to द and स, as in Sauraseni, and द and द, to द and स. In the principal Prakrit also this is sometimes the case. The labial द is changed to स in a few more instances than in the Prakrits as in जाम and ताम for यावत and तावत, and जेम or जिम, तेम or तिम, &c. in the above for यहत, तहत &c. The complete contact of the lips necessary for the pronunciation of स is avoided in a great many cases, and thus we have द for स as in भवेर for अमर, कवेंद्र for कमल, &c. This is the prevailing rule in most of the vernaculars, as we shall hereafter find. The conjunct म्ह is changed to म्म; that is, the aspirate ह has been labialized and assimilated to the preceding स, as in गिम्म for Prakrit गिम्ह and Sanskrit गीम्म. A few instances of this change we did find in the Prakrits and we shall find more in the vernaculars.

The Sanskrit conjunct त्य is changed to प्य; for as य was often pronounced as य, this य instead of merging into the preceding mute, as semi-vowels often do, acquired prominence as य does, when preceded by a dental; and the च being assimilated to it, the whole become प्य as त्य becomes च्य, as in पढ़ for त्या, पण or पण for the abstract termination त्यन, and प्यिण for त्यान, the suffix of the absolutive. In the Prakrits the त्य of आत्यन similarly becomes प्य and so we have अप्या for आत्या. The letter र, when the latter member of a conjunct, is sometimes not assimilated, as in जोप्य, आउ for प्राय: &c., and sometimes it is introduced even when it does not exist in the original, as in भू for तद्, पस्स for पस्स, &c. With these few exceptions, the rules about the assimilation of conjuncts, the elision of consonants, and others hold good generally as in the Prakrits, as you will see from the above extract.

DECLENSION IN THE APABHRAMSA

Nouns in 37

The decay of the case terminations is, however, a distinguishing feature of this dialect. The distinction between the nom. and

acc. case forms which we observed lessening at each stage in the growth of our languages is here altogether lost. The ओ of the nom. sing. of masculine nouns in अ is shortened to उ, and used in both the cases, as हुआउ nom. for सृतकः, गउ for गतः, जमलोउ for यमलोकम; and applied to neuter nouns as well, as कमलु. The nasal of the neuter is preserved only in nouns which are augmented by the addition of क changed to अ; as कमलुउ for कमलकम. The nom. and acc. pl. of the masculine ends in आ; as दिअहडा, पपडा &c. in the above. The neuter nouns preserve the Prakrit is of the plural, as in कमल्डा. Sometimes words are used in these two cases without any terminations; as विसंदृत nom. sing., निचल nom. sing., उपा acc. pl., गा acc. sing., तिन्य acc. sing., in the above extract.

The principle observable in the other cases is the same as we have noticed in the older dialects, viz., a gradual reduction of all the declensions to a uniformity. The instrumental singular of nouns in अ has two forms, one in ए as देवें, and the other the old one देवेण. The former is derived from this old form, the final अ being dropped, and the nasal assuming the form of an anusvāra. This new termination is transferred to nouns in इ or उ also, as अलिए. The instrumental pl. is the old one in हिं, but the change of the ending vowel to q is only optionally made; as उपोहिं or उपार्ट.

One ablative termination is $\hat{\epsilon}$ which is appended to all nouns, and the other $\hat{\epsilon}$ as in $\hat{\epsilon}$ vos \hat

Of course we may trace the first to ferm by supposing it first to be changed to serm by the usual Prakrit rule, and afterwards to have dropped its second syllable; and s to something else. But it appears to me that a good many of the terminations having been reduced to s by natural phonetic changes, the others also had this inserted in them by analogy, just as the nominative termination s is introduced in words and forms in which it did not exist. This process we shall necessarily have to suppose when we examine the forms of the present tense. Or the s may have been introduced simply to prevent a hiatus and connect the vowel-termination with the base. And this is rendered probable by Hemacandra's rule, that the ending syllables s, s, f, and t, are to be lightly pronounced, as the s that is introduced in the

place of a dropped consonant is. The real syllables in these cases are therefore अं, उं, इं, and अं; and this is confirmed by the fact that the remnants of these Apabhramsa terminations existing in some of the modern vernaculars are destitute of this ह and are mere vowel-terminations, as will be seen in a subsequent lecture. Thus, then, ह may be considered as the aspirated form of the ए of the Prakrit feminine ablative, and ह of the उ of the masculine ablative. The operation of the law of false analogies is very wide. The abl. pl. ह, as in गिरिसिड्गई, may with Lassen be traced to इन्तो, the म being changed to ह and the syllable तो dropped, as ति is in the case of the 3rd pers. pl. of the present, as we shall see.

The genitive singular E, and THE as in HOUTHE and TITE in verse 4 above, I trace to the स्त of the Prakrits, the उ being added by analogy as observed before. Lassen traces is to स्व, which, he says, must have been added to these nouns to form the genitive; and the व being softened to उ, it is reduced to सु. But this does not account for the double ## of the other form : and the addition of such a word as to make up a case-form is altogether unexampled. The suffix st, as in agest in the same verse, is but another form of सु. The genitive plural है, as in माणुसहं for मत्रव्याणास. may with Lassen be derived from the साम of the Sanskrit pronominal declension. But the transference of this termination to nouns is nowhere seen in the Prakrits: \$\ is optionally appended to nouns in s or s also; and the characteristic of of the gen. is wanting in this dialect. The more probable explanation, therefore, is that the or lost its cerebral element and was reduced merely to a nasal M, or M with an anusvara, as is the case in the instrumental singular, and the g is added, as observed before, simply to facilitate the pronunciation.

The loc. sing. ends in ए, as in तले, which we see is the old termination, or in इ, as in तले, which is a shortened form of ए. Kramadisvara gives also हिं which might be traced to the Pali दि, the Sanskrit स्मिन, or the स्मि of the Prakrit pronominal declension. The language of Jaina works has this स्मि in the case of nouns also. But even here the Prakrit स्मि, may, with reason, be supposed to have changed to ई, and the इ to be, as before, a mere

^{1.} Kramadiśvara in Lassen's extract gives Tinstead of T; but this is an evident misreading.

spiritus lenis. We have this locative ई in the Marathi. The हैं is extended to the plural also of these nouns. The vocative is formed by using हो which is evidently an interjection; as तरुण हो "O young men."

Nouns in ₹ or ₹

There is no distinction between the nom. and acc. sing. and pl., the original base being used without any modification or addition.

The instrumental singular is formed by adding ए or ज, as in the last class of nouns, or simple anusvāra; as अगिए, अगिण, अगिण, अगिण, अगिण, अगिण becomes ए by dropping the final vowel, so does the इणा of the Prakrit instrumental here become है.

The abl. sing. ends in है as in गिरिहे and तरहे; and the gen. sing. also according to Kramadisvara, Hemacandra being silent. These have been transferred from the feminine. Kramadisvara also gives हो and है as the terminations of the sing. of these two cases; but there must be some misreading here in Lassen's extract from the author, since है is a distinctive plural termination. The gen. pl. termination is ह or है as in तरह, सउणिह (शकुनीनाम्). The latter has been traced to the old gen. ज, and the former appears to be only another form of it, with the addition of the usual उ.

The loc. sing. has हि, as in कलिहि; and the pl. has हि and हु, as in तरुहि, and उद्दुं. The first must be considered to be the same as हि derived from स्थि or स्थि with the anusvāra dropped; or as the ह of Prakrit feminine nouns with the spiritus lenis ह. This explanation seems to be probable, since we have seen other feminine terminations also used for the cases of these nouns. The third is to be traced to the Prakrit द. Kramadisvara in Lassen's extract gives ह for the ह of the abl. pl., and ह for that of the gen. pl.; but I have to make the same remark here as before. The instr. and abl. plurals are the same as those of nouns in अ; as तरुहि and तरुह. Thus the plural of three cases ends in ह, derived separately of course, and the plurals of two in हि.

Feminine nouns

The plurals of the nom. and acc. of feminine nouns preserve the old ओ, or its shortened form उ, as in অসুত্তিত সক্সবিসাত in the second verse, and सन्दरसन्बङ्गाओ विलासिणीओ. The sing is the original base, as जज्जरिआ, विलासिणी &c.

The instr. sing. termination is v, the old one, as in सारिम-ण्डलचन्दिमए, कन्तिए &c.; the abl. is हे as in वालाहे for वालाया:, which is an aspirated T; and the genitive & as in Hate for सुरवायाः (इ being a nominal suffix) may be similarly explained or traced to the # of the gen. sing. fem. of the pronouns, किम, यह, and तह, in the Prakrit. I prefer the former explanation. This & has been transferred to masculine nouns in For Tas we have seen. The abl. and gen. pl. ends in T, as in वयसिअह for वयस्याभ्यः or वयस्यानाम्. The anusvara of the ह of the other classes of nouns is here omitted: and if correctly so, the g of the abl. may be considered an aspirated form of the 3 which is the ablative termination in the Prakrit; and that of the genitive may be traced to the H of the singular of masculine nouns. The instr. pl. and the loc. sing. and pl. take the same terminations as masculine nouns in इ or उ: as महिहि. महिहि. and महिहिं-हूं. Lassen gives other terminations; but he appears to me not to have interpreted Kramadisvara correctly. Those I have given are all that I have been able to find.

You will thus see how by the various influences at work, the natural transformation of a to E, the elision of some of the elements, and the aspirated pronunciation of the vowels, most of the old terminations have been reduced to syllables composed of \$ and a vowel with or without an anusvara. Terminations with such weak sounds are not adapted to serve the purposes of ordinary intercourse, since they require on the part of the speakers such care in pronunciation to render themselves intelligible to each other as we have not seen displayed in the course of our lingual history. The nominative and accusative throughout, and in certain classes of nouns, the other cases also have come to have the same forms. So that the purpose of expressing the different relations can be no longer performed by these poor remnants of the old declensional system; and a process of reconstruction must take place. It has already begun in the Apabhramsa; but we shall find it carried on much further in the vernaculars, which may now be said to have completed their new declensional system.

47 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

Pronouns

The abl. sing. of pronouns ends in हां, as जहां, &cc., which is to be traced to the Sanskrit स्मात् and the Prakrit म्हा, and the loc. sing. in हिं which has been explained. The gen. sing. of यह, तह, and किस are optionally जास, तास, and कास, made up by adding the usual उ to जास, तास, and कास, which again are other forms of जस्स, तस्स, and कस्स, with one of the consonants dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened as a compensation, a phenomenon to be noticed in going over the vernaculars. In the feminine, these pronouns have जहे, तहे, and कहे optionally for the gen. sing., which are derived from the Prakrit जिसे, तिसे and किसे and the Pali जिस्साय, तिस्साय, and किस्साय. The base, however, in the Apabhramsa ends in अ and not है, or, the more probable explanation is, that this है is the aspirated form of the ए of feminine nours.

इदम has आय for its base; the instr. and gen. singulars, for instance, are आयेण and आयहो. This seems to be taken from the nom. sing. अअ, or अय by the rule of the substitution of य for अं. The neuter nom. and acc. sing. is इसं.

एहें is nom. and acc. sing. masc. of एतद, corresponding to एसी, एह fem. to एसा, and by the application of उ to these we have the neuter एह. एइ is the nom. and acc. pl. answering to एए Prakrit, with the latter ए shortened; and ओइ of अदस which corresponds to the form असके, the अस being changed to अर्डु by a rule before mentioned, and afterwards to ओ; and के to ए, shortened to इ. In other respects all these pronouns are declined like the corresponding nouns.

The pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons are thus declined:—
1st pers. 2nd pers.

LDV POID.		with form	
$oldsymbol{sing}.$	pl.	$oldsymbol{sing}.$	pl.
Nom. ਵਤੰ	अम्हे, अम्ह\$	तुहं	तुम्हे-तुम्हइं
Acc. मई		तई	
Instr. —	अम्हेहिं	पइं, तई	तुम्हेहिं
Abl. मह-मज्झ	अम्हहं	तड, तुज्झ, तुध	तुम्हइं
Gen. — —	_		-
Loc. मई	अम्हासु	पइं, तइं	द्वम्हास्

Here we have not the wilderness of forms which we observed in the principal Prakrit. The nom. sing. of the 1st per, is

corresponding to अहकस, the initial अ and the क being elided and the usual Apabhramsa उ added. In the Prakrit अहकम is represented by अहअं or अहपं. मई is to be traced to the Sanskrit instr. अपा and the loc. अपि, both of which are reduced to the form of मह in the Prakrit. Here it is extended to the acc. also. The pl. base is अम्ह, which has been explained. The nom. pl. अम्हइं corresponds to such a form as असमें nom. pl., not loc. as Lassen says, through अम्हए; and the gen. pl. has the Apabhramsa termination है. The rest are old. तह is a base derived, as I said in going over the Prakrits, from तम्ह and is used in the Prakrit also. पह and तई of the acc. instr. and loc. are from त्या and त्वि. The second is found in the older dialects, the first is peculiar to this. Of the corruption of त्व to प I have already spoken.

The abl. and gen. तउ corresponds to a form त्वक which with the Apabhramsic उ is तउ, the क being dropped. Or it may be traced to तब with the a dissolved into उ. तुष्ट्य is a form found in the Prakrits also and explained by me as a corruption of the dat. तुष्ट्य in the Pali and Prakrits, derived from the Skr. तुष्ट्यस. The dative forms, you will remember, are put under the gen. in the older dialects. The u of तुष्प is a peculiar Apabhramsic conjunct, formed from उद्ध. The neuter of तद् is similarly इ and t. The base of the plural is तुष्ट, the same as in the Prakrit; and the nom. pl. तुष्ट्य is to be traced to तुष्पके for युष्पके nom. pl. All the forms are similar to those of the first personal pronoun.

THE VERB IN THE APABHRAMSA

The Present tense of the Apabhramsa verb admits, besides those of the corresponding Prakrit or Sauraseni tense, the following forms:—1st pers. sing. लहर्ड, pl, लहर्डु; 2nd pers. sing. लहर्ड, pl. लहर्डु; 3rd pers. sing. लहर्ड, pl. लहर्डु; 3rd pers. sing.

It appears that some of these forms have arisen from a confusion of the Present Indicative with the Imperative. The prevailing and distinguishing final of the latter is the vowel \exists ; and here we see it is appended to the forms of the 1st pers. sing. and 2nd pers. pl., though it does not occur in those forms in any of the older dialects.

The g is another characteristic of these paradigms. That of the second pers. sing. we get from the old a, and that of the pl,

exists in the Prakrit, being derived from the Skr. v. But the third pers. pl. and the 1st pers. pl. get it simply by an extension of the analogy: or it may have been introduced to prevent a hiatus and thus may, like those of the cases, have been simply a spiritus lenis. The g of the latter, however, may be traced to vit, wit being shortened to vit, just as vit and vit of the declensions become vit and vit. Instead of the 3rd pers. pl. vit we have vit in which, though the vit due to analogy, the characteristic vital the nasal are preserved.

You will thus see that in the declensions as well as conjugations the T prevails in this dialect. The Imperative second pers. sing. ends in T, T or T. The first two may be traced to the Prakrit and Sankrit T, T being dropped as in the Vernaculars; and the last seems to be substituted for the H of one of the forms in the original dialects by analogy; or it may be the remnant of T, changed first to T, and then to T. But a better and, I may say, the true explanation of these forms will be given in going over the Vernaculars.

Hemacandra does not give any more forms for the Imperative, but Kramadisvara gives 37 for the second person plural which must very likely be 37, the same as in the Present, and 37 for the first pers. pl. which we have in the Present also. In one of the verses quoted by Hemacandra occurs [1935] which seems to correspond to [1937], if the reading is correct. The truth seems to be that the forms of the Imperative were lost, and the sense confounded with that of the Present, but the distinctive forms were those of the second pers. sing.; and in this respect there is an analogy with Hindi and Gujarati which resemble the Apabhramsa the most.

The Future has the Prakrit and Saurasen forms in ह and इस्स; but one स of this latter is dropped, and then the terminations of the Apabhramsa Present are added.

The terminations of the absolutive are इ. इउ. आवे, हावे, एवि, एविए, एविए, एविए, एविए, एविए, इ is the same as the Saurasenl इअ from the Skr. य. इउ is the same, with the usual उ added to it, or is to be traced to the तुझ or इत्म which is, as we have seen, confounded in the Prakrit with the absolutive, and the rest are various forms of the

Vedic त्वीन with the Prakrit augment इ or ए. This त्वीन is, by a rule before mentioned, changed to जिए, which with उ becomes जिए and by dropping the final न we have जि. This, however, may be derived also from such a form as त्वी found in the Vedas. This जिए or जिए is then softened to बि or बिए, as ए is so softened in many cases. When the augment इ or ए is not prefixed, we have बि in the form of अबि, the अ being the final vowel of the root.

Some of the terminations of the absolutive are also used to form the infinitive, on account of the prevailing confusion between the two. In consequence of this very confusion, recourse is had to other ways of forming the latter which are similar to those existing in the Prakrits; but these will be noticed hereafter.

The termination तन्य of the potential participle assumes the forms of इएक्बरं, एक्बरं, and एव. The first two represent the form with the addition of क; and the इ of इएक्बरं is the usual augment. The अ of the त of तन्य which remains after the consonantal portion is dropped, is by the influence of the preceding s changed to v.

In these points which are not noticed here, the Apabhramsa follows chiefly the Sauraseni, and the principal Prakrit also to some extent. Thus in a great measure it represents those dialects in a further stage of decay; but it must be considered to have derived some words or forms independently also. Thus the पह of the second person pronoun cannot be derived from the Prakrit तइ, nor चिपा of the absolutive from त्या or उत्ता, or पण of abstract nouns from त्या, but directly from the Sanskrit त्या, त्यीन, and त्या. This corruption of त्या must have existed in some of the older dialects too, since, as observed before, we have it in Asoka's inscriptions; and the Apabhramsa derived it as well as a few such peculiarities from them.

LECTURE IV

P ONOLOGY OF THE VERNACULARS OF NORTHERN INDIA

We have now traced the gradual decay of Sanskrit from the form in which it is presented to us in the oldest literary records to that which it assumed in the Apabhramsa dialect. We have seen how words lost some of their vocal elements on account of the natural tendency of men to economize effort, as well as in consequence of the fact that the vocal organs of the people, who through historical accidents had to speak that language though it was not theirs, were untrained to utter the sounds of that language, and that they imported into it some sounds to which they themselves were previously accustomed. We have also observed the effects of the operation of the law of analogy in simplifying the grammar of the language--an operation, the range of which, in consequence of the ignorance of those same foreigners, was very extensive. The declensions and conjugations gradually lost their variety, and became reduced to one or two types by the generalization of the rules, originally applicable only to the nouns and verbs frequently used in ordinary intercourse. At the same time the terminations themselves of some of the cases, tenses, and moods came through numberless analogies to have the same or similar forms, and their vocal body gradually became attenuated and in some instances they were altogether dropped. Thus these processes of simplification were carried on much further than was consistent with intelligibility in ordinary intercourse. Hence the necessity arose of inventing new modes of expression for those relations which came to be imperfectly expressed or ceased to be expressed in the old way. As observed in the last lecture, such new expressions are to be met with in the Apabhramsa dialect.

If the Prakrits and the Apabhramsa which we have examined really represent the speech of the Indian people at certain periods of their past history, we should expect to find a relation of continuity between them and the prevailing speech of modern times. The words and grammatical forms in the modern vernaculars

should either be the same as those existing in those dialects, or should be easily deducible from them by laws which we have observed to be in operation; and if in the Apabhramsa the grammatical forms came to be in a condition in which reconstruction was necessary, and if accordingly it was begun, we should find it carried on much further in the vernaculars and that on principles used in the Apabhramsa and the other dialects and out of materials existing in them. We will therefore proceed now to the examination of the vernaculars with a view to trace this continuity.

The varieties of speech prevailing in Northern India at the present day are almost innumerable. If even a few peculiarities were to be regarded as giving individuality to a language, the number of dialects spoken in this part of the country would exceed even the proverbial fifty-six. But they may be divided into classes on the principle of resemblance; and generally the dialects spoken in the adjoining provinces are so alike each other that they may be regarded as constituting one class or even one language. Thus we have nine principal languages; and starting from ourselves, and going northwards, first on the western side of the country and then turning to the east and south-east, I may state them as the Marathi, the Gujarati, the Sindhi, including the Kacchi, the Panjabi, the Kashmiri, the Hindi, the Nepali, the Bengali, and the Oriya.

Of these the Kashmiri and the Nepali have not yet been studied, and no grammars or books are available. Hence my observations will not extend to them. Each of these has its dialects; but those of some, such as the Gujarati and the Sindhi, differ from the main language in unimportant particulars. The same is the case with the Marathi, except in some corners of the Maratha country. But in these there are five dialects differing in a great many important particulars from the main Marathi. Thus, the Goanese prevails in Goa; the Malvani, my own native tongue, and the Savantvadi, both of which, notwithstanding some minor differences, may be considered as one, are spoken in the Malvan, Vengorla, and Savantvadi districts. The Chitpavni is used only by the caste of Chitpavan Brahmans in the district about Ratnagiri; the Salsetti is spoken by the original inhabitants of

that island and of Bombay; and the Khandeshi, which is a mixture of Marathi and Gujarati and contains to an appreciable degree a barbarous element, probably from a Bhil source, prevails in Khandesh.

The Hindi has a great many dialects. Two at least may be distinguished among the variety of speech prevalent Rajputana, the Mewari spoken in Mewar and the adjoining districts, and the Marwari which prevails in Marwar, Jesselmere, and the other provinces. These, as may be inferred from their geographical position, are midway between the Gujarati and the Hindi dialects of the North, displaying some of the peculiar characteristics of both. Further north, we have the Brai prevailing in the country about Mathura; and to the east, the Kanoji. There is not much difference between these. of the history of eighty-four Vaisnavas The language the Vallabhācāryan and books of other sects. ordinarily supposed to be the is Brai. has matical forms identical with those mentioned by a recent grammarian as peculiar to the Kanoji. There is a good deal of confusion as regards this matter, the characteristics of one being found in the printed books together with those belonging to another. Then further north, we have the Garhawali and the Kumaoni spoken in the provinces of Garhawal and Kumaon.

To the east, we have the Avadhi or the dialect of the province of Avadha or Ayodhya, and to the south of this again is the Rewai spoken in the State of Rewa. Further to the east is the Bhojpuri and kindred dialects prevailing in Bihar and the adjacent districts on the confines of Bengal.

The old literature of the Hindi is principally written in two dialects, the Braj, and what is called the Purbi. Sūradāsa's works, Beharilal's Satasai, and others are written in the former; and to these I may add the Vallabhha works I have already mentioned. The Rāmāyana and Tulasidāsa's other works are written in the latter. The chief distinction between the idioms of Sūradāsa and Tulasidāsa appears to me te be, that the latter uses a great many grammatical forms which are old, and from which those used by the former are derived. In this respect Purbi might be considered to be a very old form of the Braj. But there are a few other

distinctions, though it is questionable whether they are enough to justify the Purbi being considered an independent dialect. language of Kabira's Ramaini and Sākhis presents a few peculiarities found in neither of the above. But the characteristics of Sūradāsa and Tulasīdāsa are also to be found in it; so that if we leave out of consideration the other works of Kabira, in which there is probably another variety of speech, the dialect used by these Hindi poets may be considered to be the same. This has come to be regarded as the poetic dialect, and most of the other Hindi poets have written in it. Its modern representative is the Braj, in which the commentaries on Tulasīdāsa's, Kabīra's and Behārilāl's works, and on the tenth book of the Bhāgavata that I have seen, are written. This then is the Hindi literary dialect. The language, however, which is used as the medium of instruction in the Government schools in the North-Western Provinces. and in which the books published by the Educational Department are written, is now regarded as the Standard Hindi, and its grammatical structure is identical with that of the Urdu spoken by the Mussalmans. This is rather the dialect in which the Hindus of the different provinces in Northern India communicate with each other, than that which they speak in their own provinces.

The Panjabi has also several dialects; but little is known about them. Origi resembles the Bengali in so many respects that one of them may be considered a dialect of the other. The similarity between the Hindi and the Panjabi is also very great.

I will now give short specimens of these dialects.

I Marathi:

कित्येक लोक म्रत्सही याणीं पदर पसरोन प्रार्थना आईसाहेबांची केली ने मुम्ही अग्निप्रबेश केलिया नंतर संपादिलेलें राज्य लयास आजच जातें प्राण महाराज कोहीं देवीत नाहींत हा प्रकार पहनी शाहाजी महाराजांचें व शिवाजी महाराजांचें नांब जगीं नाहींसें होतें सर्वोवर साहेबीं दृष्टि देवन राजयांस वोसंगास वेऊन साहेबीं अग्नि न घेतां मानस कटिण करून राहावें। हैं काम करून गेलिया वंशक्षय महाराजांचा बढिलींच केला पेसें जगीं प्रसिद्धता दिसतें तेव्हां आई साहेबांस राहविलें।

(From an old Bakhara or Chronicle of Shivaji.)

Some counsellors supplicated the lady-mother in an humble attitude saying: 'If you will burn yourself by fire, the kingdom which has been acquired goes to ruin this very day; and it will 48 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

happen that the king will not bear life; the name of Shahaji Maharaj and Shivaji Maharaj will not remain in the world. Therefore, your ladyship, looking to all these things, should make the king sit in your lap (protect), and, not resorting to fire, render your mind firm, and live. If you do this (burn yourself), it will plainly appear to all the world that you destroyed the race of the Mahārāj.' Thus they prevailed on her to live.

II Guiarati:

दमयंती तो महा आश्चर्य लाग्युं अने भ्रान्ति पढी के आ ते स्वग्न के साचुं। एवा अनेक विचार करती चालेछे एवामां एक अशोक दक्ष दीठो त्यां दीन दमयंती आंवीने कहेछे के ओ प्रियदर्शन अशोक तारा नामनो महिमा राखी मारा शोकनो नाश करी सत्यनामी था। पण कोण उत्तर आपे।

(From Mr. Mansukharāma's Nala-Damayanti.)

Damayanti felt greatly astonished and was in doubt whether it was a reality or a dream. While moving on, engaged in various such thoughts, she saw an Aśoka tree. Going there she said: "O lovely Aśoka, having regard to the greatness of thy name, destroy my Śoka (sorrow) and deserve that name." But who would answer?

III Sindhi:

गिरमार कोटमे राइ हिआचु नाले हिकिडो पातिशाह हो। तर्हिजे भेण फक्षीरखाँ दुर्यो सांई मुखे पुटु हे। फिकीर हुनखे चिओ पुटु तोखे थांदो पर राइ डिआचजो सिरु वर्डोदो। हुन चिओ उहा पुटु ई बानि पिओ जो मुले भाउजो सिरु वहे। पर फकीरजो चवणु थिओ सो टरे की न! थोरे घण हिहाडे माइअ पुटु जण्यो।

(From the story of Rai Diaca in Major Stack's Grammar.)

There was a Pāṭisāha (king) of the name of Rāi Diāca. His sister begged of a Fakir: "Sire, give me a son." The Fakir said to her: "A son will be (born) to thee, but he will cut off the head of Rāi Diāca." She said, "Accursed be (lit. fall into a wilderness) the son who should cut off my brother's head." But the Fakir's word cannot prove vain. In a few days the woman gave birth to a son.

IV Panjabi:

तां फेर बाबे नानकजी कहिआ है पंडतजी तूं मुण ब्राहमणसतरीवा धरम जनेऊते रहिंदा है या मले करमांते रहिंदा है। सुण पंडत जे जनेऊ पावे अर हुरे करम करे तां उह ब्राहमणसतरी राहिंदा है या चंडाल हुंदा है। जां इह गक्क झीखरु बांबजी कही तां जितने लाक बैठे से सम हैरान हो गए। तां कहिण लग्गे ऐ झीपरमेसुरजी अजां इह बालक है अते कैसीआं बातां करदी है।

(From the Janamasākhi.)

Then again Bābe Nānakjī said: "O Paṇḍit, i car. Is the religious holiness of Brahmans and Kṣatriyas preserved by the sacred thread or by good deeds? Hear, O Paṇḍit, if one who is invested with the sacred thread does wicked deeds, does he remain a Brahman or Kṣatriya or become a Caṇḍāla?" When Śrī Guru Bābejī spoke thus, all the people that were sitting there were astonished. Then they began to exclaim: "O God, he is still but a child, and how wonderfully he speaks!"

V Hindi:

इतना कह उसने बहुतेरे उपाय हाथ निकालनेको किये पर एक भी काम न आया । निवान सांस रुककर पेट फट गया। ता पछाड खाय के गिरा तब उसके शरीरसें लोह नवीकी भांति वह निकला। तिस समें ग्वालबाल आय आय देखने लगे और ध्रीकृष्णचंद आगे जाय बनमें एक कदम की छांहतले खड हुए।

(Premasāgara, chap. 38.)

Having said so much, he made many attempts to throw out his (Kṛṣṇa's) hand, but none was of any use. At last, he was suffocated and his belly burst out. Then he fell down, and blood flowed from his body in torrents. At that time the cowherd boys came one after another and began to see; and Śrī Kṛṣṇa went forward and stood in the shade of a Kadamba tree in the forest.

VI Braj:

जब सब व्रजवासीनने सुनी जो श्रीदेवदमनको गाय बहोत प्रिग है तब सवनने मिलिके यह विचार कियो जो जाके गाय होय सो सब एक एक तथा दोय दोय भेट करो। और श्रीगिरिराजके आसपास जो चौबीस गाम हैं तिनके पाससीं सब व्रजवासी मिलिके एक एक दोइ दोइ गाय भेट करवाई। और यह ठहरी जो बीस गाममें जाके प्रथम गाय ब्यावे सो विद्या तो देवदमनको भेट करें। ऐसें सहस्राविध गाय श्रीजीके भेट भई। तब दूध दही मासन और मठा सब धरकी गायनका आरोगें।

(From the Story of the Manifestation of Govardhanarāthji.)

When all the inhabitants of Vraja heard that Devadamana was greatly fond of cows, they all joined and resolved that all who had cows should each present one or two. And the inhabitants of Vraja joined and caused each of the twenty-four villages

chout the mountain (Govardhana) to present one or two cows each. And it was resolved that in the twenty villages he whose cow should first calve should present the calf to Devadamana. In this way thousands of cows were presented to the Prosperous One. Then he used the milk, curds, butter and whey of the cows in his home.

VII Bengali:

तबे शुन्बे? आर बत्सर जखन आमि पाला ज्वर भुगते छिलु-दिवारात्रि बिछानाय पढे थाकितुम-उठिया दांडाइबार शक्ति छिल ना, से समय स्वामी आसिया उपस्थित हलेन। स्वामी केमन ज्ञान हओया अवधि देखि नाइ, मेथे मानुषेर स्वामी न्याय धन नाइ। मने करिलाम दुइ दण्ड काछे बसे कथा किहले रोगेर यन्त्रणा कम हबे। दिदि बलले प्रत्यय जावे ना-तिनि आमार काछे दांडाइयाइ अमिन बलनेन पोल घत्सर हइल तोमाके बिबाह करे गियाछि-तुमि आमार एक स्त्री--टाकार दरकारे तोमार निकटे आसितेछि-शीघ जाब-तोमार चापके बललाम तिनि तो फांकि दिलेन—तोमार इतिर गहना खुलिया दाओ।

(From Peary Chand's Alaler gharer dulala—a Kulina Marriage.)

Will you hear then? That year at the time when I was suffering from intermittent fever, remained lying in bed day and night, and had no strength to rise and stand, my lord (husband) came. I had not seen what sort of a man my husband was since I ceased to be an infant. Nothing is more valuable to a woman than her husband. I had thought that my suffering would become alleviated, if he sat by my side for a few minutes (lit. two dandas) and spoke with me. Dear sister, you will not believe me when I say that, as soon as he stood by my side, he said, "It is sixteen years since I married you and went away. You are one of my wives. I come to you, being in need of money, and will go back soon. I spoke to your father; but he put me off. Do pull out the ornament in your arm (round the wrist), and give it to me."

VIII Oriyi:

गोटि ए मशा एक वण्ड शृङ्ग उपरे वासि अहङ्कारके आपणाकु भारी बुझि वण्डकु किहिला आहे वण्ड आस्भ बासवारु जेबे तुस्भकु भारी लागे तेबे कह आस्भे अन्य स्थान कु उिं जाउं। ए कथा शुणि वृष किहला आरे मशा तु जे आस्भ उपरे बास . अच्छु ए कथार टेर श्रद्धा पाइ नाहुं

(Fables published by the Calcutta School Book Society.)

A certain gnat sitting on a horn of an ox, and with pride thinking itself heavy, said, "O ox, if in consequence of my sitting you feel heavily weighted, tell me, and I will fly away to another spot." Hearing these words the ox said, "O gnat, I had not even the slightest idea that you were sitting on me."

In these extracts there are a great many words which on examination will be found to be derived from Sanskrit through the Prakrits; in other words, the vernacular forms will be found to be the same as, or further developments of, the Prakrit forms.

Thus we have the following :--

(No. I)

किति, Pr. केतिअ or कितिअ, Skr. कियत् with the termination इक changed to इअ.

या of याणीं, Pr. अअ or अय in अअं nom. sing., Skr. अयम्.

पसर, Pr. पसर, Skr. पसर in प्रसरति.

के of केली, from Pr. कअ or कय, Skr. इत, ल being a termination often used in the Prakrits.

जे, Pr. जअ or जय, Skr. यकत्, क being a suffix used in the Prakrits generally, and sometimes in Sanskrit also.

तुम्ही, Apabhr. तुम्हई, Pr. तुम्हे or तुम्हए. Skr. such a form as तुम्मके, by analogy, for प्यम.

भाज, Pr. अज, Skr. अच.

जा of जातें, Pr. जा, Skr. या.

कांहीं, Pr. केहिं, Skr. केभि:.

डेव of डेवीत, Pr. डाब, Skr. स्थाप in स्थापयति.

हा, Apabhr. एहो, Pr. एसओ, Skr. एषक:.

घड of घडतो, Pr. घड, Skr. घट in घटते.

नांब, Pr. नाम, Skr. नाम.

जग, Pr. जग, Skr. जगत्.

हो of होते, Pr. हो, Skr. भव in भवति.

बर, Pr. उबरि, Skr. उपरि.

दे of देवून, Pr. दि as in दिण्ण, Skr. दस.

वोसंग or ओसंग, Pr. उच्छक्क, Skr. उत्सङ्ग. The क् of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi &c., is in Marathi changed to न्.

ये of बेजन and बेतां, Pr. ये as in बेलूज, Skr. यह as in यहीत्वा.

न, Pr. and Skr. same.

कर of कस्तन, Pr. कर as in करह, Skr. करोति.

्रकाम, Pr. कम्म, Skr. कर्म.

गे of गेलिया, Pr. गअ or गय, 8kr. गत.

बहिल, Pr. बहु, Sk. रुद्ध, इल being a Prakrit suffix.

ऐसें, Apabhr. अइस, Pr. ईदिस, Skr. ईट्ट्स.

दिस of दिसतें, Pr. दिस in दीसइ, Skr. दृश्यते.

(No. II)

तो, Apabhr. तउ, Pr. ताव, Skr. तावत.

लाग, Pr. लग्ग, Skr. लग्न.

अने, Pr. अने ?, Skr. अन्य.

पड, Pr. पड, Skr. पत् in पताति.

ते, from such Pr. and Skr. forms as ते, तं, तेण or तेन &c.

के, Pr. कय or कअ, Skr. कक for the crude किमकद.

साचुं, Apabhr. सबउं, Pr. सबअं, Skr. सत्यकम्.

एवो sing. of एवा, Apabhr. एडु or एडउ and अइसो, Pr. इदिसो, Skr. ईड्डा. कर as in No. I.

ਚਾਲ, Pr. ਚਲ, Skr. ਚਲ.

दीठो, Apabhr. दिइउ, Pr. दिइओ, Skr. इष्टक:

त्यां, Pr. तहिं, Skr. तस्मिन्.

आव, from Pr. आअओ, or Skr. आगत:.

कह, Pr. कह, Skr. कथ as in कथयति.

🕆 छे, Pr. आच्छइ, Skr. आस्ते.

तार of तारा, Apabhr. तुहार for तुहआर, तुह being the Skr. तुम्यस् and आर, कार.

नाम, Pr. नाम, Skr. नाम.

राख, Pr. रक्ख, Skr. रक्ष.

मार of मारा, Apabhr. महार for महआर, मह being the Pr. of Skr. महाम and आर for कार.

था, Pr. था, Skr. स्था.

पण, Pr. प्रणो, Skr. प्रन:.

कोण, Pr. कउण, Skr. कः पुन:

आप, Pr. अप्प, Skr. अर्प.

(No. III)

ना of नाले, Pr. and Skr. नाम, रू being suffix.

हो, Apabhr. हुअउ, Pr. इअओ, Skr. सुतः (सुतकः).

ताहें of ताहेंजे, Pr. तेसि, Skr. तेवाय.

मेख, Pr. भइणी, Skr. भगिनी.

साई, Pr. सामी, Skr. खामी.

म of मूले, Apabhr. महु, Pr. मह, Skr. महाम.

पुडु, Pr. पुत्तो, Skr. पुत्रः

तो of तोखे, Apabhr. तड, Pr. तुह, Skr. तुभ्यम्.

हे, Pr. दा, Skr. दा.

राइ, Pr. राअ-राय-राआ, Skr. राजा.

सिर of सिरु, Pr. सिरं, Skr. शिरम्.

वड, Pr. वड्ड, Skr. वर्ध.

भाउ, Pr. भाउओ, Skr. भातृकः.

चवण, from Pr. चव for Skr. वच.

थिअ, Pr. थिअ, Skr. स्थित.

सो. Pr. सी. Skr. सः.

की, Pr. कहिं, Skr. कस्मिन्.

माइ, Pr. माइआ, Skr. मातृका.

थोरे, थो from Pr. थोअ, Skr. स्तोक, and र or इ, a suffix.

डिहाड, Apabhr. दिअहड, ड being a termination often used, Pr. दिअह, Skr. दिवस.

जण, Pr. जण, Skr. जन of जनयति.

(No. IV)

तां, Pr. ताहें, Skr. तास्मिन्.

कह, as in No. II.

तुं, Pr. तुं, Skr. त्वम.

सुज, Pr. सुज as in सुजह, Skr. जूज as in जुजोति.

जनेउ Pr. जण्णोबीअ, Skr. यज्ञोपवीत.

है, from अस, Pr. and Skr.

भला, Apabhr. भलुउ, Pr. भलुओ, Skr. भद्रकः, i. e. भद्र with suffix क.

जै, Pr. जे or जए, Skr. ये or यके.

पाव in पाव, Pr. पाव, Skr. पाप as in प्राप्नोति.

अर, Pr. अवर, Skr. अपर.

कर, as in Nos. I and II.

ह of हुंदा, as in No. I.

जां, Pr. जाहें, Skr. यासीन.

इह, Apabhr. एह, Pr. एस, Skr. एव.

जित of जितने, Pr. जित्तिअ, Skr. यावत् with suffix इक.

बैठा, Pr. उवइहुओं, Skr. उपविष्टकः, i. e. उपविष्ट with suffix क.

से, plural from Pr. सो, Skr. स:

सभ, Pr. सब्ब, Skr. सर्व.

गआ, Pr. गअओ, Skr. गतकः i. e. गत with क. स्नुग, Pr. स्नुग, Skr. स्नुग़. अज of अजां, Pr. अज, Skr. अच. कैस of कैसा, Apabhr. कहस, Pr. कीव्स, Skr. कीट्स. बात, Pr. बस, Skr. इस.

(No. V)

इत of इतना, Pr. इत्तिअ, Skr. इयत with इक. es, as in Nos. II and IV. हाथ, Pr. इत्थ, Skr. इस्त. किय of किये, Pr. किअ, Skr. इत. भी. Pr. बि. Skr. अपि. काम. as in No. I. न, Pr. Skr. same. आय of आया, Pr. आअअ, Skr. आगत. वय of गया. Pr. गअ. Skr. गत. तो as in No. II. खा of खाय, Pr. खाअ, Skr. खाद. लोह, Pr. लोडिअ, Skr. लोडित. W. Pr. Skr. same. तिस, Pr. तस्स, Skr. तस्य. ग्वाल, Pr. गीआल or गीवाल, Skr. गोपाल. बाल. Pr. Skr. same. वेख, Pr. देवख, Skr. इक्ष or दक्ष. लग of लगे, as लाग in No. II and लग्ग in No. IV. औ, Pr. उअ, Skr. उत. आग of भागे, Pr. अग्ग, Skr. अग्र. on as in No. I. डांड, Pr. डाआ, Skr. डाया. हुआ of हुए, as हो in No. 3.

(No. VI)

सव, Pr. सम्ब, Skr. सर्व. सुन of सुनी, Pr. सुण, Skr. शृष्पु. गाय or गाइ, Pr. गावी, Skr. गाव as in गावब &c. मिल of मिलिके, Pr. Skr. same. किय as in No. V. जो, Pr. जओ, Skr. यक: i. e. य with the suffix क of अक. हो of होय or होई, as in No. L.

सो. Pr. सो or सओ. Skr. सः or सकः i. e. स with क or अक. दोय or दोइ, Pr. दुवे or दो, Skr. दे or दौ. कर as in Nos. I, II and IV. और, Pr. अवर, Skr, अपर. चोबीस, Pr. चउबीसा, Skr. चतुर्विशाति. गाम. Pr. गाम. Skr. ग्राम. 🕏 as in No. IV. तिन of तिनके. Pr. ताण, Skr. तानाम, by analogy, for तेषाम, पास, Pr. पस्स, Skr. पार्श्व. यह, Apabhr. एह. Pr. एस. Skr. एष. ठहर of ठहरी, Pr. हिर, Skr. स्थिर, बीस, Pr. बीसा, Skr. विंशति. ब्या of ब्यावे. Pr. and Skr. बी. बछ of बछिया. Pr. वच्छ, Skr. वत्स. तो as in Nos. II and IV. ऐसें as in No. I. सूअ of भई, Pr. सूअ, Skr. सूत. बूध, Pr. दुख, Skr. दुग्ध. वही, Pr. वृहि, Skr. वृधि. माखन, Pr. मक्खण, Skr. मुझण. मठ of मठा, Pr. मत्थ, Skr. मध्यं, पर, Pr. पर, Skr. यह.

(No. VII)

ह्यन of हान्वे or हानिवे, as हण and हान in Nos. 4 and 6. आर, Pr. अवर, Skr. अपर.

आमि, Apabhr. अम्हइ, Pr. अम्हे, Skr. such a form as असमके or अस्मे for वयम.

पाला, Pr. पहाअ, Skr. पर्याय.
पड of पत्ते or पडिया, as in No. II.
उठ of उठिया, Pr. उहा, Skr. उत्था.
आछे in छिल, छिन्न &c., Pr. आच्छइ, Skr. आस्ते.
से, Pr. सी, Skr. स:
आस of आसिया, Pr. आगच्छ or आअच्छ, Skr. आगच्छ.
ही of इलेन or होलेन, as in Nos. I, IV and VI.
देस of देखि as in No. IV.
बाइ, Pr. नाइ, Skr. नहि.
सन, Pr. मन, Skr. मन:

9 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

काच्छ of काच्छे, Pr. कच्छा, Skr. कक्षा.

बस of बसे, Pr. उवइस, Skr. उपविश.

कह, as in Nos. I, IV, and VI.

बल or बोल, Pr. बोल, Skr. ब्.

तिनि, Pr. ताण, Skr. तानास, by analogy for तेपाच.

बोल, Pr. सोलह, Skr. बोडश.

तोमा of तोमाके, Apabhr. तुम्हदं, Pr. तुम्हाणं, Skr. तुम्माणं, by analogy, for युष्माकच्,

कर as in Nos. I. II, IV and VI.

गे or गय of गियाछि as in Nos. I and V.

जा of जाब, as in Nos. I and V.

हात, Pr. हत्थ, Skr. हस्त.

तो as in Nos. II, V, and VI.

वि as दे in No. I.

(No. VIII)

माज्ञा, Pr. मसअ, 8kr. मज्ञक.

बस of बासि, as in No. VII.

आपणा, Pr. अव्यण, Skr. आत्मन as in आत्मना &c.

बुझ of बुझि, Pr. बुज्झ, Skr. बुध्य as in बुध्यति.

₩ as Nos. II, IV, V and VI.

आस्मे, Apabhr. अस्हर, Pr. अस्हे, Skr. such a form an असमे or आसे, for अपन, as in No. VII.

तुम्भ as तुम्ही in No. I.

लाग as in No. II, and as लग्ग and लग in Nos. IV and V.

बढ of उदि, Pr. उड्ड, Skr. उड्ड as in उड्डयते.

आ as in Nos. I, V, and VII.

gu as in Nos. IV, VI, and VII.

ਰ, as ਰ in No. IV.

पाअ of पाइ, as पाच in No. IV.

as in No. I.

ए, Apabhr. एह, Pr. एह, Skr. एव, as इह in No. IV, and यह in No. VI.

You will find that in the Marathi passage there are about 58 different words of which 26 or a few less than a half are derived from the Sanskrit through the Prakrits; in the Gujarati there are 42 out of which 23 or a few more than a half are of the latter description; in the Sindhi the proportion is 38 to 21, or appropriate greater than a half; in the Panjabi 44 to 23 or a half; in the High

Hindi 48 to 23 or a little less than a half; in the Braj 45 to 29, i. e. about two-thirds; in the Bengali 71 to 27, i. e., about two-fifths; and in the Oriya 32 to 15 or a little less than a half. I have not taken into consideration other words which do come to us undoubtedly through the Prakrits, but the etymology of which is not so obvious. These would increase the proportion and bring it to more than one-half in most of the cases. In this list there are three or four words such as ATH, and AE, which may be called old Tatsama, since they exist unchanged in the Prakrits, and the rest may be called old Tadbhavas.

Now in these passages you will also have seen a large number of words such as प्रार्थना, अध्रिपवेश, आश्र्यर्ग, स्वम, बालक, शरीर, नदी, प्रिय, अध्यम, ज्वर, दिवाराजि, शृङ्क, स्थान &c., which are exactly the same as in Sanskrit. They could not have existed in those forms in the Prakrits, and hence it is clear that they were introduced long after the Prakrit period; and the tendency now-a-days in our languages is to introduce more of such words. These may be called modern Tatsamas. But some of these have undergone a corruption since they were adopted. Thus कर्म is pronounced as करम; धर्म, धरम; श्राजिय, सतरी; कार्य, कारज; and कृषा, कर्पा or कृपी; while the Prakrit corruptions of these are कम्म, धरम, खर्तिअ, कज्ज, and किया. Such words therefore are modern Tadbhavas.

At the end of my observations on the Prakrits in the last lecture, I gave a list of vocables existing in those dialects which are called Desyas by native grammarians, and showed that several of them existed in our vernaculars also. We observe from the above passages, which contain such words as unit, and united, that there are in the modern dialects words of an Arabic or Persian origin also. Thus we may distinguish these elements in the vocabulary of the vernaculars of Northern India:—1. Old Tadbhava, 2. Old Tatsama, 3. Modern Tadbhava, 4. Modern Tatsama, 5. Desya, 6. Arabic, and 7. Persian.

In its nature the old Tatsama element is but a small quantity and the main skeleton of our languages is made up of the old Tadbhava. It forms the principal constituent of the speech of the middle classes. The higher classes, however, use the Modern Tatsama and Tadbhava element to a much larger extent; and

the language spoken by learned men is heavily loaded with pure Sanskrit words. This element has succeeded in driving out a very appreciable portion of the first in some of the languages. The Bengali contains the largest number of pure Sanskrit words, and hence one who knows Sanskrit can master the language in but a few weeks. The old Tadbhava element is reduced to the smallest minimum in what is called Sādhu bhāṣā or the speech of the educated. According to the extent of the modern Tatsama or Tadbhava element, the other languages may be arranged in the following order:—Oriya, Marathi, Hindi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Sindhi.

It must, however, be remarked that the modern Tatsamas appear in a pure or correct Sanskrit form only in the written language. The Bengalis in actually pronouncing these words corrupt them in a manner which renders them unrecognizable as Sanskrit words; and often in the same way as the old Prakrit speakers did. Thus must is pronounced wan, from that, are that, his high, are. The same is the case more or less with the speakers of the other languages, so that the pure Sanskrit words that we meet with in the written modern vernaculars, may be considered modern Tadbhavas and in rare cases Prakrit Tadbhavas. The educated classes, however, in Maharashtra and Gujarat, and to a certain extent in the Hindi provinces, pronounce the Sanskrit words correctly. The Sindi, however, contains but a few pure Sanskrit words; hence it is rich in the old Tadbhava element, while it draws largely upon the Persian and Arabic.

This foreign element is used in our dialects, principally in political matters. Persian and Arabic words are also used in the concerns of ordinary life, but their number is limited. The higher classes and learned men very rarely use them; while that element enters largely into the speech of the Mahomedans in the different provinces and the Parsis. And the Mahomedans in the Hindi area use such a large number of these words that their language is by some considered an independent dialect and called Urdu, but it differs from the High Hindi in nothing further than in the use of these foreign words.

But though the vocabulary of our languages is thus composite;

the grammar is in every way the same that they have inherited from the Prakrits. Here there is no mixture of different elements. A good many of the forms now in use have been constructed since the Prakrit period; but, as I hope to show you, they are simply combinations or adaptations of existing Prakrit forms. Thus we will divide our examination of the vernaculars into three branches. (I) In the first we will trace out the Sanskrit words which were transformed in the Pali and the Prakrits in the various ways we have noticed, and discover the operation of the same or other laws in their further transformation, if they have undergone any, as also in the transformation of other words which remained unchanged in the Prakrits or were imported from Sanskrit at a later period. (II) In the second we will trace out the Prakrit or Apabhramsa grammatical forms: (III) and in the third, examine the new or reconstructed forms and find out the principles upon which they have been made up.

The phonetic changes which the words of a living language undergo involve, as a general rule, economy of exertion in its widest sense; but there are some which do not, or which require increased effort. Economy may sometimes be effected in more ways than one. For instance, the assimilation of vowels to consonants may be effected by changing on to on and thence to 3, or to 7 and 3. Some people have a predilection for the former, others for the latter. Again, one mode of change may be economical to some and another opposed to it to others. Thus the assimilation involved in the less open vowels \ and \ is of importance to some, but of little consequence to others; and they prefer the economy arising from the change of these vowels to M, since this does not require any movement of the tongue or the lips. Here then we have two kinds of peculiarities. Again, if an ordinary change has a very comprehensive range or is almost universal in a language, and if other ordinary changes do not keep pace with it, and are to be found only in a limited number of instances, that ordinary change must be considered to be due to a peculiar vocal habit or incapacity. The assimilation of conjuncts and of the diphthongs in the Pali and the Prakrits, and the elision of uninitial consonants in the latter, are changes of this nature. And finally, there is all the greater reason for attributing changes that involve no economy or necessitate greater exertion, such as the change of dentals to cerebrals or of senants to surds, to vocal peculiarities. These several kinds of peculiarities give distinct individualities, so far as the external forms of words are concerned, to languages derived from one and the same primitive language. Thus then, some phonetic changes are special or peculiar, and others ordinary.

We will now take up in order the instances observable in the Pali and the Prakrits of these two kinds of changes and trace them in the vernaculars, and also endeavour to find out whether these dialects have preserved any of the Pali and Prakrit peculiarities or developed new ones.

And first as regards vowels. The following are some of the instances with the vernacular forms of the words in which Sanskrit w is changed to w, v, or w in the Prakrits:—

[Table 1: Skr. * changed to *]

Skr. कार्त: skin, Pr. करित, M. कात in कातडे.

Skr. ve: rubbed away, slender, Pr. vei, G. and H. ve as a verbal base in घटड and घटना.

Skr. सुद्ध soft, Pr. सुद्ध, M. and G. सुद्ध.

Skr. इपभ: bull, Pr. वसहो, H. बसह.

Skr. इ.ब्ज: proper name, Pr. कण्डो, M. G. H. कान्ड or कान्डा.

Skr. त्जम straw, Pr. तजं, M. तज.

[Table 2: Skr. ₹ changed to ₹]

Skr. कपा pity, Pr. किवा, M. कींब.

Skr. हदयब heart, Pr. इअअं, H. B. O. हिय or हिया, old M. हियं. Mod. M. हिया, S. हिओ, हिआउं, G. हहया, P. हियाउं.

Skr. ब्हब् sweet, Pr. मिह, P. मिहा, H. मीठा, B. O. मिठा, G.मीइं S.मिडो.

(रप्ट: seen, Pr. दिहो, G. दींडो, S. दींडो. हिंद sight, Pr. दिद्वी, M. H. दीठ or दीठी.) इस्प of इस्पते is seen, Pr. दिस्सइ, M. दिस in दिसकें, P. दिस in दिसका, S. दिस in दिसख, O दिश in दिशिदार.

Skr. शृगास: jackal, Pr. सिआलो, G. B. शियास, H. सियार. Skr. पूजा pity, disgust, Pr. पिजा, H. पिन, P. पिज,

Skn. ware horn, Pr. fam, M. B. O. fam, G. H. affa, P. fan, S. fag.

Skr. क्रांप: husbandry, Pr. किसी, H. S. किस in किसान and किसान.

Skr. त्या thirst, Pr. तिसा, P. तिहा, S. टिह.

Skr. दश: a vulture, Pr. गिड़ो, S. गिड्, M. G. H. गीघ, M. गिघड or गियाड; also, B. निचर, द and t being the same termination, S. गिझ.

Skr. बुद्धः death, Pr. मिच्चू, H. मीच.

Skr. प्तन ghee, Pr. विअं, O. विअ, G. H. P. B. घी, S. निह्न.

Skr. इडस्पति: name of a deity, Pr. बिडप्फई, H. बिफे.

Skr. मातृपद्म mother's house, Pr. माइचर, or माइदरं, M. मादेर, G. महीदं or महियर.

Skr. पितृपुद्धम् father's house, Pr. पिइचर, or पिइइर, H. पीइर, G. बीचर.

[Table 3: Skr. ₹ changed to ₹.]

Skr. ges to ask, Pr. ges, P. ges in gesson, S. gu in gest, H. G. un in gest, M. ga in gast.

Skr. रह: rained, Pr. दुहो, P. दुहा, S. दुहो, G. दुह in दहा.

Skr. माब्य rain, Pr. पाउसी, M. पाऊस, H. पायस.

Skr. TI straight, Pr. 339, M. 39.

Skr. पितृकः father, Pr. पिउओ, S. P. पिउ।.

Skr. मातृष्यमुका mother's sister, Pr. माउतिआ, H. मोती, M. मावशी. The others have मासी, probably by dropping र.

Skr. भृष्ण: a bee, Pr. भृष्णे, M. भुंगा.

The word ঘূনৰ has ৰগ in the Prakrits according to the grammarians, but ৰিগ also must have existed; so also মৃত্যু has মিত্তা.

Some of the above words have two forms in the Prakrits, but since one of them does not occur in any of the vernaculars, it has been omitted. There are other words having two or even three

¹ Mr. Beams considers the g of the S. पिड, भाड, &c., to be the nom. sing, termination and not a transformation of the Sapskrit . But he is evidently wrong, since this g appears in the oblique cases also, as पिडलो, आढलो, &c.; while the nom, sing, g does not, as in बेहली, gen. sing. of हेडू "a country." The words have d even in those language, such as the P. and M., which have disserted the nom. sing. d and it appears even in the feminine word क्षांड which cannot take the masculine termination d.

Prakrit forms, one of which occurs in one of the vernaculars, and the other or others in another. Thus:—

Table 4: Skr ₹: its different changes.]

Pali तिणं, H. तिन in तिनका.

Skr. तणम straw. Pr. तणं, M. तण, P. तुण in तुणका. किवो or किओ, G. कीवो, H. किया, P. कीता S. कियो or कितो. Skr. कतम done. कओ, S. कयो, M. के for कय or कआ in केला. B. के or के in केल*. O. कला. मुओ, G. S. मुओ, H. मुआ. Pr. Skr. बत: dead, रमओ, M. मे for मय in मेला. बुड़ो, G. बुड़ो, S. बुढ़ो, H. P. बुड़ा, O. बुढा, B. बुडा. बड़ो, S. वडो, H. P. बडा, B.O. बढ, M. 8kr. Et: old. Pr. dial., as in the sense of "large", G. बहो, M. G. S. बह in बहिल and बहरों, meaning " elder." पह, M. पाठ, G. पाठ, as in पाई, a carbuncle. Skr. TER back. पिह, P. पिह, G. H. पीठ, O. पिठ, B. पिठ ा पिट. प्रह, G. प्रह, P. प्रहि. मत्तिआ or माड्डिआ, M. माती, H. मड्डी or माटी, G. B. O. माटी. Skr. uffice earth. Pr. मिड्रिआ, G. H. P. मिड्री, S. मिटी. माइआ, G. S. P. H. माइ or माई, G. H. माप, O. B. माई and माड्या contracted to मेरे, meaning 'a Skr. मानका mother, Pr. woman' generally. माउआ, S. P. H. माउ or माऊ. M. माय and G. P. H. B.O. मा are from Pr. माआ, Skr. माता. (भाइओ, G.S.P. H.B.O. भाइ or Skr. आहक: brother, Pr. भाई, भाउओ, M. S. P. भाउ or भाऊ. As the Pali and the Prakrit alphabet, on account of these changes. has no w. so do the vernacular alphabets not possess it. words containing the vowel have, however, been recently import-

ed into the languages; but since even in those words, it is not correctly pronounced except by a few learned men, it cannot be said really to exist in vernacular speech, notwithstanding the use of those words. The usual modern pronunciation of the

: vowel is र, रि, रू, or अर्.

^{*} चारि भाग केल वेदन्याससे कारण B. Mahabhareta.

Another characteristic change we noticed in the Prakrits is the softening of ξ and \exists to ξ and \exists before double consonants. A good many words so changed have descended to the vernaculars. Thus:—

[Table 5: Skr. \(\) and \(\) softened before conjuncts]

Skr सिन्द्र: red lead, Pr. सिन्द्रों or सेन्द्रों, M. डेंादूर, H. सेंदूर, G. B. सिंद्र, S. सिंधुरु.

Skr. शिय: a kind of tree, Pr. शेग्ग or शिग्ग, M. शेग्ल or शेगट.

Skr. पिण्ड: a ball, a bundle, Pr. पिण्डो or पेण्डो, M. पेंडा-पेंडी, H. P. पिंडा, G. पिंडो, S. पिंडो or पिंडी.

Skr. एस्तकम् a volume, Pr. पोत्थओ, H. P. पोथा and पोथी, M. G. पोथी, S. पोथ and पोथी, O. पोथी, B. पुथी or पुती.

Skr. सहरः a mallet, Pr. मोग्गरो, M. H. मोगरा, G. मोगर, S. सुङ्गिरो, B. O. सुद्धर.

Skr. मूल्यम value, Pr. मोहं, H. M. मोल, O. मूल, G. मूल.

Skr. हस्ता a kind of grass, Pr. मोत्थॉ, M. मोथा in नागरमोथा, H. P. मोथा, S. G. मोथा, O. हाथा.

Skr. मुक्तः free, Pr. मोक्रो, M. P. मोक in मोकळा, G. मोकं in मोकळुं, S. मोकल, O. सकुळा.

Skr. कुक्षि: a side of the belly or abdomen, Pr. कोक्सि, H. कोस, P. कुक्स or कोस, G. कुस, S. कुसि, M. द्धस, from Pr. कुच्छी.

Skr. एच्छः a bunch, Pr. गोच्छो, B. एचि, एछि, or गोळा, O. गोछ, M. चॉस, H. P. एच्छा, G. एच्छो, S. छुगो (by transposition) or गोश.

Skr. कुडम white leprosy, Pr. कोई, M. कोड, H. G. कोड, S. कोडू, B. कीट, कुड, or कुड, O. कोड or कुड.

Skr. क्वर्पर: elbow, Pr. कोप्परो, M. कींपर, G. कोपरियं.

Skr. शुण्डा the trunk of an elephant, Pr. सोण्डा, M. सॉड, P. संड, H. संड or संड, G. संड, S. संडि, B. O. शंड, O. शंड?

Skr. तुण्ड, mouth, Pr. तोण्ड, M. ताँड.

Skr. क्रण्डम a puddle, Pr. कोण्डं, M. कोंड, G. कंडी, कंडं.

Skr. सुरुष foolish, Pr. मोद्ध or मोग्ग, H. P. मोध, S. भौंदू, मौंगो, M. भोंदू?

Skr. हुन्द a pot-belly, Pr. तोन्द, H. P. तोंद, M. दोंद, G. ढूंद.

The G. ओचरबुं 'to pronounce' from Skr. and Pr. उचार, ओळंगबुं 'to transgress' from Skr. Pr. उल्लब्ब्स, G. ओकबुं, M. ओकजा, H. ओकना 'to vomit' from Pr. उग्गर, Skr. उद्गिर, are also later instances of the operation of the same law.

50 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV].

The change of $\overline{\epsilon}$ to $\overline{\epsilon}$ is, according to the grammarians, optional in the Prakrits and that of $\overline{\epsilon}$ to $\overline{\epsilon}$ necessary. But in both cases we find two forms in the vernaculars. Still the prevailing forms in the latter are those in $\overline{\epsilon}$, while those in $\overline{\epsilon}$ are rare, and mostly to be found in Bengali and Oriya, which languages, and more especially the first, have a predilection for $\overline{\epsilon}$, in which case it is possible they may have changed the Prakrit $\overline{\epsilon}$ to $\overline{\epsilon}$.

In the Pali and Prakrits, the y and ar in these cases are short; but the vernaculars, having dropped one of the following double consonants, have, according to a general rule to be noticed hereafter, lengthened the vowels. When instead of a double consonant, there is a conjunct of a nasal and a mute as in सन्दर and तोण्ड, the nasal consonant is reduced to a simple anusvāra or nasal sound, so as to give to the conjunct the character of a simple consonant, and the ए or ओ is pronounced long as in संदर and तांड. In this manner, though the Prakrit short ए and ओ are, in the instances in which we possess an evidence of their existence, lengthened, I think in some of the vernaculars at least we have these vowels. For in a good many instances in Marathi and Gujarati ए and ओ are pronounced short. There is a rule which in Marathi is almost universal, and in Gujarati often observable, in virtue of which the accent or the whole weight of the sound of a word falls on the final आ or एं of nouns in the former, and the final ओ or ऊं in the latter; and the preceding vowels are rendered short while in the original Sanskrit and in Hindi they are long. Thus:--

[Table 6: Treatment of long vowels in Prakrit and Modern Vernaculars]

Skr. कीरकः a worm, Pr. कीडओ, H. कीडा, M. किडा.

Skr. कीलकः a nail, Pr. कीलओ, H. कीला, M. खिळा.

Skr. क्पकः a well, Pr. क्वओ, H. क्आ, G. कुवो.

Skr. चित्रकः leopard, Pr. चितओ, H. चीता, M. चिता, G. चितो.

Skr. चूडक: a bangle, Pr. चूडओ, H. चूडा, M. चुडा, G. चुडो.

Skr. चूर्णकः lime, Pr. चुण्अओ, H. चूना, M. चुना, G. चुनो.

And many more instances might be given. Similarly in Marathi the preceding long vowels are shortened when the terminations of the oblique cases are applied, as in भिक्स, पिकास, किडीस,

पिठास, उनास, अकेस, ग्रळास, &c., dative singulars of भीक 'beggary,' पीक 'crop, 'कीड 'a worm,' पीठ 'flour, 'ऊन 'sun, ' भक 'hunger,' बळ 'molasses, '&c. If so, then by a necessary law of Marathi speech, the ए and ओ of गेला 'gone,' केला 'done,' मेळा 'a gathering, 'जेवहा 'as much,' पेंहा 'sweetmeat, ' घोडा 'a horse, ' कोळसा 'charcoal, 'गोफा 'the ankle,' जोड़ा 'a pair,' &c., and of शेणास 'to cowdung,' शेतास 'to a field,' पेटेस 'to a market,' लेकरास 'to a child,' गोतास 'to a race,' चोरास 'to a thief,' पोरास 'to a boy,' &c., must be short. And if the Marathi speaker will compare his pronunciation of मेळ, शेत, शेण, गोत, पोर, &c., with that of मेळा, शेतास, शेणास, गोतास, पोरास, &c., he will find that the quantity of ए and ओ in these latter words is shorter than in the former. Similarly, in Gujarati the first ए and ओ of केवी 'how large,' घेलो 'a mad man,' छेडो 'end,' मेडो 'an upper storey,' मेळो 'a gathering,' खोळो 'lap,' घोडो 'a horse,' चोखा pl. 'rice,' पोळो 'broad,' पोणा pl. 'three-quarters,' मोगरो 'jessamine, ' कोळसो 'charcoal,' &c., must be short. In Gujarati the penultimate vowel of a monosyllabic root is, as in Hindi, shortened in the causal, as in लागतुं 'to adhere,' लगाइतं 'to cause to adhere,' 'join,' धावबुं 'to run,' धवाडबुं 'to cause to run,' सीखबुं 'to learn,' सिखाबबुं ' to teach,' शीववं 'to sew.' शिवाइवं 'to cause to sew.' बीहवं 'to fear.' बिहवाइवं 'to terrify,' &c. But in Hindi the short vowels that take the place of ए and ओ are इ and उ, as in दिखाना 'to show ' from देखना 'to see,' धुलाना ' to cause to wash' from धोना 'to wash,' &c. But in Gujarati the ए and ओ are not changed to इ and उ but remain, as in देखाइडं 'to show,' लेवाडवुं 'to cause to take' from लेववुं 'to take,' धोवाडवुं 'to cause to wash 'from धोवबुं 'to wash,' जोवाडबुं ' to show ' from जोवबुं 'to see,' &c., which they cannot do by the general rule if they are long. They must therefore be pronounced short. And as a matter of fact, it will be found that the Gujarati people in these and several other cases, give a short sound to these vowels. the Malvani dialect of Marathi and is very often pronounced like the English o in pot, and ए like e in pet. In Bengali the ओ to which I is converted in ordinary speech is also broad and short, and we have reason to believe that both v and si when they really occur in words, are often pronounced short in that and the Bhoipuri and other dialects of Bihar and Mithila.

It may be urged against one of the arguments I have used, that if the प and ओ in शेतास and गोतास are short, the first आ in हातास 'to the hand,' कानास 'to the ear,' &c., must also be short, and consequently these vowels must be changed to sa. But sa is not necessarily the short form of M, or M the long form of M. For in pronouncing an the lips and the upper and lower parts of the mouth are much more widely apart from each other than in pronouncing 3; so that the difference between the two is not simply of quantity but of quality also. The first of such words as हातास and मातला 'maddened,' is therefore short आ: that is, in pronouncing it, the vocal organs are in the same condition as in pronouncing long str, but the time occupied is shorter than in the case of the latter. The 34 that we have got in Sanskrit is short, but in most of the vernaculars we have a long 37 which takes longer time to pronounce than the Sanskrit a, while the condition of the vocal organs is the same. The final a of words is silent in the vernaculars, but at the same time the vowel of the preceding syllable is lengthened. Thus got 'virtue' is, as a Sanskrit word, pronounced gu-na, but in Marathi and Gujarati it is $g\bar{u}n$; and in Hindi $y\bar{u}n$; Sanskrit $y \in gu$ -da 'molasses' is in Marathi $g\bar{u}l$; Sanskrit तिल ti-la 'sesamum 'is in Marathi and Gujarati til and Hindi til. In the same way, the word way is in Sanskrit pronounced ra-tha, but when in vernacular pronunciation it becomes rath, the a is not the short or, but of pronounced long, as if the word were ra-ath without a pause between the two as. The long wand the short are found side by side in such a word as मदन, which as pronounced in Sanskrit is madana with three consonants each followed by the Sanskrit or short अ. In the modern languages, however, the first syllable has its a as in Sanskrit, but that of the second is lengthened, and in the last it is dropped, and the word thus becomes madaan.

This peculiarity of softening z and z to v and z has been preserved by the vernaculars. It is not necessary that a conjunct consonant should follow. Thus:—

[Table 7: change of इ and उ short ए and ओ in Modern Vernaculars.]

Hindustani

विराना or बेराना to mock, from Skr. विसम्बन. बिहान or बेहान morning, from Skr. विभानम्, Pr. विहाजं. नवता invitation, from Pr. निमन्त, Skr. निमन्त्र.

सोहर pleasing, from Skr. तुसकर, Pr. मुहअर.

सुहावन or सोहावन agreeable, from Pr. सुहावन for such a Sanskrit form as सुखापन.

मोहरा or मुहरा front or van-guard the first part of which is from Pr. मुह, Skr. मुख;

उखल or आंखल a wooden mortar, from Skr. उल्लबल.

Gujarati

मोह in मोहडुं face, from Pr. सह, Skr. सख.

भोय ground, the M. and H. form being भुई.

ओर in ओरडा, Pr. उवरओ, Skr. उपरकः or अपवरकः; गोर a family priest from Skr. Pr. यह.

Marathi

मेहण a couple, from Pr. मिहण, Skr. मिश्रुन: बेडावर्णे to mock, Skr. बिडम्बन; रोंडी the lock of hair on the head, from Pr. शिहण्डिआ, Skr. शिखण्डिका; मोहरे or म्होरे in front, of which माह is from मुद्द as above; ओवरी (dial.) from Pr. उवरओ as above; तिरडा or तेरडा a kind of flower.

Panjabi

विह or वेह poison, from Pr. विस, Skr. विष; पिउ or पेउ father, for Pr. पिउओ, Skr. पितृकः; नेउंदा invitation, from Pr. विसन्त, Skr. विसन्त; मोहर van-guard, as above; ओडक end, from Pr. उदक, Skr. उदक.

Bengali

दोयार door, for Pr. दुआर; छोरा a razor, for Pr. छुरओ, Skr. क्षुरकः; B. O. मोच mustache, for मुछ, Pr. मस्सू, Skr. उमश्च; शोन or शुन to hear, for Pr. सुण; शियाल or शेयाल a jackal, for Pr. सिआहो, Skr. शृंगालः.

The q and si, to which g and 3 are thus reduced must be short, since there is no reason here why the quantity should be increased.

Of the instances in which long & and 37 are softened to long q and 37 in the Prakrits, the vernaculars have retained the following:—

[Table 8: change of \(\varepsilon\) and 35 to long \(\varepsilon\) and 37]

Skr. विमीतक myrobalan, Pr. वहंडओ, M. वहंडा, G. वेहर्जु, H. P. वहंडा, S. वहंडो.

Skr. ताम्ब्रूल betel leaf, Pr. तम्बोल, H. P. तम्बोल, M. तांबोळ, in तांबोळी a seller of betel leaves, G. तंबोळ in तंबोळी.

Skr. स्थूल, Pr. थोर, M. थोर.

More modern instances of this change are :-

[Table 9: the same changes in more modern words]

- H. लीस or लेस, B. लेब, a lemon.
- H. मूळ or मोछ mustache, Pr. मस्छ or मस.
- G. पेडे in that manner, from Skr. पीडिकया.
- G. बेरबं to scatter, from Pr. बिहर, Skr. विकिर.
- G. खेचबुं to pull, for H. खीचना.
- O. भोक hunger, for the सूक or सूख of the others.

Of the few instances in which इ is softened to आin the Prakrits, the vernaculars have retained हलहा in the M. G. हळद, H. हलदी, O. हळदी and P. हळहरी or हळदी. Though पढंडाआ does not occur, still पढ which stands for प्रति in this word is preserved in several words, as M. पडसाद 'echo,' for Skr. प्रतिशब्द, पडजीभ 'the uvula' for Skr. प्रतिज्ञादा, पडडाया or पडसावली, H. परळाई for Skr. प्रतिज्ञाया &c. No more instances of this change are given by the grammarians, but, as observed in the last lecture, the substitution of आ for इ or उ in one of the two or more places in which it occurs in some words indicates a tendency in the Prakrits towards this change. The vernaculars have got more instances. Thus:—

[Table 10: इ changed to अ]

M. G. S. पारख examination, test, H. P. B. O. परख, Skr. परीक्षा, Pr. परिक्खा: also the verb पारखणें.

M. H. P. G. निरखणें-ना-णा-बुं to see closely, Skr. निरीक्षण, Pr. निरिक्खण.

M. H. G. विखरणें-ना-बुं, P. विक्खरना to scatter, Skr. विष्कर, Pr. वि-क्सिर, (S. विखरणुं).

H. बहलना to divert, amuse, Skr. विहर.

H. भसूत holy ashes, Skr. विश्वात.

H. बहन, also बहिन, sister, Skr. भगिनी, Pr. भइणी; also बहरा or बहिरा, Skr. बधिर, Pr. बहिर.

H. पहरना or पहिरना, S. पराहणं, B. परण, to wear, Pr. परिहाण, Skr. प्रिथान,

- M. G. पण but, also. Pr. पुणो, Skr. पुनः.
- M. H. जथा an herd, Skr. यथकः.
- P. पंडत a learned man, Skr. पण्डित.
- P. सगन an omen, Skr. इाक्रन.

But in Gujarati the tendency has operated very widely, as will be seen from the following:—

[Table 11 : The same : उ or ऋ or इ changed to अ in Gujarati]

G.	Skr. or Pr.	M. or H.
लखंड to write	· लिख	H. लिखना .
बगडवुं to be spoilt	विघट I	M. बिघडणें, H. बिगडना.
मळ इं to be got	. मिल	M. मिळणें, H. मिलना.
वक्रो sale	विक्रय	M. विक्रा, H. बिक्रा. '
कडण difficult	· कठिन ····· :	M. कठिण, H. कठिन.
वकासबुं to yawn	· विकास	H. विकसना.
तळसी a kind of plant	· तु लसी·····	M. तुळशी, H. तुलसी.
माणस a man	· मनुष्य	M. माण्स, H. मानूस.
नरो mere {	Pr. णवरि Apabhr. निरु	H. निरा.
अजवाळो light	∵उज्ज्वाल {]	M. उजेड or उजवड (dial.) H. उजियाला.
मडदुं a corpse	सृत with ट N	M. संडदा.
वसम् difficult	. विषम	M. H . विषम .
गळब to swallow	· गिल 1	M. गिळणें.
समणुं a dream	. Pr. ासीमिण, Skr. स्वप्न, I	ी. सपना, M. सपन or स्वप्न.
पंडे one's self, bodily	पिण्ड body 1	1. पिण्ड.
मस pretext	. मिष H	. मिस, M. मिष.
चंता thought, anxiety	. चिन्ता M	. चिन्ता
गण virtue, quality	. राज M	. राण, H. रान.
मकण name of Kṛṣṇa,		
of a man	सुकुन्द M	. सकुंद.
परशोत्तम	पुरुषोत्तम M	. पुरुषोत्तम.
4 2 12	,, , ,	

And there are many other instances, such as फर्ड 'to walk,' टकंड 'to last, 'and मरडंड 'to twist,' the Marathi forms of which are फिरजें, टिकंज, and सरडंजें. Thus Sanskrit, Prakrit, and even foreign words such as माल्स 'known,' which becomes मालस, change their इ or उ to अ. The Gujarati people have thus got a habit of careless pronunciation. After forming the contact necessary for

pronouncing a consonant, they emit the breath, without compressing it at the palatal or labial position, and thus save the trouble of raising the middle of the tongue to the palate, or of rounding the lips.

Under the head of assimilation, the first characteristic vowel change observable in the Pali and the Prakrits which we have to notice, is that of the Sanskrit & and A to V and A. Most of the nouns having & and A are in Sanskrit attributives formed from other nouns, and as these are formed in other ways in our language we cannot expect to find many instances of them. Still there are a good many, and enough to show that our vernaculars have inherited these Pali and Prakrit transformations of the Sanskrit & and A. Thus:

[Table 12: ए and औ changed to ए and ओ.]

Skr. गैरिक red chalk, Pr. गेरिअ, M. H. गेरू.

Skr. कैवर्त pilot, Pr. केवडू, H. केवट.

Skr. तैल oil, Pr. तेल, M. G. H. तेल.

Skr. वैवाहिक parties to a marriage, Pr. वेवाहिअ, G. वेवइ, B. वेहाइ, M. (dial.) वेह.

Sk. शैवल moss, Pr. सेवल, M. शेवळ, G. शेवाळ, H. शेवाल, B. शेयाला.

Skr. सैन्थव rock-salt, Pr. सेन्थव, H. P. संथा, M. संधे in संधेलोण, S. संधोल्यु.

Skr. वैदिक: learned in the Vedas, Pr. वेदिओ, G. वेदिओ.

Skr. सीभाग्य good fortune, husband's love, Pr. सोहग्ग, H. B. O. सोहाग, -S. P. shorten the ओ to उ. and H. also, optionally.

Skr. पात्र son's son, Pr. पोत्त, P. पोत or पोत्ता, H. पोता, S. पोटो.

Skr. मौक्तिकम a pearl, Pr. मोात्तिअ, M. मोतीं G. S. P. H. मोती.

Skr. वैद्य: , Pr. वेज्जो, S. वेजु.

Skr. गौरः, Pr. गोरो M. H. गोरा, S. गोरो.

The Sanskrit syllables we and we are, you will remember, often changed to and with in the Pali and the Prakrits. The following instances of this change have come down to the vernaculars:

[Table 13: अय and अव changed to ए and ओ]

M. मे to carry, H. ले, Pr. मे, Skr. नय.

M. G. तेतीस thirty-three, H. तंतीस, P. तेती, B. तोत्रश, O. तेतीश, Pr. तेतीसा, Skr. त्रपश्चिंशत.

M. केळें a plantain, G. केछं, H. केला &c., Pr. केलं for कयलं, Skr. कदलम.

M. लोण salt, Pr. लोण, Skr. लवण; H. ओस dew, Pr. ओस्साय, Skr. अवस्थाय.

M. ओणवा bent, Pr. ओणअ, Skr. अवनत.

M. G. ओळंबा a plumb, Pr. ओलम्बअ, Skr. अवलम्बकः.

M. बोर jujube fruit, Pr. बोर for बवर or बअर, Skr. बदर.

The Pali and the Prakrits on account of these chances lost the Sanskrit diphthongs ऐ and औ. But several of the vernaculars have got them back by combining the vowels and and and and 3, short or long, brought together by the elision of consonants in the Prakrits. A hiatus, which requires the intonated breath to be let off twice successively without being stopped or compressed, is mostly felt to be burdensome, and is in consequence avoided in several ways. Where the two vowels can combine into one sound, a diphthong is formed out of them. Thus it and sit are combinations of अइ and अउ. In pronouncing these last, the breath has to be emitted twice, while in sounding the former, the same current is first let off through the position of अ, and afterwards through that of ₹ and ₹. The first part of the diphthong is thus a very short 3, to which half a matra, as previously observed, has been allowed by the grammarians. The following are instances of this formation :--

[Table 14 : अ and इ combined into ऐ]

Skr. पावेष्ट entered, Pr. पहडू, H. old M. पैडा.

Skr. उपविश sit, Pr. उवइस, M. H. बैसणें-ना by the dropping of the initial उ.

Skr. उपविष्ट sat, Pr. उवइड, H. P. बैठा.

Skr. खदिर name of a tree, Pr. खड्र, M. P. H. खेर.

Skr. कपित्थ name of a tree, Pr. कवित्थ, H. कैथ by dropping इ.

Skr. बलीवर्द a bull, Pr. बहुत, M. H. P. बैल.

Skr. ताबुश like that, Pr. तादिस, Apabhr. तहस, M. H. P. तैसा.

Skr. महिषी a female buffalo, Pr. महीसी, M. ह्रौस, H. भैंस, P. भेंड, or भैंस.

51 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

Skr. भगिनी sister, Pr. महणी, P. M. (dial.) भैण, H. बैन (more commonly बहिन.)

Skr. बृहस्पति a certain god, Pr. बिहप्कई, H. बिफै.

Skr. मलिन dirty, Pr. मइल, H. P. मैल, old M. मैळ.

Skr. पविश्वक holy thread, Pr. पविसञ, B. पैता.

In this manner the Hindi, Marathi and Panjabi combine अ and इ or ई into ऐ. Sometimes the ऐ so formed is dropped by the Marathi, and we have optionally बसमें for बेसमें, म्हस for म्हेस, and ससा for तेसा. Bengali, and Oriya have बस for बेस. The former has बेस in addition, so that these languages also seem to have once formed ऐ out of the two vowels.

[Table 15 : अ and उ combined into औ]

Skr. मुक्ट a chaplet, Pr. मउह, H. P. मीडा, B. O. मउह.

Skr. चतुर्थ fourth, Pr. चडत्य, M. H. P. चौथा, O. चौथ.

Skr. चतुष्क a square, Pr. चउक्क, M. H. P. चौक. Similarly other compounds of चतुर; as चौरस, चौकोन, चौमास &c., B.O.S. also have चौ.

Skr. ज्येहपुत्र the son of an elder brother, Pr. जेहउत्त, H. जेडीत.

Skr. मधुमक्षिका a bee, Pr. महुमक्खिआ, H. मौमाखी by dropping इ.

Skr. बद a girl, a daughter-in-law, Pr. बहु, O. बी.

When sometimes the Prakrits combined अ and इ or अ and इ, they formed ए and ओ out of them. For, as we have seen, the passage from one position to another in the same breath was impossible to the speakers of the Prakrits and the Pali. Thus we have मोर for मऊर, Skr. मगर; धेर for घडर, Skr. स्थविर; चोल्य for चउत्य, Skr. स्युर्ध; चोन्यज for चउन्यज, Skr. स्युर्ध; चोन्यज for चउन्यज, Skr. स्युर्ध दे.

Similarly अप and अप form ऐ and ओ in the vernaculars. When final अ of प and प is not pronounced, these semi-vowels easily pass into इ and उ which with the previous अ form those diphthongs:—

[Table 16: अय changed to ऐ]

Skr. मदन god of love, Pr. मअज or मयज, H. मैन.

Skr. रजनी night, Pr. रअजी or रवजी, H. P. रैन.

Skr. नवन the eye, H. नैन, P. नेच.

Skr. we fear, H. P. .

Skr. we victory, H. P. 3.

Skr. शत a hundred, Pr. सज or सय, H. P. सै.

Skr. बचन speech, Pr. बअण or बयण, H. बेत.

The Marathi does not follow the Hindi and Paniabi here. For, according to the modern way of pronunciation as observed before, the final 3 of words not being pronounced, the vowel of the preceding syllable is lengthened. The st of the first syllable of भय and जय being thus long, prevents the formation of ऐ; while that of य being so in such words as नयन that semivowel is not reduced to z, and hence we have no c. But these obstacles are set aside in the Hindi and the Panjabi, the tendency to form the diphthongs being strong. When however, the Marathi was in a state of formation it retained the Prakrit reculiarity and changed the syllable अय to ए, as in हों for ज्ञतम, भे (old) for भय, एं of neuter nouns such as केळे and ताम्बें for the अयं of the Prakrit केळयं and तम्बयं, के and में of केला and मेला for the Prakrit क्य and गय, &c. This change is due to a weakened pronunciation of q. In modern times even a is often sounded like a. For, in producing these two sounds the middle of the tongue being raised, the forepart falls lower than in sounding 7. When, therefore, in pronouncing The middle is not raised sufficiently high, the sound becomes T and not \$, because this requires the forepart also to be raised higher.

Thus in the following instances अৰ forms औ:--

[Table 17 : अब changed to औ]

Skr. पबल white, Pr. घबल, H. P. धौला, M. घबळा.

Skr. नवाशिक्षत newly learned, Pr. नवासीक्सअ, H. नौसिख, M. नौझिका or नवाशिका.

Skr. भवन a dwelling, Pr. भवण, H. भीन P. भीण.

Skr. कवल a mouthful, Pr. कवल, H. कीर or कील.

Skr. नवनीत butter, Pr. नवणीअ, H. नौनी, P. नौणी, M. लोणी from the Pr. नोणीअ.

Skr. रमन bowing, Apabhr. रबंन, H. शीना, P. नांगा, M. स्वर्णे.

Skr. स्वन cutting, Pr. स्वन, H. सेंाना.

Skr. क्याईका a shell, Pr. क्याहेआ, H. P. M. कोटी, M. क्वडी also,

Skr. सपली, a fellow-wife, Pr. सबनी. H. सीत, M. सबत,

Skr. असर a bee, Apabhr. भंदर. H. P. भोरा, M. भीवरा from another derivative of अस.

Skr. समर्प to deliver, Apabhr. सर्वप्प, H. सींपना, P. सींपणा. M. सींपणे.

Here the Panjabi and the Hindi agree perfectly; but the Marathi is not decided, sometimes changing the syllable to ओ but more often, for the reasons given in the case of अप, retaining it as it is in the original, the अप, however, being pronounced like अप in some cases, and অব with long final अ in others. Hindi and Panjabi similarly treat আছ or আছ and আप, and আত or আত and আप, while the Marathi here completely parts from them. For the आ in these syllables is too strong a sound for the Marathi ear to pass off into the very short अ of half a matra. Even the Hindi preserves आप unchanged in a good many cases, as बाप for Pr. बाप, Skr. बात 'wind.'

[Table 18: आइ or आय changed to ए in certain Vernaculars only]

Skr. पाद foot, Pr. पाञ or पाय, H. P. प in पेर foot, पदल foot-soldiers, पेक्ट shackles, &c., M. पाय in पायदळ foot-soldiers, पायरी a step.

Skr. कापस्थ name of a caste, Pr. कापस्थ, H. केथ in केथी name of the characters prevalent in some parts of Northern India.

Skr. नाविक a boatman, Pr. नाविअ, H. नेया by dropping द as H. usually does and reducing नाविश to नाइअ.

Skr. ज्ञातिग्रह a woman's family of birth, Pr. नाइहर, H. नैहर.

[Table 19: সাক or সাৰ changed to সাঁ in certain Vernaculars only].

Skr. भ्रातृजाया brother's wife, Pr. भाउजाआ, H. भौजाई, M. भावजई, S. भाजाई.

Skr. मातृष्यस्का mother's sister, Pr. माउसिआ, H. मौसी, N. मावशी, S. P. मासी.

Skr. बातूल under the influence of wind, mad, Pr. बाऊल, H. P. बोरा, M. बावळा, O. बाउळा, B. बाउडा, S. बांबिरो.

Skr. द्वापद a prey, a beast of chase, Pr. सावज, H. सोजा, M. सावज.

Skr. बामन a dwarf, Apabhr. बावन, H. बाना, P. बाजा, B. बाउनिया.

Skr. पादोन three-quarters, Pr. पाओन or पाऊन, H. पौने, P. पौजिआ.

There are a few instances in Hindi such as पेरना, from Pr. पहर. 'to sow' Skr. प्रकृत: पंतत 'nature.' Pr. पडानी, Skr. प्रकृति; पतीह 'son's wife 'Pr. पुत्तवह, Skr. पुत्रवह, Nr. पुत्रवह, Nr

Skr. भाइपद &c., in which अह forms ए, and अउ and अप, ओ; but it will appear that the prevailing rule in that language and in the Panjabi is to change these vowels and semi-vowels into ए or औ. The Braj dialect of Hindi is thoroughly consistent in this respect, having ए and ओ even in its grammatical terminations, as की for High H. की, कर for कर, करों for करें, करों for करों, &c. The Marathi agrees with these dialects perfectly only as respects अ + ह and अ + उ; and the Bengali and Oriya, if we look to the few traces, that they have retained of these Prakrit syllables, seem to agree with the Ma athi. But the Gujarati has throughout ए and ओ for the Hindi and Panjabi ऐ and ओ; and the Sindhi follows the Gujarati a great way. The Gujarati and Sindhi forms of the words occurring in tables 14-19, are as follows:-

[Table 20: v, v, air and an in the different Vernaculars]

.H.	G.	. S.	II.	G.	S.
पेठा	पेठी	पेठी	जै	जे	
बेसना	बेसवुं		से	से in संकडा	•
बैठा	बेठा		बैन	वेन	बेणु
खर बैल	मेवर		मौडा	मांड	मोडु
बैल	बेल		चौथा	चेथो	चोथा &c.
भैस	भेस	मेंहि	चीक	चोक	चौक, चौपैरो
ान (P. भेण)	बेन	भेणु, भेण	चीरस	चोरस &c.	
ਮੇਲ	मल	मेरो-मैल	धीला	धं।ळी	धौरो
मैन	मेन		काडी	कोडी	कोडी
. रेन	रेन		सीत	संक	
नेन	नेन	नेणु	सीं पना	संiप तु	सौंपणु
भे	મે		पदल	पेदल	
		H.		G.	
		भै।जाई		भें।जाई	
		पान		पोणा	

The Gujarati has v or six even in words of a foreign origin where the other languages have v or six; as:--

[Table 21: Gujarati ए or ओ for foreign ऐ or आहे]

Η.	G.	H.			G,
वेदा क्रमा	पेदा करहुं	महान			मेदान
दालत	्यां लतः	फ । ज	Α,	•.	फोज

Similarly, though a few Sanskrit words containing & and an do occur in Gujarati dictionaries, these diphthongs are generally pronounced like ए and ओ as in जन for जैन 'a follower of the Jaina sect. वर for बेर 'enmity', &c. The Gujarati, therefore, like the old Prakrits combines अय and अৰ and अइ and अउ into ए and ओ, and since it did not receive the diphthongs ऐ and ओ from the old Prakrits, its alphabet really does not contain them. As observed before, the syllables সহ and সত differ from ऐ and সী only in two currents of breath being emitted instead of one, in other respects they are alike, both the vowel sounds being contained in the diphthongs. Those syllables as well as say and say should, therefore, naturally pass into those diphthongs as involving the least possible change. If, notwithstanding, the Gujarati people make q or sit out of them, and also give those forms to the q and an of Sanskrit and foreign words, it must be so, because their vocal organs are in this respect in the same condition as those of their Pali and Prakrit ancestors. On the other hand, the Hindi. and especially the Braj form of it, presents the old Aryan tendency of pronouncing the diphthongs in somewhat exaggerated form: while the other dialects take up a position between these two in this respect.

Of the words in which an open vowel is changed to one more close, and an approach towards an assimilation to a consonant is thus effected, the vernaculars have preserved the following:-

[Table 22 : Change of vowels and assimilation of Consonants]

Skr. पक्रम ripe, Pr. पिक्कं or पक्कं, M. पिकें, G. पाकु, H. P. पका, S. पको, B. पाका, O. पक्का or पाक in पाकला.

Skr. अक्नरः ember, Pr. इक्नग्लो or अक्नरो. M. (dial.) ईंगळ, इंगळो, M. आंगारा, the rest अंगार.

Skr. ललाटम् forehead, Pr. जिहालं or जहालं, M. निहळ, S. निराहु,

Skr. दसम, Pr. दिण्णं, H. दिन, P. दिसा.

Skr. कन्तुकः a ball, Pr. गेन्कुओ, H. गेंदा, P. मेंद, M. गेंद.

Skr. 34, Pr. 474, M. 44.

In a great many more instances, I is thus changed in the vernaculars, and not only before conjuncts as is mostly the case in the Prakrits, but before simple consonants also.

[Table 23: W changed to Win Sindhi]

S.	Skr. or Pr.		M.
कीडाणी a tale	कथानिका-कहानिआ	•	कहाणी.
सुद्भिरो a mallet	स्रद्ररःमोग्गरो		मोगर.
सांविरो dark	श्यामलः सामला		सांबळा.
पजिरण to be lit up	प्रज्वलन-पजलण		पाजळजें.
पिसराज a topaz	पुष्कराज		
विसिरण to forget	विस्मरण—विस्सरण		बिसरणें.
विञिणु a fan	व्यजन		विंजवा.
सिण a moment	क्षणखण		
लिमा forgiveness	शमा—समा		
विषय to melt	प्रग लन		दमळजें.
चिंछले lame	पष्टु with स		चांगळा.
विञिगे a cage	पर्जर		पिंजरा.
पिपिरु the pipal tree	पिप्वल		षिंपळ.
लिलाइ the forehead	स्रहाट		ससाट.
ाबीरिलो rare	विरलः		बिरळ.
H.	P.	8)	r. or Pr.
ाडिन a moment	छिन	क्षक	ाः or स णो
किवाह door	कबाड	कपाटम्-कवाड	M. क्वाड
ाडिम्भ vanity		दुरुभः	M. इंम
भिनना to count	गिणना	गणनम्	M. मजर्जे
i i	देवम or दब्भ	दर्भ: दब्भो	H. हा भ
पिघलना to melt	पिघलना	प्रग लनम्	M. पगळ जे
हिलना to move	हिलना	इस्टनस् ?	M. हासर्वे
रींधना to Cook	रिण्डना	रन्धमञ्	M. रांघ न
सिमा or छिमा forgive	- सिमा	क्षमा	
ness पिंजरा a cage	पिंजरा	पञ्चर	G. पांजडं
जीमना to eat	*****	जमनम	G. जमबं
बिंगा or बांका crooked	विंगा	वक्र—बंक	M. बांक
M.	Skr. or Pr.		
लिण (dial.)	क्षण—सण		
पिंजरा as above			
मिशी	श्मश्र—मस्	H.	₹6.
B.	Skr.		
ापजरा as above, O. a	lso		
काडिम tortoise	कच्छप	M.	कासर
काहिनी a tale	क्यानिका	M.	क्याची

The Sindhi has the largest number of instances, and this change of अ to इ constitutes a peculiarity of that language. The Hindi has got a good many, and the Panjabi follows it in almost all cases. Marathi has but a few stray instances, but sometimes, as in शिवर्ण 'to touch'. H. छूना, Skr. छुप, but Pr. छिन, and in मिशी, इ takes the place of उ also.

The Gujarati has पिगलबं for पगलनम् and ईण्डुं 'an egg', for अण्डरू but not many more cases. Bengali and Oriya have also but few instances, and even in most of these, and in those of the Marathi as well as in the Hindi पिंजरा and जीमना, the इ may be regarded as arising from the influence of the neighbouring palatal consonant.

The following are instances in which \Im , and in one case \Im , are changed to ∇ :—

[Table 24: अ and आ changed to ए]

- H. मेंडुक or मेडुक, P. मेंडुक, G. मेंडक, M. बेड्क, Skr. मण्डूक.
- H. संबल or सेमल, M. शेवरी or सांवरी, Skr. शाल्मली, Pr. सामरी or सिम्बली.
- H. नेबना to bow, P. नेउणा, M. लवर्णे, Skr. नमन.
- H. नेबल a mungoose, P. नेउल, Skr. नकुल, Pr. नउल.
- H. जेवना to eat, P. जेउणा, M. जेवणें, G. जमबं, Skr. जमन.
- M. उजड light, Pr. उज्जाल, Skr. उज्ज्वल.
- M. शेण cowdung, G. छाण, Skr. शक्का instr. sing.
- M. डेबर्णे to keep, Skr. स्थापन, Pr. डाबण.
- G. केहबुं to sell, सेहबुं to endure, रेहबुं to dwell, &c., before ह followed by अ, for कथा, सह, &c.

But even here the ए of the Marathi शेषरी, शेण, जेवणें, and उजेड, as of the Hindi जेवना, may be attributed to the influence of the preceding palatal.

In the Prakrits there are two instances of the change of अ to उ, viz., बुढं and खुडिओ for Skr. चण्ड 'fierce' and खाण्डत 'plucked out'. The latter we have in the vernaculars in the form of खुट M. G., खुट S. 'deficiency' खाट H., खाड M. 'blemish' and खुडण or खुटण M., खुटना H., खुंडबं G. 'to pluck out', or खुटबं G. 'to be deficient'. The Bengali changes अ to उ in a good many cases as ...

[Table 25: अ changed to 3 in Bengali]

	В.	Skr. or Pr.	M. or H.
हञ्जद turmeric		हरिद्रा-हलद्दा	हळद M.
	आगुन fire	आग्न-अगणी	आग M.
	बासन Brahman	ब्राह्मण-बह्मण	बामण.
	धुअन to place	स्थापन-ठावण	ठेवणें M.
	शिमुल the silk-	शाल्मली-सामरी	सेमल H., शेवरी or
	cotton tree		सांवरी M.
	पुकुर a pond	पुष्कर-पोक्खर	पोखर H.
	स्टार a mallet	मुद्गर-मोग्गर	मोगरा M.

And where the Sanskrit or the sister dialects have in, the Bengali has I as in the following words:-

[Table 26: Skr. ओ changed to उ in Bengali]

- B. चुरि theft, Skr. चोरिका, M. H. चोरी.
- B. सुचि a shoemaker, M. H. मोर्ची.
- B. पुलि a cake, Skr. पोलिका or पुलिका. M. पार्ळी.
- B. ख़डी a girl, G. छोडी.
- B. पुडन burning, M. पोळणे.
- B. खुद्रन digging, H. खोदना, M. खोदणं.
- B. सुजन searching, H. खोजना.

Thus 3, whether for 3 or 31, is a characteristic of the Bengali. But this characteristic is very likely connected with another which distinguishes the Bengali language, viz., to pronounce the non-final 31 in all cases as a short and broad 31 like that in the English word pot. I have observed before that the assimilation of vowels to consonants might be effected by narrowing the passage of the breath by an upward movement of the tongue near the palatal position, or by rounding the lips. Which of these modes is resorted to, depends on the peculiar vocal tendencies of a people. Thus then, to change 31 to 7 or 7 is a peculiarity of the Sindhi, the Panjabi, and the Hindi, and to short 31 and 3 of the Bengali.

The following Prakrit instances of the assimilation of the different vowels of a word have come down to the vernaculars:—

52 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

[Table 27: Assimilation of different vowels of a word]

М. G. P. बेल a creeper, H. P. बेल, Pr. बेली, Skr. बिल, S. बिल, Pr. बिली.

M. ऊस sugarcane, H. ऊस, Pr. उच्छू, Skr. इक्ष. H. has इस also, and P. इस्स.

H. P. S. सेज a bed, M. G. हाज, Pr. सेजा, Skr. हाया.

M. निर्स, S. निरी pepper, Pr. निरिअं, Skr. नरिचन.

M. ओपणें to give over, assign, Pr. ओप्प, Skr. अर्प.

There are a few modern instances as in:

[Table 28: the Assimilation of vowels

S. मेडि a buffalo, Pr. महिस.

H. इस्ली tamarind tree, Skr. अस्त्रिका.

H. P. लोहूं blood, Pr. लोहिअ, Skr. लोहित.

H. जुगून a glow-worm, Pr. जोइक्रुण ?, Skr. ज्योतिरिक्रण.

H. तिरिच्छ askance, Pr. तिरच्छ Skr. तिरश्च in तिरश्चः, तिरश्चा &c.

P. ਤੋਹਲ or ਤੋਹਲੀ a finger, Skr. ਅਵਾਲੇ.

Examples of the change of N to V or V under the influence of a palatal consonant have been given in Table 24.

Of the words in which one of two similar vowels is made dissimilar or changed to w in the Prakrits the vernaculars have preserved the following:

[Table 29: Dissimilation of vowels]

Skr. विभीतक, Pr., &c., as in table 8.

Skr. इरीतकी myrobalan, Pr. हरहर्ड, M. हरही, S. हरीड.

Skr. सुट्ट: a crown, Pr. मजहा, H. मौड, G. मोड.

Skr. स्कुलः a bud, Pr. मडलो, P. मौल in मौलना to bud.

Skr. शिथिलम् loose, Pr. साहेलं or सिहिलं, M. सहळ in the sense of 'loose of hand' or 'liberal', H. B. O. हीला, S. हिरो or हरो, G. हीहं. In these the first syllable स is elided.

Sindhi has हिलिंदो also for सिहिल in which the last two consenants have interchanged places, and स is changed to स्

Mudern instances of this change are:-

[Table 30: Dissimilation of Vowels]

- M. उंदीर a rat, G. उंदर, H. B. O. इंदूर, Skr. उन्दुरु.
- H. B. चूंबी nipple, Skr. चूचुकम्.
- H. गेहूं, घेऊं, or गोहूं wheat, P. घेऊं, G. घऊं, M. गहूं or गंव, B. गम, O. गहम, Skr. गोहम.
 - P. रह a kind of fish, for रोह, Skr. रोहित.
 - G. जगट a crown S. खाकेडु or स्टिक, P. सकट, M. सुएट, Skr. सुकूट.
 - H. महरत an auspicious time, Skr. महर्त.
 - P. G. pea family, Skr. pera.
 - P. परोहत priest, Skr. प्रोहित.
 - H. पतोह for पतोह a son's wife, Pr. प्रतवह, Skr. प्रतबह.
 - H. सपूत, Pr. सपुत्त, Skr. सपुत्र.
 - H. P. दुरसा an ancestor, Skr. दुरुष.
 - M. तुंबळ, Skr. तुम्रल.
 - H. P. जनेऊ, from जण्णोऊअ, Pr. जण्णोवईअ?, Skr. यज्ञोपबीत.

Here, as well as in the Prakrits, one of the two similar vowels is oftener changed to a than to g or s.

In the Prakrits, you will remember, there are a few instances in which the vowels of the different syllables composing a word exchange places, or the close vowel of one is transferred to another. Of these the M. has fing 'scorpion', H. and P. and B. and O. and There are a good many more modern instances.

[Table 31: Transposition of Vowels]

- H. अकेला alone, Pr. एकलुअ.
- H. उंगली a finger, Skr. अङ्गुली.
- H. P. मोत death, from such a Pr. form as मज़, Skr. बुत्ह; the उ being transferred to the preceding syllable, forms औ with आ; G. मोत.
 - H. होले slowly, from Pr. हल, Skr. लहु.
 - P. कौडा bitter, from Pr. कडुअ, Skr. कडुक.
 - H. M. S. 14, G. P. 14, Skr. 19-3, the 5 transferred to the second

syllable being dropped in virtue of a general law to be presently noticed in the Vernaculars.

- H. G. मूछ mustache, S. मुछ, P. मुच्छ, B. O. मोच, Pr. मस्सू, Skr. इमधु.
- H. हिरन a deer, Skr. हरिण.
- H. संघ, B. O. सिंघ a hole made in a wall by a thief, Skr. सांध.
- G. फेड the waist, Skr. काट.
- G. पीरसबुं to distribute food, from Skr. परिवेष.
- G. बनेवी sister's husband, बने for बेन sister, Pr. भइणी, and बी for वई, Skr. पति.
- B. হাল a dart, from Skr. হাল্য, the হ arising from the softening of য, being transferred to হা.
 - P. पुर above, Skr. उपरी.
- M. সাঁসক্ত a cavity made by joining the hands, from the word স্বাস্ত্রকী existing in old Marathi, and স্বাস্ত্রকী existing in H. made up on the analogy of the Skr. अङ्गुलि.
 - M. हिरवा green, from Skr. हरित or हरितक.
 - M. चोंच a beak, M. (dial.) and B. टोंच, Skr. चंचु.

Of the Prakrit words with a syllable lengthened or shortened through the influence of an accent of some sort, the vernaculars have preserved a few words. Thus:—

[Table 32: Shortening of syllables through accent]

M. पाडवा the 1st day of the moon's increase, Pr. पाडियो, Skr. मतिपद. H. has the form with short प. पडिया.

M. सारिका like, Pr. सारिक्छो or सारिक्खो ?, Skr. सहक्षः.

M. इल्या a buffalo used for ploughing, Pr. इलिओ; H. P. इाली one who ploughs, Pr. हालिओ, Skr. हालिक.

- H. गहिरा deep, Pr. गहिरा, Skr. गभीरः .
- G. कुंबर, H. कुंबर or कुंअर, Pr. कुमरो, Skr. कुमार.

ACCENT IN MODERN VERNACULARS

In modern vernacular pronunciation, there is a law of accentuation, which has produced important results. The penultimate syllable of a word is, in all our dialects, pronounced with a stress, the tendency of which is to lengthen that syllable and drop the final vowel. In most of them, this tendency has worked itself out thoroughly. The preceding vowel, however, is not always written long, but still the long or at least the emphasized pronunciation does exist. I have already given instances* in which while the final wais silent or dropped, the vorto of the preceding syllable is lengthened, and have shown that when that syllable has we, it also is pronounced long though not changed to we. The final vorto of Sanskrit words, recently imported into the languages, have been dropped in virtue of this law of accentuation. Thus:—

[Table 33 : Skr. final & dropped through accent]

M. H. G. पद्धत method, mode, Skr. पद्धति.

M. H. G. P. गत condition, Skr. गति.

M. G. विपत, H. P. विपत misery, Skr. विपत्ति,

M. H. P. G. B. रीत manner, Skr. रीति.

M. H. G. P. B. जात species, caste, Skr. जाति.

M. H. कीर्त, H. G. P. कीरतं fame, Skr. कीर्त्ति.

M. H. P. G. रास a heap, Skr. राशि.

M. H. P. उपाध injury, annoyance, Skr. उपाधि.

M. H. P. G. नीत morality, Skr. नीति.

H. P. कब a poet, Skr. काबि.

M. G. बस्त, H. P. बस्त a thing, Skr. बस्तु.

H. P. साध a good man, Skr. साधु.

M. G. H. P. Hu honey, Skr. Hu.

Bengali and Oriya authors hardly represent the proper vernacular pronunciation. Such words as the above, therefore, do not occur, but probably they do exist. In Sindhi, however, here as well as in other instances to be given, the tendency of this law of accentuation is but partially realised, and such of the above words, as exist in that language, preserve their Sanskrit endings; as बाई or बार्स, जाति, बार्स &c. Not only does this law characterise the vernacular speech of the day, but it must have been in operation for centuries, since the old Prakrit words, which like the above, have not recently been imported, but have descended

^{*} Pp. 394ff.

to the modern languages from the spoken dislects af ancient times, have also been similarly changed. Thus:—

[Table 34: preceding vowels lengthened through accent]

M. B. धुक. H. G. B. धुल, P. सुक्ल, O. भीक hunger, P. इहक्ला, Skr. बस्ता.

M. H. P. G. जीभ, B. O. S. जिम tongue, Pr. जिन्मा, Skr. जिहा,

H. P. रीज, M. G. शेज, S. रीज-रीजा a bed, Pr. रीजा, Skr. शया

M. भीक, H. G. भीख, P. मिक्स or भीख, B. O. भिक alms, Pr. मिक्सा. Skr. मिक्सा.

M. नीज, H. P. नींद, S. निंड sleep, Pr. निहा, Skr. निहा.

M. सोंड, H. सूंड, G. सूंड, P. सुंड, B. O. शूंड, S. सूंडि, trunk of an elephant, Pr. सोण्डा, Skr. शुण्डा.

M. G. বাহ, H. ভাহ, S. ভাত a jaw, a grinder, Pr. বাহা, Skr. ব্ছা,

H. P. सेन, S. सेण, G. सान a sign, Pr. सण्णा, Skr. संज्ञा.

H. S. साथ, B. साद or साथ, O. साथ wish, longing, Pr. सन्दा, Skr. अन्दा.

M. G. धूळ, H. धूल, S. धूडि, B. O. धूला dust, Pr. धूलि Skr. धूलि,

M. H. G. आग, P. आग, or आगन, B. आछन, S. आगि fire, Pr. अग्गी or अग्गिणी, Skr. आग्नी

M. H. बीठ sight, Pr. दिहि, Skr. दृष्टि.

M. बहिण or भैण, P. भैण, H. बहिन, बहन, or बैन, G. बेन, S. भेण or भेणु, B. बोन sister, Pr. भइणी, Skr. भगिनी.

M. महैस, H. भैंस, G. भेंस, P. मैंह or भैंस, S. मेंहि a buffalo, Pr. महिसी, Skr. महिथी.

H. P. कोस, G. कुस, M. कुस, S. कुसि a side of the abdomen, Pr. कुसिस, Skr, कुक्षि.

H. B. रैन, G. रेन night, Pr. रयणी, Skr. रजनी.

M. सबत, H. सौत, G. सोक a fellow wife, Pr. सबसी, Skr. सपत्नी.

M. साज, H. सान a mine, Pr. साजी, Skr. सनि or सानि.

M. H. P. G. B. O. रात, S. राति night, Pr. रसी, Skr. रात्रि.

M. G. P. बेल, H. P. बेल, S. बिल a creeping plant, Pr. बेली, Skr. बिल.

H. तास, P. सस्त, M. G. तासू, S. तस् mother-in-law, Pr. तस्सू, Skr. न्यपू.

M. G. बीज, P. बिजा, S. बिजा lightning, Pr. बिजजा, Skr. बिजात.

M. ऊंस, H. ऊख or ईख, P. इक्ख, Pr. उच्छू, Skr. इक्ष.

H. G. आंख, P. अक्स, S. आसि, B. O. आखि the eye, Pr. आक्स, Skr. अप्ति.

M. G. B. O. sie, H. sie, sडू, or sडी, P. sडू or sडी, S. sडु or sਫੀ, Pr. अडी, Skr. आस्थ.

M. इत्तीण, H. G. हाथीन, Pr. हत्थिनी, Skr. हस्तिनी.

Here also the Sindhi preserves the old endings in some cases, and has dropped them in others. In this manner, the final आ, इ, ई, 3 and 35 of Sanskrit and Prakrit nouns have been dropped in the vernaculars or changed to a silent 36.

Final sit is similarly treated. Even in the Apabhramsa period, this rule of accentuation must have prevailed, since the ending vowels are similarly shortened in a good many cases. You will remember that the Prakrit sit of the nominative singular of masculine nouns is mostly shortened to sin that dialect, and sometimes altogether dropped. The modern vernaculars have thus got a great many masculine nouns ending in the silent si, such as sin or sin 'hand', sin 'ear', sin 'tooth', siz 'bold', si 'the Bunyan tree', &c. But as before, the Sindhi has in all these cases preserved the s; as sy, ss, ss, sig, sig, sig, &c.

When the final vowel is preceded by another and not by a consonant as in the words just mentioned and in others given in the above lists, that other vowel being accented by our rule shows a tendency to become long, and the original unaccented final being dropped, the accented vowel becomes final. Thus:—

[Table 35: Penultimate vowels lengthened and made finals through accent]

Skr. मौक्तिकम a pearl, Pr. मोत्तिअं, M. मोर्ता, G. S. P. H. मोर्ता.

Skr. पानीयम water, Pr. पाणिअं, M. G. पाणीं, H. पानी.

Skr. यथिका a flowering bush, Pr. जूहिआ, M. H. G. जुड़ी or सुई, H. जूही.

Skr. घोटिका a mare, Pr. घोडिआ, M. G. H. P. घोडी.

Skr. ज्ञाटिका a garment, Pr. साहिआ, M. G. H. साही.

Skr. बृत्तिका earth, Pr. मत्तिआ, महिआ or मिहिआ, M. माती, H. मही as in table 4, all ending in ई.

Skr. ताम्ब्रुलिक: a seller of betel-nut, Pr. and Ap. तम्बोलिओ-उ, M. तांबोळी, G. तंबोळी, H. तंबोली.

Skr. तेलिक: a seller of oil, Pr. and Ap. तेलिओ-उ, M. तेली.

Skr. हालिक: a peasant, Pr. हालिओ, Ap. हालिउ, H. हाली, S. हारी.

Skr. नापित: a barber, Pr. and Ap. न्हाविओ-उ or नाविओ-उ, M. न्हाबी, H. नार्ड.

Skr. दिश्वक: a scorpion, Pr. विच्छुओ, Ap. विच्छुउ, M. विंचू, H. P. विद्यु, S. विछु, B. O विछा.

Skr. यद: ordure, Pr. यओ, गुउ, M. H. G. गू.

Skr. युगम, Pr. जुअ, M. जूं.

Skr. युका a louse, Pr. जूआ, H. P. G. जू, M. ऊ.

Skr. बाटिका an enclosure, Pr. बाटिआ or बाडिआ, M. G. H. बाडी, B. बाटी.

Skr. बीटिका a roll of betel leaf, &c., Pr. बीडिआ, M. बिडी, G. बिडी, H. बीडी.

Skr. सूचिक: a tailor, Pr. सूचिओ, Ap. सूचिउ, H. मूजी.

Skr. माक्षका a fly, Pr. मच्छिआ or मक्सिआ, M. माशी, G. H. मासी, मासी.

Skr. जीव: life, Pr. जीओ, Ap. जीउ, H. जी.

Skr. लोहितम blood, Pr. लोहिअं, G. लोही, H. P. लोइ.

Skr. जलौका a leech, Pr. जलोआ, M. जलू, H. जलू, G. जलो.

Skr. बालुका sand, Pr. बालुआ, M. G. बालू, H. बालू.

Skr. पितृक:, मातृका, and भातृक: as in tables 3 and 4.

Thus then the Sanskrit Prakrit penultimate vowels become final in the vernaculars, and being originally accented in consequence of the law we have been considering, retain that accent in most cases, and are thus lengthened. When the penultimate happens to be wait is lengthened to was in the following:—

[Table 36: Penultimate accented अ changed to आ]

Skr. घोटक: a horse Pr. घोडओ, Ap. घोडउ, M. H. P. B. O. घोडा.

Skr. पारद: mercury, Pr. पारओ, Ap. पारउ, M. H. P. B. O. पारा.

Skr. आमलकः a kind of myrobalan, Pr. आमलओ, Ap. आवेलउ, M. आंबळा, H. P. आवला or आमला. Skr. आज्ञातकः hog-plum, Pr. अम्माडओ ?, Ap. अम्बाहउ, M. आंबाहा, H. अंबाहा.

Skr. विभीतक: beleric myrobalan, Pr. वहेडओ, Ap. वहेडउ, M. बेहडा, H. P. बहेडा.

Skr. प्रस्तकम् a volume, Pr. पोत्थओ, Ap. पोत्थउ, H. P. पोथा.

Skr. कण्टकः a thorn, Pr. कण्टओ, Ap. कण्टअ, M. H. B. कांटा.

Skr. गोलक: a ball, Pr. गोलआ, Ap. गोलड, M. P. गोळा, H. B. गोला.

Skr. इयालकः brother-in-law, Pr. सालभो, Ap. सालउ, M. P. साळा, H. साला.

Skr. दीपकः a lamp, Pr. दीवओ, Ap. दीवउ, M. दिवा, P. दीवा, H. दिया, B. दीया.

Skr. मञ्जकः a bedstead, Pr. मञ्जो, Ap. मञ्जर, M. मांचा.

Skr. मस्तकम head, Pr. मत्थां, M. (Goan., Mal., and Chit.) माथां; Pr. मत्थां, Ap. मत्थां, by a change of gender, M. H. B. माथा, P. मत्थां.

Skr. कटकम a wristlet, Pr. कडअं, M. (Goan., Mal. and Chit.).

Skr. कीटक: a worm, Pr. कीडओ, Ap. कीडउ, M. किडा, H. P. कीडा, B. कीडा, and the other words given in Table 6.

It may be urged that in modern pronunciation when the penultimate \Im is accented, it does not become \Im even though pronounced long, as observed before. How is it then that it becomes \Im here? In modern times several new modes of pronunciation have arisen, but as regards the matter in hand, to lengthen \Im into \Im was the old process. And often when the old processes have disappeared from what is considered the standard form of a language, they are found preserved in some dialect of that language. Thus, while in the standard Marathi the penultimate \Im is simply pronounced long, it becomes \Im in the Goanese and Malvani dialects.

Thus:-

[Table 37; Penultimate at preserved dialectically]

St. M. Mal. Goan.
under a garment, or thin.
under cloth.
under cloth.
under careful preservation.
under garment.
under garment.
under a rock.
Mal. Goan.
under careful.
under careful.
under careful preservation.
under careful p

53 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV].

In this manner, then, the penultimate \Im in consequence of the accent became \Im , and the final \Im and the \Im of the final \Im being dropped, itself became final, and has preserved its accent.

An unaccented 3, 31, or 3 is, you will have observed from the above instances, dropped after a close or dissimilar vowel. For, if preserved, its effect would be to change the preceding close vowel to the corresponding semi-vowel. But being accented, that vowel resists the influence and in its turn overpowers the unaccented, and consequently weak, vowel. But when it is possible to combine both into one sound the final is sometimes not dropped.

Thus the अ and उ in the above examples are combined into ओ in the Gujarati, the Sindhi, and the Goanese, Malvani, and Chitpavni dialects of the Marathi, and the Marvari, Mevari, Kumaoni, and Garhavali dialects of the Hindi; and we have घोडो, पारो, आंबळो or आंबळो, आंबाडो, बेहडो, कांटो, गोळो, साळो, दियो, मांचो, and किडो.

When अ follows another अ, the former, you will remember, is generally changed to a light य in the Prakrits. Those dialects tolerated a hiatus when one or both of the vowels were close. But अ or आ followed by अ or आ required two complete openings of the mouth, which could not be borne, and hence a close sound य was interposed. Thus मत्युओं and कहा, in the above, became मत्यूयं and कहा, and the य being almost as light as the vowel इ and being unaccented, is dropped in the Malvani and the other dialects; but in the standard Marathi, as formerly observed, the अ and य are combined into ए, and so we have माथे and कहे.

In the Apabhramsa, you will remember, the masculine termination is transferred by analogy to neuter nouns, and Hemacandra tells us that neuter nouns having a so at the end do not drop their nasal termination. Thus, we have und and so from which by combination we have the Gujarati sit and so. Here the nasal sound gives a sort of fixity to the vowel, and hence it does not pass into it as in the case of masculine nouns, but absorbs the preceding so. The it and it thus formed are accented like the sit of the masculine nouns in the Marathi and others, since they contain the accented penultimate.

Similarly, final unaccented ξ is not dropped after \Re or \Re , but is slurred over and the least possible time is allowed to it, in consequence of which it sounds like the consonant ξ , and thus forms a sort of diphthong with the preceding \Re or \Re .

[Table 38 A: Pr. final इ changed to य]

M. बइ or बय a hedge, Pr. बइ, Skr. वृति.

M. सइ or सय remembrance, Pr. सई, Skr. स्मृति.

M. (Mal. and Chit.) नइ or नय, H. नइ, S. नइ, Pr. नइ, Skr. नदी.

M. होणवह or य name of a caste, Pr. सेणावह, Skr. सेनापति.

H. बहनोइ sister's husband, Pr. भइणीवइ, Skr. भगिनीपति.

Sometimes the final vowel g absorbs the preceding अ; as in

[Table 38 B: Pr. final s merged in preceding 34]

G. बनेबी for बहनोइ.

M. द्राणवी.

M. दळवी for Pr. दलवइ, Skr. दलपति.

You will have seen that the Sanskrit nouns, composed of three or more syllables, given in Table 36, with A for their penultimate vowel and To any other similar syllable ending in A for the final, have dropped one syllable and become nouns ending in A in Marathi, Hindi, Panjabi, and Bengali, and in Oriya also in some cases, and in A in Gujarati, Sindhi, and in the dialects of the Marathi and Hindi spoken of above. Such of them as are neuter have acquired the ending To A in Marathi and in To in Gujarati.

But these are not the only nouns with a final आ and ओ and ए, आ and जे in these languages. There are a good many more, both substantives and adjectives, which have these endings. In the Brajabhāṣa also a great many adjectives, nominal and verbal, end in ओ or ओ. The Sanskrit words from which they are derived are not composed of three syllables, with क or another syllable like it preceded by an अ, as the final. Thus the substantives H. M. चेला 'a disciple', पुडा 'a parcel', काला 'a decoction', and the adjectives H. नीला, M. निला 'blue' H. पिला, M. पिनला 'yellow', and past participles, H. गया 'gone', सुवा 'dead', M. गेला, मेला, &c., and the corresponding Gujarati, चेलो, पुढ़ो, काढो, नीलो, गयो and सुवो, are

derived from the Sanskrit चेट:, पुट:, काथ:, नील:, पीतल:, &c. Similarly such neuter nouns as M. केळं (dial. केळां), G. केळं, M. सोनं (dial. सोनां), G. सोनं, are derived from the Skr. कदलम् and सुवर्णम्. How then did they get their आ and ओ and आं, एं and ऊं?

A great many nouns in our languages end in अ, which has now become silent; and these, as I have explained, are derived from the Sanskrit nouns ending in अ, the nominative termination ओ being, because it was unaccented, at first reduced to उ and afterwards dropped in most of them, but preserved in Sindhi. By that same law of accentuation which brought about the elision of this ओ, we have seen, that nouns ending in क or such other syllable preceded by अ come to have आ-ओ and ए-आं-ऊ for their final. By an obvious inference, therefore, those other substantives and adjectives also must have got कः or कम in the Prakrits and the Apabhramsa in the forms of ओ or अ and उ or उ, though in Sanskrit they do not possess them.

The suffix \mathbf{z} , though actually found in certain words only in Sanskrit, must have been largely used in the spoken language of ancient times, since Pāṇini and his expositors allow of its being appended to all nouns and even verbs and participles, to indicate littleness, contempt, tenderness, the state of being unknown, resemblance or copy, and a species founded on some of these particularities. Words formed by the addition of such a suffix in such senses cannot, of course, be much used in literary works. They are adapted for colloquial purposes, such as our Marathi that for Rama and that for Govinda are.

Accordingly, in the Prakrits and Apabhramsa, which were derived from the spoken languages, we find the practice of adding the suffix to be very common. Thus in the fourth act of the Vikramorvasi we have তিন্তু for তিন্তু formed from the analogy of জিন্যুক্ম but properly তিন্তু মিণ্ডিক্স; মেণ্ডিক্স for জিন্যুক্ম; সুসত্ত স্থানিক্স কৰা বিশ্বকম স্থানিক স্থানি

¹ Panini, V. 3. 85, 86; V. 4. 4.

² Panini, V. 3. 74, 75.

³ Pāņini, V. 3. 76, 77.

⁴ Panini, V. 3. 73.

⁵ Panini, V. 3. 96, 97.

⁶ Panini, V. 3. 75, 87, 97.

for बुगलकस; जुआजओ for बुवकः; आणत्तओ for आज्ञातकः; परिमंधरओ for परिमन्धरकः; काननए for काननके; कुछसुज्जलए for कुछमोज्ज्बलके; लालसओ for लालसकः; परवारणओ for परवारणक ; लीणओ for लीनकः ; गइन्दओ for गजेन्द्रकः and many others. So also in Hemacandra's quotations from Apabhramsa works, we have घडिअउ for घटितकः; विष्यअयारउ for विधियकारकः ; उड्डावान्तिअए for उन्नावयन्तिकया; विद्वउ for इष्टकः; बल्हरुउं for बल्लभकम् ; सुअउ for मृतकः &c.

Now the question is, why is it that certain nouns only which have \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{N} or \mathfrak{N} , \mathfrak{T} and \mathfrak{T} in our vernaculars had \mathfrak{T} appended to them in the Prakrits and not others? The suffix was used only where some additional sense was intended to be expressed. Hence there were some words to which it was not appended at all, and of those to which it was two forms existed, of which the one augmented had unaugmented sense. And in our modern dialects a good many words have these two forms, and of these that with \mathfrak{M} conveys an additional sense, such as is attributed to \mathfrak{T} by the Sanskrit grammarians.

Thus gin in Marathi expresses a 'tooth' but gin a copy of the animal tooth, that is, 'the tooth' of such an instrument as a saw; मेळ signifies 'union' 'agreement,' but मेळा expresses a certain union, viz., a concourse of people in a fair or on some festive occasion; कांपर signifies 'the elbow,' but कांपरा any corner, resembling that made by the elbow; दोर means 'a string, 'generally, but दोरा a particular string, that is, 'thread' used for sewing; पाट denotes generally 'a strip,' and thence the piece of wood used for sitting on, but पाटा a slab of stone used for pounding spices; फांस signifies 'a noose, 'generally, but कांसा a snare for birds or beasts. and also 'a catch,' for fastening anything. In the Hindi, Panjabi and Gujarati बांस or बांस means a bamboo, as does बांस in Sindhi: but in Marathi ain means 'a bambu used as a rafter and thence a rafter generally, &c. In Marathi and Hindi गाम signifies 'fœtus' or 'womb,' but गाभा the internal spadix or fruit-receptacle of the plantain-tree or the core or heart of anything. The Panjabi गड़न and गड़ना also mean 'the womb' and the heart or core of anything respectively.

Thus then was appended to a word in the Prakrits to denote some additional sense; and both the augmented and unaugmented

forms of it were in use; and these in some cases have descended to the vernaculars. But in the course of time, in consequence of the frequent use of the augmented forms, the things expressed by the unaugmented words came to be thought of with the additional property, to denote which the was in the first instance affixed. Hence the forms without went out of use, gradually those with it lost the additional sense. It was not possible to preserve this sense except by a comparison with the signification of the unaugmented forms. But as these disappeared, the comparison was impossible. And in some cases the additional sense was so slight, that in the course of time it gradually dropped away, though the two forms of the word did exist. Thus we Marathi चूर or चुरा 'fragments,' घर or घेरा 'circumference, ' खांद or खांदा 'the shoulder, ' जोड or जोडा 'a pair, ' भूस or असा 'chaff, 'and others; but there is no preceptible difference in the sense of the two forms, though in the last three cases usage has restricted one of them to one state of things and the other to another. So also one of our dialects has the augmented form. and another the original, the sense being the same. Thus:

[Table 39: Augmented and unaugmented forms of the same words]

B. ag, H. P. agi large or great.

M. खेळ, H. P. खेल, B. खेला a play.

H. व्हीना, B. डाइन, O. डाहाण right hand.

M. सांब, M. (dial.) खांबो, G. खंभ, H. P. खंभ or खंभा, B. खंबा, O. संब a pillar.

B. आम, H. आम or आम्ब, P. अंब, M. आंबा, G. आंबो the mango tree.

P. मच्छ, H. B. माछ, M. मासा a fish.

B. भाल, H. P. M. भला good.

It thus appears that originally the suffix was not necessarily applied to any nouns, but optionally to such as admitted of the additional signification. This additional signification has been preserved in some cases, but lost in others.

THE ORIGINAL AND DERIVATIVE ACCENTS IN THE VERNACULARS.

You will now have seen, that the Sanskrit and Prakrit final vowels having, for the most part, been dropped by the influence of the accent, the final आ, आ, ई, ई, ऊ, ऊ, प and ओ that we have

now got were originally penultimates or have arisen from a combination of the penultimate and final. The accent which originally fell on the penultimate falls now in consequence of this change on these new finals. Thus, these two accents, that on the penultimate when a word ends in the silent 31, and that on the new final, are now to be met with in the vernaculars. The first may be called the original accent, and the second derivative.

The Marathi is of all our dialects the most sensitive to them, and shortens all the other vowels of the word in order to throw the whole force of utterance on the accented syllable. The Sanskrit मृतक 'mourning,' मृतन new,' पातल 'brass,' and the Sanskrit and Prakrit जीवन्त (from जीवन्त: or जीवन्तो) are pronounced as मृतक, जीवन्त, रितेल्ल, जिवन्त, &c., with the penultimate अ long and the first vowel short. In this way, in a word composed of three syllables, with the final अ silent, the first syllable must be short in Marathi. When a word is composed of more than three syllables, the अ of the antepenultimate is elided, as in अहचण, शहाणपण, pronounced as अहचण, शहाणपण, &c.

Similarly, when a word ends in the accented at and the other vowels, the preceding vowels are shortened as in the following:—

[Table 40: Accent shortening preceding vowels].

किंदा, Skr. कीटक:, Pr. कीदओ, and the others in Table 6.

Also चुरा and भुसा which without the आ are चूर and भूस (See p. 422), विडी, जुई and such others occurring in Table 35.

पिढी a step in the scale of descent, a generation, Skr. पीढिका.

ज्ञवा gambling by means of dice, Skr. यतकः(by a change of gender).

निळा-ळें-ळी blue, Skr. नीलक:-कं-०लिका.

पिबळा-ळें-ळी yellow, Skr. पतिलकः-कं-०लिका.

When, together with the accented final, a word is composed of three or more syllables, or, more generally, when the accented syllable is preceded by two others or more, the अ of that which immediately precedes is silent or elided, as in the case of अवस्थ above, and any other vowel in its place is shortened and sometimes dropped. The other vowels are also pronounced short. Thus:—

[Table 41: Elision of of through Accent.]

शीक imper. 2nd शिकणें inf. to learn, per. sing. the origi-	pronounced as शिक्लें.
nal form of the root.	
पूस पुसर्णे inf. 'to ask'	प्रसर्णे.
कस रुसतो pres. part. ' he is	•
angry '	रुम्तो.
शीव शिवला past part.	शिष्ला.
'touched'	

হীৰ has similarly হিৰ্টা 'to sew' inf., হিছেনা 'he sews, 'হিৰ্লা 'sewn.'

कर 'do,' pres. part. unaugmented करीत, augmented करितो or करतो pronounced as करतो.

So also अङ्गुष्टक: is आंग्डा, and श्वहारक:, सास्रा the penultimate उ being dropped.

When the final is unaccented, it is the penultimate that is emphasized, but when it is accented, the penultimate is slurred over. Thus the accentuation of the penultimate leads to the elision of the final vowel, and the accentuation of the final brings about an elision or shortening of the penultimate.

ACCENT IN HINDI

In Hindi also the accent leads to the elision of the अ of the previous syllable when more than one precede the accented syllable. Thus उन्हन 'a cosmetic' is pronounced as उन्हेन, ब्रस्त्यन as ब्रस्त्यन, उन्हाना inf. 'to rub the body with a cosmetic,' as उन्हान करना as करना. The Braj present participle करत is pronounced as करन since one syllable only precedes the accented penultimate; but the Hindi करता is करना as two syllables precede the accented an. The accent leads to the shortening of the preceding vowels in some cases. Thus गोपाल 'cowherd,' and पाताल 'the lower regions,' are sometimes pronounced and written as उपल and पताल; so does आजिन become असीस. In such words as उपल 'produce,' उसास 'respiration,' and उन्हन 'a cosmetic,' from the Pr. उपयक्त, उस्तान, and उन्हन, Skr. उत्पा, उच्छास, and उन्हन, it prevents the lengthening of the initial उ, as by the general rule it should be long, since one member of the following double consonant is dropped. The

derived accent also shortens the preceding vowels in such instances as the following:—

[Table 42: Accent in Hindi shortening preceding vowels].

H. दहिना southern, Pr. दाहिणओ, Skr. दक्षिणक:.

H. दिया a lamp, Pr. दीवओ, Skr. दीपक:.

H. जुआ gambling, Pr. जुअओ, Skr. युतक: (by a change of gender).

H. अगला foremost, the first part of which is आग, from Pr. अग्य, Skr. अग.

H. अपना one's own,..... आप from Pr. अप्प, Skr. आत्म.

इकड़ा together, एक.

H. फिरा walked, पिया drunk, सिया sewn, हुआ touched, past participles of फीरना, पीना, सीना, छूना, &c.

In the same way it prevents the lengthening of a preceding vowel in such cases as उपजना 'to be produced,' उठना 'to rise,' उदना 'to fly,' the last two being derived from the Prakrit उत्थाम and उद्भाव.

EXCEPTIONS TO THE ABOVE.

But in a great many cases the accent does not affect the preceding close vowels. The Sanskrit words सतक, पीतल, &c., the first syllable of which is shortened in Marathi, retain it long in the Hindi. The words उपज. उपजना, उसास, and others have their initial vowel optionally lengthened, and in a few cases, such as ऊपर and ऊपल, it is lengthened without any apparent reason. Similarly, the Hindi forms of कीटक and the other words in Table 6 retain the long vowel. It has also also also, ast, and सभी as in Table 35. and नीला 'blue', पीला 'vellow', सीखा, 'learnt', भीगा 'wet', मीठा 'sweet', पूछा 'asked', मुआ 'dead', सीसना 'to learn', पूछना 'to ask', दूसरा' &c.. while in all these cases the Marathi has short s and s. Perhaps this weakening of the accent as regards previous f and a is due to the development of another accent in Hindi on the initial syllable. To such an accent as this might be attributed the almost universal change of अप and अप to ऐ and sh that we have already noticed. The st of the initial syllable, being accented, draws to itself the a or a of the following and

54 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

deprives it of its अ, in which cases the य or व becomes इ or उ, and then the two form पे and औ.

THE ACCENT IN GUJARATI

The Gujarati follows the Hindi completely, sometimes shortening the preceding vowels as in दुवो, सुवो, and दुमळो 'delicate', 'tender', and dropping it as in सस्रो 'father-in-law', (Skr. अञ्चरकः) and आंगळी 'finger' (Skr. अङ्गलिका), sometimes preventing their being lengthened, as in उपज, उठघुं, &c., and very often preserving them long, as in पूरो 'full', शीक्यं, शीक्यो, &c.

THE ACCENT IN PANJABI

The Panjabi also keeps the short vowel in such cases as उचार 'utterance', उजाला 'light', though a member of a double is dropped and preserves the long in such cases as दीया or दीवा, जूआ, कीडा, पूरा, दी 'a cake', &c. It has even fewer instances of shortening than the Hindi.

THE ACCENT IN SINDHI

The Sindhi has जुआ 'gambling', डिओ 'a lamp,' पितल &c., but has such words as मृतक 'mourning', कीडो 'a worm', बीडो 'a roll of betel leaves, (Skr. बीटक:), पीतो 'drunk', &c. In a great many words such as द्यको 'dried', दुघो 'heard', दुतो 'touched', दुघो 'milked', the vowel of the preceding syllable is short; but that is due not to the accent on the last syllable but to the peculiarity of the Sindhi not to lengthen the preceding vowels even when a member of a double is dropped.

THE ACCENT IN BENGALI AND ORIYA

The Bengali is more like the Marathi in this respect than the Hindi. Thus we have भितर, H. भीतर 'in the interior', शुका dry, H. भूता; शिका or भिगा 'wet', H. भीजा or भीगा; किहा 'a worm', H. कीहा; खता 'shoes', H. जूता; खिला 'a nail', H. कीला; उपजन, 'to be produced', "और. हो thus shortens इ and उ in the unaccented syllables like of the Marathi.

The Oriya follows the Bengali, having जुडा, Skr, जुटक 'a knot of hair', जुता 'shoes', भिजा 'wet', भितर 'in the interior', &c. All these languages, however, treat the unaccented अ in words of three of more syllables as the Marathi and Hindi do.

THE ACCENT ON VERNACULAR TERMINATIONS

In Marathi the termination of the oblique form of cases and that of the plural of neuter nouns in v are also accented. The reason why they bear the accent will be considered hereafter. The accent on the causal termination, in consequence of which the preceding vowels are shortened in the Hindi and the Gujarati, has already been mentioned. This also seems to be the same accent that we have been considering. Thus in G. হিাৰভাৰ 'make him sew', or धोवडाव 'make him wash', the आ being penultimate bears the accent and the final wais dropped. Similarly in vivered by the general rule, the final vowel being accented the penultimate a is silent. It is because it is so, and the वर्ष forms the conjunct कां. that the MI looks as if emphasized just as the first M of METO and करता is. In the Marathi and other dialects also, there is this accent in the case of the causal, and the preceding sand 35 are shortened; as in निजब 'make him sleep', निजबणें 'to make one sleep', from the original नाज 'sleep', in करीब 'cause him to do', करिब्लें or करवर्ण 'to cause one to do', &c. In the standard Hindi the प is dropped, but still the way of pronunciation remains the same as it was when it existed. In दिखाना 'to show,' for instance, the RI is pronounced as it would have been if the word had been दिखावना. And the forms with व exist in the Braj.

ACCENT IN VERNACULAR COMPOUNDS

r:

Compounds in the vernaculars, most of which belong to the Tatpuruṣa, Karmadhāraya, or Dvandva class have an accent on the penultimate or final of the last word, as in the H. प्रत्साल 'a place where water is provided for passengers', in which the first word पानी becomes पन, अमर्राई 'a forest of mango-trees', in which the आ of आम is shortened, पृद्धसील 'a stable', in which we have पृद्ध for घोडा, रज्वास 'harem', the रच of which is a shortened form of रानी, and in the G. अध्मुई 'half dead ', and the M. अध्मुण 'half a maund'. In the Marathi आमराई, राज्यमांच्या, काळ्मांजर, the आ of the first syllable is short though not changed to आ; and in तिरकांबट 'an arrow and bow', the first word is तीर with the ई shortened.

An unaccented initial vowel is dropped in the following instances:

[Table 43: unaccented initial vowels dropped in vernaculars]

Skr. उपविश sit, Pr. उवहस, M. H. B. O. बेस, G. बेस, S. बिह.

Skr. उपविष्टक: sat, Pr. उवहटुओ, H. P. बैठा, G. बैठो, S. बीठो.

Skr. अभ्यन्तर inside, H. भीतर, B. M. (dial.) भितर.

Skr. अरघट्ट, a water-wheel, Pr. अरहट्ट ?, H. रहट, M. रहाट.

Skr. अभ्यञ्जनकम् to soak, M. भिजणें, H. भीजना, G. भिजबुं, B. भिजिबा.

Skr. एकस्थकम in one place, Pr. एकहुओ, H. P. कहा, or इकहा.

Skr. उपरि, above, Pr. उवरि, M. वर.

Skr. उत्सृष्टकः left, Pr. उज्छुहुओ, H. जूटा 'what is left after eating'.

Skr. उपाध्याय a preceptor, M. पाध्या, P. पाधे.

Skr. उद्दकः, Pr. उद्दक्षो a bridegroom, H. P. दूल्हा.

Of the two instances of this change in the Prakrits लाबू a 'pumpkin' exists in Hindi, and रण्ण in the form of राज in M. and P. and of राज in H. Medial ऐ is dropped in Marathi, Bengali, and Oriya in the word बेस, and others enumerated before. It is dropped in the G. माजी for H. मोसी (see p. 391). This elision does not appear to be due to accent since according to our theory it must fall on the ऐ in some at least of the cases. The change is due to the process of softening, since what takes place here is the simple dropping away of the close element of the diphthong.

THE AVOIDING OF THE HIATUS IN THE VERNACULARS

We will now briefly notice the manner in which the hiatus caused by two vowels coming together in consequence of the elision of uninitial consonants in the Prakrits is avoided. We have seen that M and W and W and W are combined into W and W in some of the dialects, and into W and W in others. Final unaccented W and W are dropped when preceded by W or W as in the words given in Table No. 35, and unaccented W preceded by W is dropped in some of the vernaculars, as in Table No. 36, and combined into W or W in others. Final W is preserved or changed to W after W in some cases, and combined with it to form W in others.

Final accented आ and उ or ऊ are preserved and a hiatus is tolerated; as in H. P. जुआ or जुआ for प्रक, and S. P. पिउ, माउ, and the M. आऊ for पिनृक, मानृका, आनृक, &c.

Sometimes ए or द is inserted in such cases after इ and उ, as in H. दिया for दिआ 'a lamp', and M. जुवा, H. जूबा for यूतक.

The syllable अप, formed in the Prakrits by interposing a प्र between अ and अ, is changed to ऐ in modern Hindi as in the words in Table No. 16 and to ए in the Gujarati and the Sindhi. This latter was the older process; and hence even in the Prakrits we have केल for कपल, Skr. कदल, and तेरह, तेशीसा, तेसीसा for अयोदश, अयोधिशति, अयिश्रशत, &c. And in Hindi also we have ए in बेर 'a plum' from बयर for Skr. बदर, which must have existed in the Prakrits, though the form given by the Grammarians is बोर for बबर.

Though the Marathi does not, like the Hindi or Gujarati, now change अप to ऐ or ए, still as formerly observed, when in a state of formation, it did form ए out of it, as in the instances there given, and in the neuter singular termination एं! The termination कर occurring at the end of the names of Gujarati and Marathi towns such as चांपानर, बडनर, संगमनर, पिंपळनर, &c., is derived from Pr. नपर for Skr. नगर 'town.' The syllables अपा, arising from अ and आ, are also sometimes changed to ए as in H. अधेर or अधेरा, M. अधेर, Pr. अन्यपार, Skr. अन्यकार. After आ, the प is sometimes changed to ऐ and ए in the Hindi and Gujarati as in the instances in Tables No. 18 and 20, and also in the Marathi in the instance शेळी from Pr. साअलिआ, Skr. सागलिका; but often आप and अपा remain unchanged as in:—

[Table 44: q inserted to avoid Hiatus]

- H. G. कायर timid, Pr. कायर, Skr. कातर.
- H. G. M. घाय a wound or blow, Pr. घाअ or घाय, Skr. घात.
- H. वाय wind, Pr. वाअ, or वाय, Skr. वात.
- M. पाय the foot, Pr. पाअ or पाय, Skr. पाइ.
- M. H. G. राय a king, Pr. राआ or राया, Skr. राजा.
- H. गया gone, G. गयो, Pr. गअओ, or गयओ, Skr. गतक:
- G. शियाळो the cold season, S. शियारो, Pr. शीअआ(या)लओ, Skr. शीतकालक:

Sometimes the interposed u is so light that it is dropped and the vowels u and u, or u and u, and in rare cases, u and u, combine and form u as in:—

[Table 45 A: The interposed q dropped]

B. पा, and B. G. घा for पाय and घाय in the above.

M. эп of эпы, Pr. эпээ, Skr, эпла.

M. कुंभार a potter, Pr. कुंम्भआर, Skr. कुंम्भकार, and generally, the termination कार as in सुवर्णकार 'a goldsmith' and others, also M. अंघार for अंघकार.

M. आर a Boa constrictor, Pr. अअअर, Skr. अजगर.

G. वातुं a promise, Pr. वअणअं, Skr. वचनकम.

H. बरात, M. वरात a bridal procession, Skr. वरयात्रा.

In some cases ₹ is inserted instead of ₹ to prevent the hiatus, as in:—

[Table 45 B : Tinserted to avoid Hiatus]

M. राव for राअ 'a king'.

H. पाव for पाअ 'the foot'.

M. साव in सावली for छाअ in छाया; कावरा for Pr. काअरअ, Skr. कातरक; काब in कावळा for Pr. काअ from Skr. काक; and a few others.

In the principal Prakrit also we find पीवलअ for Skr. पीतलकच् 'yellow', from which we have the Marathi पिवळें, and बोर has been mentioned above.

A medial I is dropped after E, V or I short or long, as in :-

[Table 45 C: Medial अ dropped after इ, ए or उ]

M. दीर for Pr. दिअर 'husband's brother'.

G. पीळं, H. पीला 'yellow' for Pr. पीअलअं, Skr. पीतलकम्.

M. शिळं 'stale, 'H. सीला 'damp,' 'cool, 'Pr. सीअलअं, Skr. शीतलकम.

M. बेण 'a throe,' Pr. वेअणा, Skr. वेदना; M. जूळ or जुळे 'twins,' Pr. जुअलं or जुअलअं, Skr. युगलम or युगलकम. Sometimes with the previous इ, it forms ए; that is, a vowel, partaking of the character of both, is substituted for them; as in:—

[Table 45 D: medial अ changed to v]

S. नेल 'a fetter,' Pr. निअडो, Skr. निगड:.

H. P. नेड or नेरे 'near, ' Pr. निअड, Skr. निकटे.

M. ज़ेंडी 'the tuft of hair on the head,' Pr. सिहाण्डिआ, Skr. शिसण्डिका, the g being softened to अ.

H. बेना 'a fan,' Pr. विअणअ, Skr. व्यजनक.

नेंडे has the form नींडे also, in which case अ is simply dropped and the vowel rendered long as in the M. दीर.

The long आ is preserved and changes the preceding इ to इय or य as in the H. सियार or स्यार 'jackal' for Pr. सिआल, Skr. स्गाल; याह 'marriage, 'for Pr. विआह, Skr. विवाह, &c.

CONSONANTAL CHANGES IN THE VERNACULARS.

We will now proceed to the consideration of consonantal changes; and first of those due to the process of softening. The semivowel य is often softened to इ. In the Prakrits, ज्यजन 'a fan' becomes विअण which is preserved in the H. बेना and स्यान is changed to थीण. This word does not occur in the vernaculars, but the Hindi and Marathi have got धिजता and धिजणें 'to congeal' from the verb स्यायते, in which या is softened to इ. From ज्यजन, or rather such a word as ज्यंजन, we have by a similar softening M. बिजणा, H. बिजना, G. बिजणों, S. बिजिण. More modern instances are:—

[Table 46: Pra. 4 changed to Verna. 3]

H. P. सलाई, P. सळाई, Pr. सलाया, M. सळई a pencil, probe, Skr. शलाका.

B. शेल a dart, Skr. शत्य; the य, being changed to इ, is transferred to the preceding syllable.

H. P. जनेत a bridal procession, Skr. जन्ययात्रा.

H. झाई shadow, P. छाईया, Skr. छाया.

H. P. बितीत passed, Skr. व्यतीत.

H. P. विथा pain, Skr. व्यथा; विवहार business, performance, Skr अवहार.

H. P. कलिआण welfare, Skr. कल्याण, बिदिआ learning, Skr. विचा.

P. पतीज faith, belief, Skr. प्रत्यय.

H. पर्तिछ visible, Skr. प्रत्यक्ष.

The Panjabi always dissolves a Sanskrit य contained in a conjunct into इ+अ, or sometimes into इ simply, while the Hindi often resorts to the latter change. The other languages do not seem to possess many instances of this process. The change of अब or अया to ए, formerly noticed, is also due to this softening process.

In the Prakrits, द is dissolved into उ in झुणी for Skr, स्विन, सुबद for स्विपित, द for दि, तुवर for त्वर, &c. In Hindi we have झुन in the sense of 'a slight resemblance,' a remote sound of the property possessed by another. But another derivative from the word exists in the form of भुन or भून in that language, and of भून or भूनक in Marathi. From सुव H. has सो 'to sleep, 'P. सो, G. सुव, and B. and O. शु or शुद occurs in the forms of दो or द when the word stands alone or is compounded, as in H. दूना, B. दुना, M. दुणा, &c., for Pr. दुरण, Skr. दिश्रण 'two-fold,' and तुवर by a further dissolution becomes the P. तुरना 'to go,' H. P. तुरंत, G. तरत 'instantly, pr. part., M. तुत 'at present'.

More modern instances are :-

[Table 47: ब changed to उ or ओ]

H. P. परोस to serve food, Skr. परिवेष.

H. P. M. पडोसी a neighbour, प्रतिवेशी.

H. अंगोछा a towel, अङ्गवस्त्र.

H. पतोहू son's wife, Pr पुत्तवहू, Skr. पुत्रवधू

H. P. जनेऊ, Pr. जण्णोबीअ, Skr. यज्ञोपवीत.

The a and a to which and a are softened are similarly changed to उ or ओ.

H. P. बहनोई sisters's husband, Pr. बहिनीवई, Skr. भगिनीपति

H. P. भादो name of a month, Pr. भद्दवअ, Sk. भाद्रपद.

H. P. G. खो-[ना-णा-दुं] to lose, Pr. खब, Skr. क्षप.

H. P. B. इ. to touch, Pr. छिन, or हुन, Skr. हुन.

H. अनोखा unexpected, Pr. अणवेक्ख-[अ], Skr. अनपेक्ष-[क].

H. नोता, P. नेउंदा, G. नोतरुं, invitation, A. P. निवंस-[उ] or निवंश-[उ], Skr. निमन्त्र-[क:]. H. has नेवता also.

H. पुन्यों the full-moon day, Ap. प्राण्णवां, Skr. पूर्णिमा.

- H. सोंह (of सोंहीं) face to face, Ap. संबंह, Skr. संग्रुख.

M. सोंप to entrust, Ap. सवंप्प, Skr. समर्प.

It will be seen that the ओ or उ to which इ is softened often prevails over the preceding and following vowels, as in the words परोस and पहोंडी.

The change of अब to औ, formerly noticed, I consider as due to the elision of the final अ of ब, consequent upon an accent on the first syllable, though afterwards there is a softening of the to s. But in the above instances the change of a to ओ or s is due to a weak pronunciation or softening alone. The diphthong ओ requires, as I have several times observed, a passage from one vocal position immediately to another which involves energetic utterance. The Pali, Prakrit, Gujarati, and Sindhi substitute for it, viz. ओ, is due to assimilation. The Hindi ओ and the corresponding Gujarati ओ, therefore, are not due to a weakening of the a, but the ओ in the above instances is, since it is not a substitute for ओ and consequently does not arise from an assimilation of the two sounds, involved in that diphthong.

The following are still more modern instances:

[Table 48: ৰ changed to ৰ].

H: P. परमेश्वर God, Skr. परमेश्वर.

M. H. P. सर or सर a musical note, Skr. स्वर.

H. P. सभाउ nature, Skr. स्वभाव.

P. सुआमी master, Skr. स्वामी.

In this manner the Panjabis always pronounce the \mathbf{t} of Sanskrit words and to a smaller extent, the Hindi people. The Marathi has not many instances of this softening of \mathbf{t} .

In the Prakrits there are according to the grammarians but three instances of the change of to the sonant π . Of these trees for Skr. trees occurs in the vernaculars. With these exceptions the initial π remains unchanged and the medial is dropped. But the vernaculars, adopting pure Sanskrit words again and again in the course of their history, have changed them as we have seen or changed the Prakrit words that came down

¹ See Table 22.

^{55 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

to them in virtue of the general or special laws which regulate the development of human speech. Thus, though they did not receive more words with a softened from the Prakrits, they have now come to possess a good many. Thus:—

[Table 49: Medial & softened to ग]

M. सगळा, P. सगरा, सगला, or सगल, H. सगल or सगला, G. सगळो all or whole. Skr. सकल or सकलकः.

M. बगळा, H. P. बगला, G. बगलो, S. बगो, B. O. बग, Skr. बंक or बककः, a crane.

M. H. P. G. परगट or प्रगट, S. पघदु visible, manifest, Skr. पकट.

H. P. G. B. काग, S. कांग्र a crow, Skr. काक:. H. has कीवा or कीआ from Pr. काअ with the suffix क:, i. e., ओ, M. काव, of कावळा, also.

H. लोग, S. लोग or लोकु people, the world, Skr. लोक:. The others have लोक.

H. P. साग, S. साग्र greens, culinary herbs, Skr. ज्ञाक: The others have ज्ञाक.

H. सद्यन, P. सगन, G. सगन or शगन, S. सद्यु, B. शद्यन an auspicious omen, Skr शक्कन:, M. शक्कन. S. has सोख, also from the Pr. सदणी.

H. P. सोग, S. सोग, grief, Skr. शोक:. The others have शोक:

H. P. बिंगा crooked, Pr. बङ्कुअ, Skr. बक्रक. The others have बांक or बांक.

P. सगरांद passage of the sun into a sign, Skr. संक्रान्ति. The others have संक्रांत.

P. संगोच contraction, bashfulness, Skr. संकोच; H. सकोच or सङ्गच, M. संकोच.

▼ is softened to the sonant ¬ as in the following:—

[Table 50: To softened to T.].

H. सूजी a needle, Skr. सूचि ; also 'a tailor ' from Skr. सूचिक.

H. G. स्ज-or स्झ-[ना and हुं] to be suggested, Skr. स्था.

H. कुंजी a key, Skr. कुञ्चिका.

P. S. বন five, Skr. বহুৰ; P. নানী a small bedstead, Skr. মাজিকা. There are not many instances of this process.

The Prakrits change an uninitial E to when preceded by a

vowel; and the vernaculars have preserved the words so changed. For instance:—

[Table 51: Medial \(\) softened to \(\)].

Skr. uza: a jar, M. H. usi, G. S. usi, H. P. usi.

Skr. घट to happen, to occur, to forge, to fashion, M. S. G. घड-[फॅ-फ्ट-इं], H. P. घड्-[ना].

Skr. घटिका a measure of time, M. G. S. O. B. घडी, H. P. घडी.

Skr. घोटर्क: a horse, M. O. B. घोडा, G. S. घोडो, H. P. घोड़ा.

Skr. तट a bank, M. तड, O. तडा, S. तडो in an altered sense.

Skr. कपाट a door, M. कवाड, H. किवाड, G. कमाड.

Skr. ag bitter, M. ag, G. agg, H. agai, S. agi.

Skr. कटि waist, M. कड, G. केड.

Skr. कटकम a bracelet, M. कहें, H. O. कहा, G. कहं.

Skr. रद or आरद to ory, M. रह in रहणें or आरहणें, G. S. रह-[इं-ख].

Skr. शादिका a garment, M. G. साडी, H. P. सादी, S. शाइडी, B. O. शाडी.

Skr. az: the Banyan tree, M. G. as, H. P. as, S. as.

Skr. त्रोट in त्रोटपति to snap, तोड in M. तोडणें, G. तोडबुं, H. P. तोडना, S. तोडणु.

Skr. स्कोट in स्कोटयति to break, कोड in M. फोडणें.

Skr, सुकुट or सुकुटक a crown, H. P. मौडा, B. O. मउड.

Skr. कुटज a kind of tree, M. कुडा.

Skr. पटोल a kind of cucumber, M. पहबळ, H. परबल, G. परबळ.

Skr. कीटक: a worm, M. किहा, G. किहो, H. कीहा.

The instances in which the cerebral ₹ resulting from an original ₹ has been softened in the Prakrits to ₹ have been preserved by the vernaculars. The following are some of these:—

[Table 52: ξ (from original ξ) softened to ξ]

पड for Pr. पाड, Skr. पात, in such words as H. G. पहोसी a neighbour, M. पहोशी, Skr. पतिवेशी.

M. पहसाद, Skr. मेतिशब्द echo.

M. पडसें, Skr. प्रतिश्याय cold, catarrh.

M. पदछाया reflection.

पदताळा proof,

G. पडसाळ, Skr. प्रतिशाला a penthouse.

G. पडघा, Skr. प्रतिघात echo or resonance.

हरहा or हरही and बेहडा as in Table 29; M. पुढें forward, so forth, Pr. पहुंडि, Skr. प्रभृति.

पह of M. पहणें, G. पहबुं, H. पहना to fall, Pr. पह, Skr. पत.

M. महें a corpse, from Pr. मंडअं, Skr. मृतकम.

उखाडना to dig out, to root out, from the Skr. उत्वात.

Of the change of $\overline{\eta}$ to \overline{q} there are some instances in the Sauraseni, and corresponding to these, we have a few in the Panjabi, Sindhi and Gujarati, thus:—

[Table 53 : त softened to द]

P. जीउंदा 'living', Saur. pres. part. जीवन्दो, Skr. जीवन्त.

दा of the present participle of roots, as करदा masc. 'doing', आखदा masc. 'saying' &c. A modern instance is सगरांद for the Sanskrit संक्रान्ति.

The Sindhi preserves the Sauraseni present participial affix न्दों or अन्दो, sometimes changed to इन्दा throughout, as in इलन्दो 'moving', करीन्दो 'doing', हुन्दो 'being', &c. The same change is observable in other words also as in खांदि for Sanskrit क्षान्ति.

The Gujarati has the few instances of the Sauraseni past passive participle in द as in खाद 'eaten', पीद 'drunk', कीद 'done'. &c. Marathi has दोंद for Skr. तुन्द 'belly', and Gujarati दुंद.

The labial surd q is, when uninitial, softened in the Prakrits to The q is preserved by the Marathi unchanged, but the Hindi softens it in some cases still further to 3 as already shown (p. 433), and drops it in a great many more cases, according to a very general rule to be hereafter noticed, while the Gujarati changes it sometimes to q. The Sindhi and Bengali follow the Hindi to a large extent in this latter respect. Thus:—

[Table 54: प softened to द or उ or म]

Skr. वापी a well, Pr. बावी, M. बाव, G. H. बाव in बावडी, S. बाइ, P. बाउ in बाउडी.

Skr. क्वक: a well, Pr. क्वो, G. क्वो, H. कुआ, S. क्वों for कुऔ.

Bkr. were a door, Pr. were; M. were; H. Ware; G. were:

Skr. siv to reach, attain, Pr. via, M. via (in via), G. via, §, H. vi-[ai], S. via, [w], B. viai-[ai].

Skr. प्रस्थाप to send, Pr. पहाब, M. पाठव-[णॅ], old H. पठच-[ना], H. पठा-[ना], S. पठ-[णु].

Skr. कुप् to touch, Pr. किप or कुप, M. शिव-[फें.], H. P. B. कुर्, सक्ट.], O. क्वं-क्राकुंड, S. कुश-[क्यु] or कुद-[क्यु.].

Skr. are to heat, Pr. are, M. G. H. are-[जे-इ-ना], S. au [जू.]

Skr. नापित a barber, Pr. नाविश or न्हाविश, M. न्हाकी, G. लाकी, Huß. नार्व.

Skr. गोपाल-लिक a cowherd, Pr. गोबाल-लिअ, M. गोक्सा, M.: G. अपनी, G. गोबाळियो, H. गोबाली, ग्वाल (= गोआल), ग्वाली, S. गवाह.

Skr. इच्छप: a tortoise, Pr. कच्छवो, H. कक्षुआ, S. कछनं, कहं, Manage.

Skr. सपत्नी a fellow-wife, Pr. सबत्ती, M. सबत, H. सौत.

Ska: साइपद : name of the sixth month, Pr. महचअत M. सादवह रि.

The lingual surd aspirate $\overline{\epsilon}$ is, it will be remembered, changed in the Prakrits to $\overline{\epsilon}$, and the vernaculars, especially the Hindi, have preserved the instances and even added to them, as will be seen from the following:—

[Table 55: 5 changed to w]

Skr. 93 to read, Pr. 95, M. H. P. S. 95 in 95% 97-97. In H. and P., however, the pronunciation of 5 is somewhat different from what it is in M., and in S. it sounds like the conjunct 55.

Skr. पीठक a stool, Pr. पीडअ, H. पीडा.

Skr. पीडिका a series (of generations), Pr. पीडिका, सि. भीडी, अर्थ, जिले, पि. पेडी.

Skr. मठ or मठिका a small temple, Pr. मह, H. P. मही, old M. मह. Skr. दंज्या, Pr. दाहा, H. हाह, M. G. दाह.

Similarly we have H. हृदना 'to roll' from Skr. हुद्. In the word दादा, the दा does not represent पू but इ, to which that Skr. conjunct must by the general rules be reduced in the Prakrits. One of the two Ξ is dropped, and the preceding vowel lengthened according to a general rule in the vernaculars to be hereafter noticed. The remaining Ξ is softened to Ξ . There are other instances of the same change in our dialects. Thus:—

[Table 56 : \(\) changed to \(\)].

बेह of M. बेहणें, S. बेहहणु, बेह of H. बेहना, बेह of B. बेहन 'to surround' from Skr. बेह through Pr. बेह. The Gujarati, however, has बीटबुं.

काड of M. काडणें, G. काढवुं, H. काडना; कढ of S कडणु, B. काई 'to draw out,' from Pr. कह, Skr. रूप्ट.

कुड of H. कुडना to mourn, from Pr. कुड, Skr. ट. Even here the Gujarati has कुटई.

H. कोड, M. G. कोड, S. कोइह white leprosy, from Skr. कुट through Pr. कोड.

The द arising from the Sanskrit थ is also similarly changed to इ. M. सहस्र, H. हीला, &c., from the Skr. शिथल as in Table 29.

M. कहणें to boil, काहा decoction, कही curry, कहई a cauldron, G. कहा, काहो, &c., H. कहना, काहा, कही, &c., all from the Skr. root कथ.

We have noticed the change of ₹ to ₹ and ₹, and of ₹ to ₹, in the Prakrits. Not only have the vernaculars preserved the words so changed, but have carried on the process to such an extent that ₹ and ₹ have become mutually interchangeable in some of them, especially the Hindi.

Table 57 : 중 changed to 평]

Skr. तहाग a tank, Pr. तलाअ, M. G. तळाव, M. तळं, H. तलाव, S. B. तलाउ. Skr. दाडिम pomegranate Pr. दालिम, M. डाळिंब, G. दाळम, H. B. दालिम, H. दालिम.

Skr. ਹਵ molasses, Pr. ਹਲ, . .

Skr. पीड of पीडयति to torment, to twist, Pr. पील, M. पिळणें, G. पीळडुं, H. पिलना, &c.

The numerals with their & changed in the Prakrits to through an intermediate & have come down to the vernaculars:—

[Table 58: \$\ of Skr. Numerals changed to \$\ \]

Skr. Pr. H. P. S. M. G. O. В. रकादश एआरह ग्यारह यारां or यारहं अकरा अग्यार एगार एगार गिआरां कारहं बारां बारहं हादश बारह बारह बारा बार बार बार त्रयोदश तेरह तेरह तेरां तेरहं तेरा तेर तेर तेर चतुर्वश चउद्दह चौदह चौदां चौडहं चौडा चौढ चौट चोष्ट पञ्चदश पण्णरह पंद्रह पंदरां पंद्रहं-पंधां पंधरा पंधर पंघर पनेर बोडश सोलह सोलह सोलां सोरहं नोल सोळा सोळ षोहल सप्तद्श सत्तरह सबह सतारां सबहं संतेर सतरा सत्तर सतर अष्टादश अद्वारह अटारह अटारां अडहं अहरा अहार आहार

The other Prakrit words दोहल and कलम्ब in which the इ of the Sanskrit दोहद and कदम्ब is changed to ल are preserved in Marathi in the forms of डोहाळा and कळंब. Similarly हरिया and अंगार with the so changed appear in the vernaculars as shown before.

The following are later instances:

[Table 59 : ₹ and ₹ changed to ₹]

- B. कोल, G. खोळो, Skr. क्रोड lap.
- B. বুল, Skr. বুৱা lock of hair.
- H. मरा for Pr. मडअ, Skr. मृतक a corpse.
- H. परछाई, Pr. पहिछाआ, Skr. प्रतिच्छाया.
- H. बेराना or बिराना, Skr. विडम्बन mocking.
- G. बाळबं, from Skr. बार to resist.
- G. पालबं from Skr. पार to tide over.
- H. बहलना from Skr. बिहरण to amuse one's self.
- S. निअरु, नेर, or नेस fetters, from Skr. निगड.
- H. P. नेरे, Pr. निअहे, Skr. निकटे near.

Though the change of stot does not involve softening, but, must be considered to be due to a predilection for the sound, it would be convenient to notice it here. There is only one instance of this change given by Hemacandra as existing in the Mahārāstri,

¹ See P. 406 and Table 22.

but there are a great many in the vernaculars, so that this appears to be a peculiarly modern process. The Hindi and the Sindhi have, however, of all the vernaculars, the largest number of examples, the rest presenting but a few stray ones. Sometimes both the forms with \overline{z} and \overline{z} are in use, especially in the Hindi.

Skr. स्थूल, Pr. थोर, M. थोर large, great.

H. G. लंगर, M. G. नांगर, S. लंगर, Skr. लाङ्कल a plough, or anchor.

H. कोर or कोल, Skr. कवल a morsel; धर or धूल, Skr. धूलि dust; सिवार, Skr. धूलि , a jackal; सराहना, Pr. सलाह, Skr. श्लाच to praise; हुक्कर, Skr. हुक्कल a spoilt child; सिकरी, Skr. खूक्कल a schain; बारना, Skr. ज्वाल (caus. of ज्वल) to burn; सांवरो (Braj) for सांवला, Skr. स्थामलक dark.

- S. नाविरो, Skr. क्यामलकः dark; पिपिरु, Skr. पिप्पलः a certain tree; विकास, Skr. प्रजल to light or burn; पायरबु, Skr. प्रगल to melt; कि, Skr. क्रल a plough, &c.
- G. अटारी, Skr. अट्टालिका a high mansion; M. श्रेवरी or सांवरी, Skr. शास्त्रकी the silk-cotton tree.

[INTERCHANGEABLENESS OF T, T AND T]

Notable instances of the interchangeableness of इ, इ and ल, are afforded by the causal forms of verbal roots in some of the vernaculars. In Hindi, the causal of roots ending in a vowel is formed by inserting g between it and the termination आ which is the remnant of the old Prakrit आव preserved in the Braj and other dialects; as पिलाना caus. of पी 'to drink,' खिलानार्का 'to eat,' दिलाना of दे 'to give,' खुलाना of पी 'to wash', &c. In Gujarati we have द for ल as सनावदं 'to cause to eat,' देवाददं 'to cause to give,' 'जनावदं,' 'to cause to bathe,' 'wash' &c. Sometimes 'instead of इ, द is optionally used as in स्वयंत्रवं 'to cause to eat,' 'जिल्हानार्द 'to threaten,' &c. But in Sindhi द always represents the Hindi आ and the Gujarati इ, as in दिआरण 'to cause to give,' भूआरण 'to cause to wash, 'देवादप' 'to cause to sit.'

What the origin is of the st of these forms, which is more paimitime than the st and to which it was afterwards changed, will be considered in the next lecture. Another peculiarly vernacular process, of which Hemacandra gives only one instance, is the transformation of $\bar{\epsilon}$ into $\bar{\epsilon}$, in which $\bar{\epsilon}$ is deprived of its nasal element and the complete contact of the vocal organs avoided. Thus:—

[Table 61 : Skr.] initial changed to] in vernaculars]

Skr. निम्ब a certain tree, Pr. लिम्ब or निम्ब, M. लिंब.

M. लवण to bow, Skr. नमन; लोणी butter, Skr. नवनीत; H. लौटना to return, Skr. निवर्त, Pr. निवट्ट; G. लील blue, Skr. नील; P. ललेर, a cocoanut, Skr. नारीकेल, H. नारियेल.

But there are more instances of the opposite process in the Prakrits; and these have come down to the vernaculars.

[Table 62: Skr. initial of changed to of in vernaculars]

M. G. नांगर a plough or anchor, P. नक्सल or लक्सल.

M. निहळ, S. निराडू, Pr. निहाल or णहाल, Skr. ललाट forehead.

The H. चून salt, Skr. लवण, is a later instance.

The sibilant म, whether original or derived from the Sanskrit म or , is in a few cases changed to । in the Prakrits. For दिवस 'a day' we have दिवह or दिअह, for पाषाण 'a stone' पहाण, and for दृश्य 'ten' दृष्ट. These words, so changed, have come down to the vernaculars, and are found in one or other of them. The various forms of the numerals having the word दृश्य at the end have been given above. Of the other words G. has दिह 'a day' and दिश्या with the suffix हो, P. दिंह and दिश्या, and S. दिंह and दिश्या; and S. पहण 'a stone'. The Sindhi and the Panjabi have given a wider range to this process, as will be seen from the following:—

[Table 63: 和, 可 or T changed to T in Vernaculars]

- S. बुद्ध or बुद्दो chaff, Skr. बुस, M. भुसा.
- S. बिद्ध lotus-stalk, Skr. बिस, M. मिसें.
- S. मेंडि a buffalo. Skr. महिपी, M. म्हैस.
- S. बेहण to sit, Skr. उपविद्या, M. बेसणें, G. बेसई.
- S. बेसाह trust, Skr. विश्वास.
- P. बीह, S. बीह twenty, Skr. विंश-[ति], M. बीस.
- P. विड or विस, S. विड or विख poison, Skr. विष, M. विस.
- P. सहरा, 8.सहरो, Skr. स्वहर, M. सावरा father—in-law. 16 (R. G. Bhandarker's Works, Vol. IV.)

P. तिहा thirst, Skr. तुपा.

P. काहा or काही, S. काहो or काही a snare, noose, Skr. पाङ, M. कांस.

Gujaratis, especially of the uneducated classes, pretty freely pronounce म as ह, as in हमजर्ड for समजर्ड 'to understand', बरह for समज्दे 'a year', हार्च for साउं 'true', &c., but the forms with म are also in use. The other dialects do not seem to have many instances of this change. The termination म of verbs of the future tense is in several dialects of the Hindi changed to ह as in करिंडे, G. करने 'he will do'.

The change of **A** to **a** seems to be an almost entirely later process of which there are scarcely any instances in the Prakrits. It is seen in full operation in the Apabhramsa.

[Table 64: Skr. # changed to 4]

Skr. नाम name, M. नांव, H. नाओं, old H. नाऊं, also नाम, P. नांउं, S. नांउं also नाम, and नालो.

Skr. दाम a tying rope, M. दाव, P. दांउ, H. दांव in दांवरी.

Skr. गाम a village, M. H. गांव, H. गाम also; S. गांउ, गास.

Skr. भ्रमण to turn round, M. भोंबणें, P. भोंणा, S. भोंणा ; from the same root, M. भोंबळ, H. भंबर, S. भेंरी.

8kr. नमन, M. लवणें, H. नवना-लौना-नेवना.

Skr. अवनमन to bow down, M. ओणंवणें.

Skr. आचमन to rinse the mouth, M. आंचवर्णे, H. अंचवना, also अचाना.

Skr. विभाम rest, M. विसांवा, S. वेसांहि.

Skr. क्यामल dark-complexioned, M. सांवळा, H. सांवला-रा, P. सांवला and सामला, S. सांबिलो.

Skr. जामातृक son-in-law, M. जांबई, but H. जमाई, P. जवाइ or जमाइ.

Skr. उद्गमन rising, M. उगवणें, but P. उग्गमणा.

Skr. आमलक a kind of myrobalans, M. P. आंवला, H. P. आंवला, P. आमला also, S. आंउरो.

Skr. सामन्त a chief, M. H. सार्वत.

Skr. चामर n. a sort of fly-brush, M. चौरी, H. P. चवर, S. चंवर.

Skr. कमल a lotus, H. P. कंबल, M. कमळ, S. कंबलु.

Skr. गमन caue. spending, wasting, H. गंवाना, P. गवाउजा, S. नंवाइड्ड, but M. गमवजे.

Skr. प्रमर a bee, H. भंबरा or भौरा, P. भोर or भौरा, S. भोर.

Skr. पश्चम fifth, M. पांचवा, H. पांचवां, P. पंजवां, &c., and other ordinals.

Skr. कोमल delicate, tender, M. क्रांवळा.

Skr. जमन eating, M. जेवण, H. जेवन, P. जेंडणा.

Skr. कर्दम mud, H. कांदो, G. कादव.

From the fact that the Marathi, Hindi, Sindhi, and Panjabi contain many instances of this change it is to be gathered that though it does not appear in the Prakrits proper, it must have begun very early, before the vernaculars received their distinctive forms and were isolated from each other. Of all the dialects the Marathi alone has preserved the \mp of this \pm in most cases, the Hindi and the others having dropped it or softened it to \mp in good many instances; while the Gujarati changes it back again to \mp . Thus, such of the above words as exist in Gujarati have the following forms:—

[Table 65 : बं (Skr. म्) changed to म in Gujarati]

नाम name.

चमरी a fly-brush

गाम a village.

कमळ a lotus.

ममद्यं to turn round, भमरी giddiness, भमरो a bee.

पांचमो, सातमो, &c., fifth,

corresponding to M. भोवळ.

seventh, &c.

गमावर्ड wasting.

कुमळो delicate, tender.

सामळो a dark-complexioned.

जमबं eating.

जमाड son-in-law.

आमळा myrobalans.

The reason why I consider this as a change of \$\dagger\$ back to \$\dagger\$ and not a preservation of the original Sanskrit and Prakrit \$\dagger\$, is that the Gujarati changes \$\dagger\$ to \$\dagger\$ in other cases where there is no question as to the \$\dagger\$(or \$\dagger\$) being the original sound. Thus:—

[Table 66 : व or q changed to म in Gujarati]

- G. कमाह a door, H. किवाह, M. कवाह, Pr. कवाह, Skr. कपाट.
- G. शिसन blackwood, M. शिसवा, Pr. सिंसव, Skr. शिशप.
- G. पामबुं to attain, M. पावणें, Pr. पाव, Skr. प्राप.
- G. पाम in दोडपाम running, Skr. धाद .

Where in Marathi we have इ or इ, the Gujarati has in some cases इ, as in G. सकी 'a blow, 'M. हुकी, G. उाम 'a place of residence'. M. टाइ. derived in some way from Skr. स्थाप.

There are traces of this change in some of the other dialects too :-

[Table 66 A: T for T]

S. P. मिनत, B. मिन्ति, corresponding to M. विनंति, H. विनति, Pr. विण्णाति, Skr. विज्ञाति 'solicitation'; B. काछिम, Pr. कच्छव, Skr. कच्छप 'a tortoise'; H. धीमर, Skr. धीवर' a fisherman'; old M. मात, G. बात, Skr. बार्ता 'news'; B. मुछ, H. पुंछ [ना], Skr. घोठ्छ 'to wipe away'.

This phenomenon of the change of द to द the vernaculars, and especially the Gujarati, have inherited from the Prakrits. Of the words so changed the Gujarati has preserved समग्रं 'a dream,' the Prakrit form being सिमिण or सुमिण, and some of the others, नीम 'kind of tree'. This last is नीप in Sanskrit; but probably there was an intermediate form नीव.

The vernaculars have thrown away the aspiration of hard and soft aspirate mutes in a good many cases. Thus:—

[Table 67: Disaspiration in the Vernaculars]

M. शीक learn,	Pr. सिक्ख,	H. सीस.
M. भीक beggary,	Pr. भिक्खा,	H. मीख, S. बीख.
M. सक्जें to dry,	Pr. सुक्क or सुक्स	r, H. स्सना, S. सकत.
M. was hunger,	Pr. बुदुक्खा,	H. स्त, S. इस.
M. हात hand,	Pr. हत्थ,	H. हाथ.
M. still elephant,	Pr. इत्थी,	H. हाथी.
G. बीनो afraid,	Pr. भीदो or भीओ	ो, M. भ्याला.
G, acif greatness,	Pr. वहू,	H. बढाई.
G. बगाइडुं to spoil,	Pr. विषड,	M. बिघडणें.
B. द्वाति a book,	Pr. पोत्थिआ,	H. M. पोथी.
B. पढ to learn,	Pr. 48 ,	H. M., &c. 98.
B. बाह to grow,	Pr. बहु,	M. बाद-[णें], H. बाद-दब-[ना].
B. बेद to surround,	Pr बेड,	M. बेड-[णें], H. बेड-[ना], &c.
B. पातर stone,	Pr. पत्थर,	M. पाथर, H. पत्थर or पाथर.
B. पिट back,	Pr. पिह or पह,	H. पीठ, M. पाठ.
B. साद wish,	Pr. सदा,	S. P. साप.

B. ग्रुक (in श्रुकान) to dry, Pr. ग्रुक्स or ग्रुक, H. सूसना.

B. काह (in काहिया) to take out, Pr. कह, H. M. &c. काह.

B. set a pond,

Pr. पुक्खरिणी.

And in such forms as पराइले 'worn' from Pr. परिहाण, नाहते 'for bathing' from Pr. न्हा, or नहा and डाइन 'to the right hand,' Pr. दाहिण, the aspirate ह is dropped, so that the Bengali has, in a large number of instances, thus weakened the pronunciation of aspirated sounds. In the instances given from Marathi, it will be seen that the letters other than those which are softened are aspirates; hence the weakening consists simply in dropping the heavy breath in one of two aspirated sounds, as in the case of the Sindhi बीख and दुख. The aspirates are preserved when occurring singly, which is not the case in Bengali. Hence Bengali utterance is the weakest, and the Hindi and Panjabi the strongest.

The Marathi reduces a Sanskrit or Prakrit

invariably to

nad in this respect differs from all its cognate dialects. Thus :--

[Table 68: Skr. or Prk. 爽 reduced to 埂 in Marathi]

Skr. इश्च sugarcane, Pr. उच्छु, M. ऊस. The H. has ईस or ऊस.

Skr. मत्स्य fish, Pr. मच्छ, H. माछ, M. मासा.

Skr. बत्स a calf, Pr. बच्छ, H. बाझ, M. वास in वासकं.

Skr. श्लारिका a knife, Pr. खुरिआ, H. खुरी, M. सुरी.

Skr. माक्षका a fly, Pr. मन्छिआ, H. माछी, M. माशी.

Skr. पूच्छ to ask, Pr. पूच्छ, H. प्रजना, M. प्रसणें.

Skr. कच्छप a tortoise, Pr. कच्छव, H. कछुआ, M. कासव.

Skr. कुाक्ष a side of the abdomen, Pr. कुन्छ, M. कुस. The H. has कोस.

Skr. क्षेत्र a field, Pr. छत, M. शत. But H. has खेत.

Skr. खुप to touch, Pr. खुब, H. छू-[ना], M. श्रीव-[णें].

Skr. छाया shade, Pr. छाआ, H. छांब, M. सांब-[स्री].

Skr. युच्छ a bunch, Pr. गोच्छ, H. गोच्छा, M. घोंस.

Skr. उत्सङ्ग lap, Pr. अव्डिङ्ग, M. ओसंग.

Skr. छागली a she-goat, Pr. छाअली or छाली, H. छेरी, M. शेळी.

Skr. श्लीण worn out, wasted, Pr. छीण, M. शीण-[जें].

Skr. श्रज a festival, Pr. इज, M. सज.

According to a general rule in Marathi, म is changed to श when followed by the palatal vowel इ or ए. This change of ए to ए in this dialect is to be accounted for by the fact that the vocal organs of the Marathas have a predilection for the dento-palatals, च, इ, ज, झ, to which the Sanskrit palatals are in almost all cases reduced by them, except when they are followed by इ, ए, or ए. The Sanskrit इ therefore becoming the dento-palatal इ passes into स which differs from it only in the contact of the vocal organs being somewhat less incomplete. The only instances in the Prakrits in which the change appears to be the same as that we have been considering are उत्तवों for उच्छवों and उद्धाओं for उच्छवों.

I have already given instances of the many words with their uninitial consonants dropped which the vernaculars have inherited from the Prakrits, and shown what further changes they have undergone. This process of elision has not been continued by any of the vernaculars unless we consider the disappearance of uninitial τ (which is very general in Hindi, Sindhi, and Bengali) to be an instance of the process.

[Table 69: Uninitial & dropped in Hindi, Bengali, &c.]

B. H. दिया, S. डिओ lamp, Pr. दीवओ, Skr. दीपक:, M. दिवा.

H. नया, S. नओं new, Pr. नवओ, M. नवा.

H. जी, S. जीउ life, Pr. जीओ, Skr. जीव:, M. जीव.

H. S. नाई, B. नापि a barber, Pr. नाविअ or न्हाविअ, Skr. नापित, M. न्हावी.

H. कछुआ, S. कछउं a tortoise, Pr. कच्छवओ, Skr. कच्छपकः, M. कांसव.

H. हू-[ना], S. हुअ-[णु], B. डो(डोया s.) to touch, Pr. ाडिव or हुब, Skr. हुप, M. शिव-[जें].

H. पा-[ना], S. पाइ-[प्र], Pr. पाब, Skr. भाप, M. पाव-[णें].

H. कुआ, S. कुहो for कुओ, B. कुया a well, Pr. कुवओ, Skr. क्रवकः, G. कुवो.

H. म्बाल = गोआल, B. गोबाला a cowherd, Pr. गोबालअ, Skr. गोपालक, M. गोबळा.

H. ब्याह = विआह, S. विहाउ marriage, Skr. विवाह.

H. पढा-[ना], S. पढ-[णु], B. पाठाई-[वा] to send, Pr. पहाब, Skr. प्रस्थाप; . M. पाठव.

H. ता-[ना], S. ताइ-[ख] to heat, Pr. ताब, Skr. ताप, M. ताब-[बें].

- H. बुआर, B. दोयार door, Pr. बुबार or बुआर, Skr. हार.
- B. दुइ two, Pr. दुवे, Skr. हो.
- B. नय nine, Skr. नव, M. नव, H. नौ.
- B. श्रेयाला moss, Skr. श्रेबाल, H. श्रेबाल.

THE F OF THE CAUSAL TERMINATIONS IN THE VERNACULARS.

This elision of ৰ appears also in the Hindi causal forms such as उढाना, चलाना, जलाना, in which the आ only of the Prakrit or Marathi termination আৰ or अब is retained. The whole termination appears in the Braj and other dialects and in old books, sometimes in the form of औ.

The Sindhi causal termination is आह as in कराहण 'to cause to do,' बचाइण 'to cause to increase.' The shere as well as in some of the Sindhi words given above represents the which according to the Prakrit rule, takes the place of the dropped s, and is, as shown before, changed to win the other vernaculars. The Sindhi s is a shortened form of this w. The termination आह appears sometimes in its more original form of आअ as in salway 'to cause to take.'

The Bengali too forms its causal by adding आई as in घराइतेडे 'is causing to be held', but the इ here'seems to be an euphonic addition, which even in their primitive form the verbs take, as in घरितेडे 'is holding', so that the इ is here dropped and the vowel अ combined with the preceding as in the Hindi. In the speech of the Maratha lower classes of Southern Konkan इ is very often elided, and the causal termination of the Savantvadi dialect is अय, as in कर्य 'cause to do,' which corresponds to the Sindhi कराइ-[जा].

[Table 69 A : र of स dropped in the Vernaculars]

There are instances also in which the Tresulting from T is elided:--

H. कुजेर 'a boy,' 'a prince,' Pr. कुमर, Skr. कुमार; बायां 'left-hand-side, Pr. बामअ, Skr. बामक; धुआं 'smoke, 'Pr. धुमअ, Skr. धुमक; अखानां 'to rinse the mouth,' Pr. Skr. आखम; बिराना or बेराना 'to mock,' Skr. बिबन्द ; धुई 'ground, 'Skr. धुमि.

There are traces of this change in other dialects too, as in the Oriya वां for बाम 'left,' Gujarati भाष = भूद्रे, S. भूद्रे, Skr. भूमि, and the Marathi भुद्रे and the termination है of the locative, which is to be traced to the Pr. स्मि, Skr. स्मिन. In all these instances we may regard म as directly elided, and not the म resulting from it. Hemacandra notices a few instances of the process in the Prakrits.

The vernaculars possess a large number of those Prakrit words, in which the mute element of hard and soft aspirates was dropped leaving only the ϵ . Thus:—

[Table 70: Vernacular 和 for Skr. 可]

Skr. सुख face, Pr. सुइ, H. सुंइ, S. सुदु, G. मोहो; M. मोहरे, P. सुदेरई (with the suffix र) in front, H. मोहरा; H. सोंही, G. सार्स-मो, M. समोर (with the suffix र) from Skr. संसुख face to face.

Skr. नख nail, Pr. नह, H. नह, S. नहु, P. नहुं,

Skr. शेखरकः a chaplet, Pr. सेहरओ, H. सिहरा or सेहरा, S. सिहिरो, P. सिहरा.

Skr. ससी a female companion, Pr. सही, G. सही, H. S. P. सहेली, M. B. O. सह.

Skr. लिस to write, Pr. लिह, M. लिह-[णे].

Skr. शिखण्ड a lock of hair or शिखण्डिका, Pr. सिहण्डिआ, M. शेंडी.

Skr. सुलकर agreeable, Pr. मुहअर, H. सोहर.

Skr. आसेट hunt, Pr. आहेड (?), H. अहेर.

[Table 71 : Verna. ₹ for Skr. ♥]

Skr. मेघ rain, Pr. मेह, G. H. मेह, S. मेहु.

Skr. श्लाच to praise, Pr. सलाइ, H. सराइ-(ना).

Skr. पारुणक a guest, Pr. पाहुणअ, M. पाहुणा, H. पाहुना.

To these must be added the several compounds of the word w, some of which at least are modern, as—

H. नेहर house of a woman's family of birth, Pr. नाइघर or माइहर, Skr. ज्ञातिग्रह.

H. पीइर, G. पीयर a woman's father's house, Pr. पिइयर or पिइडर, Skr. पित्रवह.

M. माहेर, G. महीर्र a woman's mother's house, Pr. माहचर or माहहर, Skr. मान्यह. G. भाषार, M. श्वंपार, H. श्वंपारा a cellar, Skr. श्रामिग्रह.

G. देहरुं, M. ेव्हारा, H. देहरा, दिहरा an idol-chamber, Skr.. देवगृह.

[Table 72 : Vernacular ह for Skr. थ]

Skr. नाथ a lord, Pr. नाइ, old M. & H. नाइ.

Skr. मिथुन a pair, Pr. मिहण, M. मेहण.

Skr. मथ to churn, Pr. मह, H. मह-[ना].

Skr. मथनिका a churning vessel, Pr. महणिआ, H. मिहानी.

Skr. पथिक a traveller, Pr. पहिअ, M. G, पही.

Skr. पशुक flattened rice, Pr. पहुज (?), M. पोहे, S. पेहं.

Skr. प्रशुलकम् broad, Pr. प्रहुलअं-[Ap. उं], G. पोहळुं.

Skr. कथ to tell, Pr. कह, H. G. S. P. B. O. कह-[ना-बुं-णुं, &c.].

Skr. कथानक or कथानिका a story, Pr. कहाणअ or कहाणिआ, H. कहानी, M. G. कहाणी, S. किहाणी, B. काहिनी.

[Table 73 : Vernacular इ for Skr. ध]

Skr. बधिरकः deaf, Pr. बहिरओ, H. M. O. बहिरा, G. बेहरी.

Skr. दाघ curds, Pr. दहि, H. M. G. P. O. दहिं, S. इहि.

Skr. मधु honey, Pr. महु, O. B. महु, M. मोह.

Skr. साधु honest, good, Pr. साहु, H. साहु-साह, M. साव.

Skr. वध a young lady, daughter-in-law, H. G. S. वहू, O. बोह or बी.

Skr. परिधा dressing, Pr. परिहा, H. पहिर-[ना], G. पेहर-[बु], S. पेहर-[णु],

P. पहिर-[णा] by the consonants interchanging places.

[Table 74: Vernacular ह for Skr. भ]

Skr. पमा or प्रभात light, dawn, Pr. पहा, पहाअ, पहाद, H. पह or पोइ, G. पोइ, M. पहाट. The S. पिरिड must be a later form. From the same root with the prepositions वि and द we have H. विहान morning, S. हहाउ light, &c.

Skr. शुभ to become, to adorn, Pr. सह, H. सोह-[ना], S. सुह-[णु]

Skr. सीमान्य prosperity, good fortune, Pr. सोहन्न, H. सोहान or सहान.

Similarly, H. पहिचान 'recognize' is from Skr. प्रत्यभिजाना, the consonants interchanging places; G. वहालो or बाल्हो 'dear' from Skr. बहुम; सहलो 'easy' from छलभ; बेहच-[बुं] to 'distribute or 'divide' from विभज्, &c.

57 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

The existence of many such words as M. H. P. उपाच 'injury,' H. P. साघ 'a good man,' M. G. H. P. सघ 'honey', H. G. लिख, इस 'to write,' M. G. H. नख 'nail,' S. हुमाणे 'in the morning' shows that the popular speech of Northern India has now for a long time ceased to have recourse to this process of dropping the mute element of the aspirates of the Sanskrit words, adopted from time to time from the parent language. Still, however, a few later instances, such as S. पिरिड 'dawn,' H. G. साइ 'middle' from साघ and सध्य, and some of the compounds of घर noticed above show that it has not been entirely absent.

The elision of simple mutes and of the mute element of aspirates is a natural phenomenon which one always meets with in the course of lingual development; but its operation is generally slow and it is only in consequence of its systematic occurrence in the Prakrits that I have attributed it to an ethnological cause and have supposed that the Prakrit speakers belonged to another race than those who spoke Sanskrit and, being unused to Sanskrit sounds, caught only the initial consonants from their Sanskrit teachers and dropped the rest or the mute portion of the rest. When, however, in the course of time they became used to those sounds and the Sanskrit and Prakrit speaking races became united into one community, they ceased to be so dropped, except through the slow and gradual operation of the usual phonetic laws; and hence it is that in modern times we find Sanskrit words, not shorn of their elements in the manner in which they were in ancient times, as indicated above.

This elision, though it involves economy and is a natural process, constitutes a peculiarity of the Prakrits in so far as it is due to peculiar historical incidents. We will now notice the peculiarities which do not involve economy and must be attributed to vocal predilections. Of the words in which a Sanskrit dental is changed to a cerebral in the Prakrits the vernaculars have preserved the following:—

[Table 75: Skr. Dentals changed to Cerebrals in Vernaculars] Skr. बिभीतक myrobalan, Pr. बहेडओ, M. बेहडा, &c. as in table 8. Skr. पत to fall, Pr. पड, M. G. H. पड-[जे-बुं-ना] Skr. दंश to bite, Pr. इस, M. H. P. G. इस-[जे-ना-जा-बुं]. From this

H. E. G. डांस, O. डाआंश a mosquito, Skr. दंश.

Skr. दंश to stick, Pr. डक (past part.), M. G. डक-[जें-बुं].

Skr. शद to decay, Pr. सड, M. H. G. सड-[जें-ना-बुं].

Skr. दोला a swing, Pr. डोला, H. डोला masc. From this are derived M. डुलणें, H. डोलना, G. डोलुंड to swing, M. डुलकी a nap, G. डोला nodding, M. G. H. P. O. डोली a litter or Sedan chair.

Skr. दण्ड a stick, Pr. डण्ड, H. डांड or डांडा, P. डंडा, G. M. (dial.) डांडो, H. G. डांडी. M. has दांडा and दांडी.

Skr. दह to burn, Pr. डह, H. डाहना to be spiteful, malicious, H. P. डाह malice.

Skr. शिथिल, Pr. सिहिल, M. सहळ, &c., as in Table 29.

Skr. दम्भ hypocrisy, deceptive appearance, Pr. डम्भ, M. इंभ.

Skr. दोहद longing, Pr. डोहल, M. डोहाळा.

There are many later instances of this change :-

[Table 76: The same as No. 75: Later Instances]

M. S. टाज-[जॅ-जु], H. टानना, B. टानिवा, O. टाजिवा to stretch, Skr. तन.

M. टिळा, G. टिळो a mark on the forehead, Skr. तिलक.

H. M. टिकडी, G. टिकडी, S. टिकिडो a small mark on the forehead, a spangle, Skr. तिलकः by consonants interchanging places.

M. G. ਟਾਡ, H. ਟਾਲੀ a kind of cymbal, from Skr. ਗਲ measured or beaten time. M. ਟਾਲਾ, G. ਟਾਲੂਂ the roof of the mouth, Skr. ਗਲੂ.

H. P. डाल-डाला-डाली, S. डारी-डारो, G. डाजी, B.O. डाल, M. डाइळी a branch or bough, Skr. दल.

M. कहणें &c. as in p. 440.

The Sindhi has the largest number of instances, and the Hindi and the Panjabi come next. The Marathi and Gujarati have the smallest number.

[Table 77: the same as No. 76]

- ৪, হুঁতা satisfied, Skr. নুম্ব-[কঃ].
- S. देही crooked, H. P. टेहा, M. तेहा, M. [dial.] तिहो, Skr. तिर्यह.
- S. दूंटो, A. दूंट handless, M. थोटा, Skr. स्थए with the suffix E, Pr. थउटो (?).
 - S. डालिए the south, H. दालेन, Skr. दक्षिण,

- S. eg a tooth, H. M. gin, Skr. gen.
- S. द्या pity, M. H. Skr. द्या.
- S. इसणु to show, H. दसना, Skr. दर्शन.
- S. इह ten, H. दस, M. दहा, Skr. दश.
- S. इाठ or डाइइ a grinder, H. डाट, M. दाट, Skr. दंप्ट्रा.
- S. डिओ a lamp, H. दिया, M. दिवा, Skr. दीप-[क:].
- S. द्विअणु to give, H. देना, M. देणें, Skr. दान.
- S. दीडो, H. P. दीड impudent, M. धीट, Skr. धष्ट.
- S. द्विसणु see, H. दिसना, M. दिसणे to appear, Skr. हृद्य.
- S. हिडो seen, H. P. डीट, G. दिटो, Skr. इप्ट.
- O. डाहांण, B. डाइन to the right hand, H. दहिना.

Thus then the Pali and Prakrit tendency to pronounce dentals as cerebrals is seen in a much more exaggerated form in the Sindhi and next to it in the Hindi and the Panjabi, while the other modern dialects seem to have kept it quite within the bounds in which we find it in the ancient dialects, though they have changed more words in that way than they.

In the following instances the cerebral mute in the place of the dental is to be considered as due to the influence of an adjoining \(\xi\).

[Table 78: Dentals adjoining t changed to cerebral mute]

पह for Pr. पंडि, Skr. प्रति, in the words given in Table 52, and इरहा, पुढें, and महें in the same.

- M. G. H. S. P. डर-[णे-बुं-ना-णु-ना], B. O. डरिवा, Pr. डर, Skr. दर fear.
- H. डाम or डाब, C. डाम or डामो, S. डस, Skr. वर्म a kind of grass, but P. व्डम.
 - H. मट्टी or माटी, &c., as in Table 4.
 - H. बुद्धा, बढा, M. S. बढ, &c., as in Table 4.
 - H. केवट, Skr. कैवर्त a pilot.
 - H. उबटन, M. उटजें, G. उटण्, S. उबटज् a cosmetic, Skr. उद्दर्तन.
- H. टाकना or ताकना, M. टकणं, O. टाकिया, Skr. तर्क to watch, to look out for. G. B. S. have त for ट.
 - H. M. पवाडा, S. G. पवाडी a narrative, Skr. पवाद-कि:1.

Even here the Sindhi has more instances than the others:—
[Table 79: the same change in Sindhi]

पुदु a son, Skr. पुत्र, M. पूत.

दिह thirst, Skr. तृषा, P. तिहा.

निंद sleep, Skr. निद्रा, H. नींद.

टामो copper, Skr. ताम्र, H. तांचें, &c.

Uninitial \exists is changed to \blacksquare in the Prakrits invariably, but when it is the beginning of a word it undergoes that change optionally. In the vernaculars the initial \exists remains unchanged, but when medial it becomes mostly \blacksquare in the Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, and Panjabi.

[Table 80: Initial π unchanged in the Vernaculars]

M. नाव &c., as in Table 64.

P. ਜੇਤਲ as in Table 24.

H. S. नाई, &c., as in Table 69.

M. नीज, H. नींद, S. निंद sleep, Skr. निद्रा.

M. नवा, E. नया, S. नओं, as in Table 69.

P. नेउंदा, H. नेवता, G. नोतर् an

H. P. नेरे as in p. 429.

H. नह. &c., as in Table 70.

n. 46, occ., as in Table 7

P. नेण, as in Table 16.

H. नौनी as in Table 17.

invitation, Skr. निमन्त्र. M. नणंद, P. नणान, S. निणुन, H. ननद. or ननदी, B. ननद or ननदा, Skr.

नतान्द् husband's sister, &c.

[Table 81: Medial न changed to ज्]

M. माणूस, G. माणस, S. माण्हुं, P. माणुस, Skr. मनुष्य a man.

M. दिसणें, S. दिसण, P. दिसणा, Skr. दर्शन or दर्शनक appearing; and all other infinitives in लें जु-जा.

М. जण, G. जण, S. जणो, P. जणा, Skr. जन-[क:] a person.

M. G. कहाणी, S. किहाणी, Skr. कथानिका a story.

M. G. S. P. पाणी, Skr. पानीय water.

M. G. S. P. जाण [जें-बुं-ख-जा], Skr. जाना to know.

M. G.कोण, P. कीण, Skr. कः पुनः who ?

M. बहिण, G. बेन, S. भेण, P. भेण, Skr. भगिनी sister.

M. कठिण, G. कठण, S, कठन, P. कटण-न, Skr. कठिन hard.

P.S.G. जण-[णा-खु-बुं], Skr. जन (causal) to give birth to, to produce.

G. ड्रथ, S. ड्र्यु, P. ड्र्ज, M. डोज (in सेंधेडोज), Skr. डवण salt. P. M. G. आपण, S. पाज, Pr. अप्पाज, Skr. आत्मान one's self. M. G. S. P. ताज-[जें-इं-यु-जा], Skr. तन to stretch or pull. M. नर्जद, &c., as above.

There are a few instances in which we have the original द in the body of a word, as in M. G. P. मन, S. मन, Skr. मनः 'mind', G. चाउं 'promise', for Skr. बचन, and G. बेन as above. But the general rule seems to be that these four dialects have a medial द in the place of the double ज of the Prakrits, resulting from a Sanskrit conjunct of which द is a member. Thus:—

[Table 82: Prk. w changed to w in the vernaculars]

Skr. अरण्य, Pr. रण्ण, M. G. रान wilderness.

Skr. कर्ज, Pr. कण्ण, M. G. कान, P. कन्न, S. कनु ear.

Skr. पर्ण, P. पण्ण, M. G. पान, P. पन्ना. S. पन a leaf.

Skr. जीर्ण (जूर्णकः), Pr. जुण्ण, M. जुनें, G. जुनें, S. झूनो old.

Skr. विज्ञप, Pr. विण्णव, M. G. विनव, (णें-बुं) to solicit.

Skr. विज्ञाति, M. G. बिनैती, S. विनती, P. मिनत solicitation.

Skr. संज्ञा, Pr. सण्णा, G. सान, P. सन mark, sign.

Skr. जन्ययात्रा, Pr. जण्णयत्ता, P. जनेत a bridal procession; also, S. जञ, Skr. जन्य, Pr. जञ्ञ.

Skr. पञ्चीपवीत, Pr. जण्णोवईअ, G. जनोई, P. जनेऊ, M. जानवें, S. जण्यो, the Brahmanic sacred thread.

Skr. मन्य, Pr. मण्ण, M. G. मान-[णें-चुं], S. मनणु, P. मञ्चणा to think, to regard, to obey.

But even here in Marathi, the purely Deshastha Brahmans living in the eastern part of the Deccan or Mahārāstra pronounce the ब as ज्; and the ordinary राज, काज, पाज, जिंगीते, &c., of that dialect become in their mouths राज, काज, पाज, जिंगीते, &c. They have, therefore, preserved in its integrity the old habit of the Prakrit speakers to pronounce the ब as ज throughout. On the other hand, the lower class of the Konkani population preserve the Paisāci peculiarty of reducing ज in all cases to च and pronounce पाजी, जाजा, कोज, &c., as पानी, जाजी, कोज, &c., and this peculiarity we find in its fulness in the Hindi, and next to it in the Bengali. Thus the words with a ज in them in the Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi and Panjabi, given above, have the following forms in Hindi;—

ातुस, दिसना, जन, कहानी, पानी, जानना, कीन, बहिन, or बैन, कठिन, जनना, छून or नून, अपना, टानना or तानना, ननद or ननदी.

And such of these words as are in use in the Bengali have the following:—

मानूहा, जन, किहानी, जानन, कोन, बहिन or बोन, कठिन, जनन, छोख, आपना, दानना, ननद.

Other words, in some of which even in Sanskrit a q appears, are in the Hindi and Bengali thus:—

[Table 83: Original of preserved]

Skr. ब्राह्मण, H. बम्हन or ब्रामन, B. ब्रामुन, but S. ब्रामण, a Brahman.

Skr. ज्ञूण in ज्ञूणोति, H. सुन-[ना], B. ज्ञुन-[न], S. मुण-[सु] to hear.

Skr. दक्षिण, H. दहिना, A. हाइन, right hand.

Skr. ग्रहण (?), H. B. गहना, S. गहणो, an ornament worn on the person.

Skr. काण-[क:], H. कान or काना, B. काना, S. काणो blind of one eye.

Still ज does appear in Bengali books in a few words such as काज 'ear', लोज, 'salt', &c. In the Hindi it seems to be entirely absent.

In the principal Prakrit and the Sauraseni, all the Sanskrit sibilants are reduced to \(\mathbb{T}\). Sanskrit words, therefore, containing the palatal \(\mathbb{T}\) and the cerebral \(\mathbb{T}\), which in the Prakrits came to have the dental \(\mathbb{T}\) instead, have the last in the Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, and Marathi. But according to a law of Marathi pronunciation, this \(\mathbb{T}\), when followed by the palatal vowel or semi-vowel \(\mathbb{T}\), or \(\mathbb{T}\), is transformed into the palalal \(\mathbb{T}\). The foregoing list of words contain many instances that prove these points. Thus:—

[Table 84 A : Skr. স্ or স্ changed to ন্ in the Vernaculars]

Table 2. M. H. P. दिस, S. दिस, Skr. वृद्य; H. सियार, Skr. शृगाहा; G. H. सींग, P. सिंग, S. सिङु, Skr. शृङ्ग; H. P. किस, Skr. कृषिः; M. पाडस, H. पाबस, Skr. प्राहर.

Table 5. M. G. H., &c. सोंड, मूंड, &c., Skr. शुण्डा.

Tables 11 & 8. G. माणस, M. माण्स, H. मानूस, B. माणुस, Skr. महाच्य.

Table 14. M. H. बेस, Skr. उपविश; M. क्वेस, H. बेंस, G. बेंस,

škr. महिची.

Table 24. H. सेमल, M. सांवरी, Skr. शाल्मली; Table 34. H. S. साच, Skr. अन्ता.

े Table 47. H. P. परोस, G. पीरस, Skr. परिवेष ; Table 46. H. सलाई, M. P. सळई, Skr. शलाका.

Table 36. H. साला, P. M. साळा, Skr. स्थालक; Table 63. M. सांबळा, H. P. सांबला, &c., Skr. स्थामलक; M. विसावा, &c., Skr. विश्राम.

Table 69. H. सिंहरा or सेहरा, &c., Skr. शेखर; Table 73. H. सोह, S. सह, Skr. शुभ; Table 74. P. H. M. G. डांस, Skr. दंश; H. सन, S. सुण, Skr. शुण as above. &c.

H. सीसो, M. शिसवा, G. शिसम, Skr. शिशप Table 65.

Other instances are :-

[Table 84 B: The same: হা or ম changed to ম in the Vernaculars]

M. साळ, H. साल, Skr. ज्ञाला 'a school' or 'an establishment.

M. सल, H. साल ; Skr. शल्य 'a dart'.

M. G. साकळी, H. सांकली, सिकली 'a chain ', Skr. शृहला.

M. सक, H. मृख, Skr. शुष्क 'dry'.

H. सीख, Skr. शिक्ष ' to learn '.

H. पीस, Skr. पित्र 'to grind '.

H. M. G. नास, Skr. नाज्ञ ' destruction '.

S. बस, Skr. वर्ष ' to rain '.

H. P. S. सेज. 'a bed,' Skr. शया.

[Table 84 C: The Same: More Modern Instances]

Even in words adopted later, and consequently treated somewhat differently, from the way in which they were treated in the Prakrits, the Sanskrit ज् and प् are reduced to स्, as in the H. तर्सना 'to thirst, 'Skr. तृष्; परवेस 'entrance, 'Skr. प्रवेश; परस् 'a hatchet', Skr. पर्शु; निसपति 'lord of the night,' 'the moon,' Skr. निशापति; S. वंसु 'race,' 'descent,' Skr. वंश; वर्सण 'to rain,' Skr. वर्ष; वासकरण 'to subdue, 'Skr. वशिकरण; P. सोग 'sorrow,' Skr. शोक; सांत 'quietness,' Skr. शान्ति; परमेश्वर 'God,' Skr. परमेश्वर; H. वरिस, G. वरस 'a year, 'Skr, वर्ष; G. वरसबुं 'to rain,' Skr. वर्ष &c.

The present speakers of the Hindi, the Panjabi, and the Sindhi retain therefore the vocal peculiarity of their Prakrit ancestors of pronouncing Sanskrit and T as T.

Of the words given above, the मींग, सेमल, सीख and सेज of the Hindi become हिंग, रोबरी, शिक and रोज in Marathi, because they are followed by a palatal vowel. Similarly, we have रोण 'cowdung' Skr. राकन ; रोगट 'a tree, 'Skr. रिग्र ; रोबाळ 'moss, 'Skr. रोबाल; रिडी 'a ladder,' Skr. भेडी, &c. Even the original म of Sanskrit words is pronounced by the Marathas as ज्याnder those conditions, as रोहर 'red lead, 'Skr. सिन्द्र:; रिवणें 'to sew, 'Skr. सिन्द्र: माउशी 'mother's sister, 'Skr. मान्वसा, &c.

Gujarati too shows the same tendency though it is not so decided; and we have thus शिंग 'a horn, 'शिखरुं 'to learn' शिवरुं 'to sew,' शिसम 'blackwood,' Skr. शिंशप, शेज, Skr. श्रंथा &c. But we have also such words as सिंचरुं 'sprinkling,' Skr. सिंच, सिजवरुं 'to boil,' सिंखों 'ladder,' &c. So that the Marathi rule does not seem to be strictly applicable to the Gujarati. Still the sound श is as natural to the Gujaratis as to the Marathas, as is shown by such forms as शुं for सुं 'what?', करशो 'do,' &c., and in some provinces it is freely used for स in many words.

The Bengali forms of such of the above words as are used in the language have π for the Hindi π , as:--

[Table 85 : Bengali ज for Hindi स]

B .	H.	В.	H.
शुकिवा	स्खना to dry.	शियाल	सियारा a jackal.
शुनिवा	सूनना to hear.	शिम्रल	समल the silk cotton tree.
शुइवा	सोना to aleep.	গুঁভ	सोंड, संड trunk of an
पाशे	पास near.		elephant.
हिंगा	सींग a horn.	হি হূ	सीसो blackwood.
ढांश	हांस a mosquito.		
भईश	भैंस a buffalo.	दिवाशत	गई वियासलाई a fire-match.

Bengali books and dictionaries contain a good many words, derived from the old Prakrits or recently adopted from Sanskrit, which contain with them. The object of the authors in these cases is to give the correct Prakrit or Sanskrit forms, and not to represent the correct Bengali pronunciation. But it is not necessary to hear a Bengali speak or read his language or even Sanskrit for a long time to arrive at the clear conviction that his vocal habits do not admit of the pronunciation of work, but only of w. 58 [R.G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. 1V.]

Sanskrit and Prakrit w becomes we in his mouth. Thus the Bengalis of the present day possess the same vocal characteristic that is attributed to their ancestors, the speakers of the Māgadhi, by the Prakrit grammarians.

[Table 85 A : সু changed to হু in the Vernaculars]

श्र has a tendency to pass off into छ as we observed in going over the Pali. For the Pali छक from the Skr. शस्त्र 'cowdung,' we have छेणु in S., छाण in G., &., from शक्त, another form of the word; and for the Pali छाप, Skr. शाव 'the young of an elephant,' we have छावा in H. M. &c., the Pr. form being छात. For the Skr. शप the G. has छेवट, छेडो, and छेछो 'last,' 'end,' with the suffixes ट, ट and छ; for Skr. शह 'rind', H. has छछी, for Skr. शण 'hemp', O. has छण; for मन्नभार 'carpenter,' which is सुतार in the other dialects and must have been pronounced छतार by the Bergalis, the B. has छुतार and O. also. Other instances may be found.

[Table 85 B: ¶ changed to 頓 in Hindi]

In Hindi Skr. प is often pronounced as ख as in भाख for भाष, "spoken dialect', पुरुष for पुरुष, भेख for बेप, विखम for विषम, &c. This is to be identified with the practice of the followers of the Mādhyamdina recension of the White Yajurveda who read the प occurring in their books throughout as ख. But other dialects also have a few instances of this change, as विख P. M. G., विख S. for Skr. विष.

Of the Prakrit words in which a vowel or a mute is aspirated through the influence of an adjoining aspirate or an aspirated mute, the vernaculars have preserved the following:—

[Table 86: Mutes aspirated in the Prakrits and the Vernaculars]

Pr. पनस, M. G. फणस, Skr. पनस a Jacktree. The H. has also फनस but more commonly पनस.

Pr. भिस, M. भिसें, H. भिस, P. भेह, Skr. बिस edible lotus root. S. has बिहु.

Pr. खासिअ, G. H. P. खांसी, Skr. कासित cough.

There are a good many modern instances:-

[Table 87: Mutes aspirated in the Vernaculars 1

M. फरशी, G. फरसी, H. फरसा, Skr. परश an axe.

M. G. कांस, H. कांस-कांसा-कांसी, P. काहा-काही-कांसी, S कासी-काही, B. कांस-कांसी, Skr. पाद्य a noose.

M. निभावणं, G. निभावबं, H. निभाना, S. निभाइण, P. निभाउणा, Skr. निर्याह accomplishing. H. S. P. have also the forms with नियाह.

G. खसबं, H. खिसना, Skr. रूप्यते to drop away, to be drawn.

G. घऊं, H. घेऊं, or गोहं, P. घेऊं, Skr. गोधम wheat. M. has गहूं.

M. G. O. हाड, P. हड्ड-हड्डी, S. हड्ड्-हड़ी, H. B. हाड-हड्डी, Pr. अही, Skr. अश्थि bone.

B. हांदु knee, H. उिहुन, by interchange of places, Skr. अष्ठीवत्, Pr. अष्टीव ?

P. भाफ, B. O. भाप, Pr. बप्फ, Skr. बाष्प vapour.

M. बॉस a bunch, Skr. युच्छ.

P. सभ, S. सभु all, Pr. सब्ब, Skr. सर्व.

M. खुशाल safe, well, Skr. कुशल.

H. P. M. भेस garb, Pr. वेस, Skr. वेश.

M. मूस-भुसा chaff, H. भूस-भूसा, P. भुस-भुस्सी, G. भुसी-भुसुं, B. भूशि, Skr. बुस; S. has बुह-बुहो.

[Table 86 A: Aspiration transferred]

In some cases the aspirate sound is absorbed in the adjoining mute, and it ceases to exist as a separate component of a word. Thus, from the Pr. पहड़ि, Skr. प्रभात, we have the M. प्रहें in which the इ combines with इ, and the M. dial. फुड in which it combines with g. In the same manner the Skr. Hy 'sheep' becomes, with the usual Apabhramsa suffix ड or डअ, मसडउ or मेहडउ, which in M. and G. assumes the form of HeI and HeI, the E combining with E, and in H. and P., of Her, in which the s being combined with the preceding # destroys the nasal character of the sound. P. has #er also, and G. भेडा, and B. and O. मेडा as well as भेडा. By a similar absorption of the g sound and the reduction of the nasal to a mere Anusvāra, we have H. P. भैंस (masc. भेंसा), G. भेंस, B. भंईश, from Skr. महिषी 'a feamale buffalo, 'and G. M. भेळ from Pr. मिस्स. Skr. मिश्र with the suffix of, through an intermediate form Heor or Heor. We have a more ancient instance of the process in the Pr. संभर for Skr. संस्मर, through the intermediate form संस्हर, which has been preserved by the G. in सांभरबं 'to remember' or 'remind.'

Sometimes a mute is aspirated without any apparent reason in the Prakrits, and these instances have come down to some of the vernaculars:—

[Table 88: Mutes aspirated]

Skr. कुडन humpbacked, Pr. खुज्जो, M. खुजा; but P. कोझा, H. कुंजा, B. कंजो, O. कंजा, S. कुबो; M. कुबडा also.

Skr. कीलक: a nail, Pr. खीलओ, M. खिळा, G. खिळो, B.O. खील or खिला: the rest कील.

Skr. कर्पर potsherd, an earthen cup, Pr. खप्पर, M. खापर, H. P. खप्पर, O. खपरा, B. खावरा.

Later instances are :-

P. खुहा, S. कृहा a well, Skr. क्रपक:.

P. छुहणा to touch, H. छूना, Skr. छुप.

M. घागर, P. H. गागर, Skr. गर्गरिका.

G. खोळो lap, Skr. क्रोड.

Of the instances in the Prakrits in which the consonants contained in a word interchange places we have :—

[Table 89: Interchange of Consonants]

इक्र 'slow' in M., Pr. इलुअ and Skr. लघुक, होला in H. and P. and इक्र and इलवे in G.

M. सून 'daughter-in-law,' Pr. सुण्हा, Skr. स्तुषा.

M. निहाल 'forehead,' Pr. णहाल, Skr. ललाट, &c.

There are a good many more modern instances:

H. पहिचानना to recognize, Pr. पञ्चहिआण, Skr. प्रत्यभिज्ञा-(जा)न, P. पञ्चाणना.

H. पहिरना to dress, Pr. परिहाण, Skr. परिधान; P. पहिराउणा to cause to dress. In both the last two syllables are assimilated and we have पहिंद्या also; G. परेंद्र by the loss of ह.

G. बहालुं beloved, Pr. बलुह, Skr. बलुभ.

सेहलं easy, Pr. सलह, Skr. सलभ.

बिलाडी a cat, Skr. बिडाल ; उथलपाथल topsy-turvy, the M. form being उलटापालट, Pr. उबलुत्य-द्व पहुत्य-द्व, Skr. उपर्यस्त पर्यस्त.

M. शेपूट or शेपटी tail, G. having पूछड़ं or पूछडी, Skr. पुच्छ, with the suffix E, the w being changed to ज by the usual M. rule and the palatal vowel being brought in by the palatal ज.

- M. थोडके little, Pr. थोक, Skr. स्तोक, with the suffix इ.
- S. দ্রুণা a bunch of flowers, Skr. যুহন্ত ; ত্তিভিত্তা loose, Pr. বিভিন্ন, Skr. হাখিভ.
 - H. M. दिकली, &c., from Skr. तिलक as in Table 75.

TREATMENT OF SKR. CONJUNCTS IN THE VERNACULARS.

We will now trace in the vernaculars the Sanskrit conjunct consonants assimilated in the Pali and the Prakrits, in the order I have observed in treating of them in the lecture on the Pali. And first I will give a few instances of those in which the second member being strong prevails over the first and is doubled.

[Table 90: Second Member of the Conjunct preserved and doubled]

Skr. कर्म act, business, Pr. कम्म, P. कम्म, S. कम्र, H. G. M. O. काम.

Skr. धर्म heat of the sun, Pr. घम्म, H. घाम; M. G. B. O. धाम in the sense of 'sweat.'

Skr. चर्म skin, leather, Pr. चम्म, P. चम्म, S. चम्, H. G. B. चाम, O. चम, M. चाम in चामडें.

Skr. कार्य, Pr. कर्जा, S. काजु, M. G. H. P. काज. The M. has, however, the dento-palatal ज here.

Skr. कर्ण ear, Pr. कण्ण, P. कज़, S. कनु, H. G. M. B. O. कान.

Skr. पर्ण a leaf, Pr. पण्ण, P. पद्मा (of a book), S. पद्म, H. G. M. पान, G. पार्च (of a book), P. S. O. पान in the sense of 'betel leaf.'

Skr. विज्ञप to solicit, supplicate, Pr. विण्णव, H.G. M. विनय-[ना-युं-णें]; H. also विनीना.

Skr. राज्ञी a queen, Pr. रण्णी (?), G. P. S. M. B. O. राणी, H. रानी.

Skr. संज्ञा a signal, Pr. सण्णा, P. सन, H. G. सान; H. सेन also.

Skr. यज्ञोपवीत the sacred thread, Pr. जण्णोवईअ (?), H. P. जनेऊ, S. जण्यो, G. जनोइ, M. जानवें.

Skr. अर्प to make over, Pr. अप्प, G. आप-[बुं].

Skr. समर्प to consign, deliver, Pr. समप्प, H. P. S. सोंप-[ना-णा-ख], M. G. सोंप-[जं-खुं].

Skr. सर्प a serpent, Pr. सप्प, P. सप्प, S. सपु, H. G. M. B. O. साप.

Skr. दर्भ sacred grass, Pr. द्ब्म, S. इ.स., H. डाम or डाब, G. डाम or डामो.

Skr. शब्द sound, call, Pr. सह, P.सह (subs. & verb), H. M. G. साद.

Skr. वर्द्धर a frog, Pr. व्ह्रर, P. H. G. वादुर, S. देवरु.

Skr. भक्त boiled rice, Pr. भक्त, P. भक्त, S. भतु, H. M. G. B. O. भात.

Skr. रक्त red, Pr. रत्त, P. रत्ता, S. रतो, H. G. रातो, M. राता in राताम्बा a red sour fruit of a certain tree.

Skr. सन slept, Pr. सुन्त, P. सुन्ता, S. G. सती.

Skr. कर्वम mud, Pr. कद्दम, H. कादी or कादा, G. कादव.

Skr. तर्क to look out for, gaze wistfully, Pr. तक्क, P. तक्कना, S. तक्क्यू, M. टक्कें, O. ट्राकिया, H. G. ताक-[ना-बुं].

The following are instances in which though the second member of a conjunct prevails, some of the elements of the first sound are added to it:—

[Table 91 : Some element of the first added to the second member of a Conjunct]

(a) Conjuncts of a sibilant and a mute.

Skr. इस्त hand, Pr. इत्थ, P. इध्य, S. इथु, H. G. हाथ, M. B. O. हात.

Skr. सृष्टि fist, Pr. सृद्धि, P. सृद्ध, S. सृद्धि, H. G. सृद्ध-सृद्धी, M. सृद्ध, O. मृद्धि, B. सृद्ध.

Skr. प्रस्तर stone, Pr. पत्थर, P. पध्थर, S. पथर, H. G. पध्थर or पाधर, M. पाथर, B. पाथर or पातर, O. पथर.

Skr. वृष्ठ back, Pr. यह-पिद्य-पड, vernaculars as in Table 4.

Skr. प्रस्थापन sending, Pr. पहाबण, S. पठणु, H. पठाना, Braj पठीनी, M. पाठवणे. B. पाठाइवा.

Skr. मुस्ता a kind of grass, Pr. मोत्था, vernaculars as in Table 5.

Skr. मस्तक head, Pr. मत्थेअ, P. मध्या, S. मथो, H. M. B. माथा, G. माथं, M. माथं, O. मथा.

Skr. पुस्तक a book, Pr. पोत्थाअ, P. H. M. &c. as in Table 5.

Skr. उपविष्ट sat, Pr. उपदृत्त, vernaculars as in Table 43.

Skr. दृष्टि or दृष्ट sight or seen, Pr. दिहि or दिह, P. दिहा-दिह, and the rest as in Table 2.

Skr. उच्चा hot, Pr. उण्ड, G. उन्हुं, M. ऊन: M. G. S. उन्ह as in उन्हाळा-होन्ते for उच्चाकाळ the hot season.

Skr. स्ना to bathe, Pr. णहा or नहा, P. H. M. G. नहा-[उणा-ना-णें-हुं]; P. H. नहा also.

Skr. अङ्गुष्ट thumb, Pr. अंगुद्ध, P. अंगुद्ध, S. आङ्ठो, H. अंगुद्धा, G. अंगुद्धो, M. आंगुटा

Skr. विष्किर to spread, Pr. विक्सिर, P. विक्सिरना, S. विस्तेरणु, H. G. M. विस्तर-[ना-बुं-णें] to be scattered.

Skr. शुष्क dry, Pr. सुक्ख, P. सुक्खा, S. सुको, H. मूखा, G. सूखो, M. सुका, B. O. शुका.

Skr. ब्राष्य vapour, Pr. बल्फ, S. H. G. बाफ, M. बाफ, P. भाफ, B. O. भाष.

Skr. स्कन्ध shoulder, Pr. खन्ध, H. M. खांदा, G. खांदो; but H. mostly has कंधा and कांधा, P. कन्धा, B. O. कांध.

Skr. पश्चात् behind, Pr. पच्छा, P. पिच्छे, H. पीछे, पाछे, G. पाछुं.

Skr. ग्रीष्म hot season, Pr. गिहा, M. dial गीम.

Skr. इच्छा proper name, Pr. कण्ड, vernaculars as in Table 1.

[Table 92: the Same as in Table 91]

(b) Conjuncts of a dental and a heavy A.

Skr. सत्य true, Pr. सच, P. H. सच, S. सचु, H. M. साच, G. साचुं, B. सांचा.

Skr. नृत्य of नृत्यित to dance, Pr. नच, P. नच or नच-[णा], S. नच-[ण], H. M. G. नाच-[ना-ण-चुं], B. O. नाचिया.

Skr. नृत्य a dance. Pr. नच, P. नाच, S. नाचु, H. M. C. B. O. नाच.

Skr. मृत्यु death, Pr. मिञ्च, H. मीच.

Skr. प्रत्यभिजान of प्रत्यभिजानाति to recognize, Pr. पद्यहिआण, H. पहि-चान, P. पद्याण, B. चिन or चिनिवा, by dropping the first two consonants.

Skr. उत्पच of उत्पचते to be produced, Pr. उप्पज्ज, P. S. H. M. G. पज-[णा-णु-ना-णे-बुं].

Skr. माच of माचात to be intoxicated, Pr. मज, M. माजणें.

Skr. वियुत lightning, Pr. विज्जू , M. G. बीज, P. विज्ज, S. विज्ञ.

Skr. अब to-day, Pr. अज, P. अज, S. अज, H. M. G. B. आज, B. O. आजि.

Skr. स्विय of स्वियाति to sweat, also to boil, Pr. सिजा, P. । सिजाणा to be soaked, S. सिझणु, H. सिझना-सिजाना (causal), M. शिजणे, G. सिजा, O. सिजिया.

Skr. वन्ध्या a barren woman, Pr. बंज्झा or वंज्झा, P. बंझा, S. बांझ, H. O. बांझ, G. बांझ-[णी], M. बांझ or बांज, B. बांझा. Skr. संध्या evening, Pr. संज्ञा, P. S. संज्ञा, S. सांज्ञी, H. सांज्ञ, M. G. H. B. सांज, O. संज.

Skr. बुध्य of बुध्यते to know, Pr. बुजझ, P. बुजझणा, H. S. बुझ-[ना-णु]; B. O. बुझिवा, M. G. बुज-[णें-बुं].

Skr. मध्य middle, Pr. मज्झ, P. मंज्झ or माज्झ, S. मंझु, H. मांझ or माझ, M. मार्जी, B. माझ.

Skr. युद्ध battle, Pr. जुज्झ of जुज्झइ for युध्यति, P. जुज्झ, H. जुङ्झा, B. क्रुंज (in क्रुंजार), M. क्रुज.

When द as the latter member of a conjunct is heavily pronounced, the double consonant that takes the place of the conjunct is प्य, ब्दा, and ब्य according as the preceding member is a surd, a sonant, or an aspirated sonant. Sometimes, when the preceding member is a dental, the substitutes are च, जा, and जा. The following are instances of these changes in the vernaculars:—

Table 93 : इ as second member of a conjunct changed to प्य, ब्य, स्थ, च्य, ज्य, ज्य]

Skr. त्व abstract termination, Apabhr. प्प, H. पा as in बुदापा old age, मोटापा fatness, S. पो as in माण्डिपो humanity, from माण्ड man.

Skr. त्वन abstract termination, Pr. त्तण, Apabhr. प्यण, H. पन or पना as in कुआरपन celibacy; S. पणु or पणो as in जालपणु womanhood, साण्हुअपणु humanity; M. पण or पणा as in साण्तपण or साण्तपणा humanity; P. पुण as in निआणपुण childhood, &c.

Skr. उद्देग feeling of repulsion, Pr. उच्चेग, M. उचग.

Skr. द्वार door, Pr. दार or बार, P. H. G. बार, P. दर, S. दरु, M. दार.

Skr. सर्व all, Pr. सब्ब, H. सब, P. सभ, S. सभ, G. सहु for सव.

Skr. ज्वल to burn, Pr. जल or बल, S. बरणु, P. जळना-बळणा, H. जलना-बलना, G. जळबं-बळबं, M. जळणं and पोळणं where ब seems to be hardened, B. O. पोइ in पोडिया.

Skr. ऊर्ध्व above, erect, Pr. उब्भ, S. उभी, M. O. उभा, B. उबु.

Skr. जिह्ना tongue, Pr. जिन्मा, M. H. P. G. जीम, B. O. S. जिम.

Skr. অস banner, Pr. শ্বস; with the suffix হা or হা, S. শ্বর, P. H. শ্বরা, M. শ্বরা.

Similarly आत्मन, with the loss of the nasal sound of तम, becomes अपण in the Prakrits and आपण in M. O. G., आपन in B., पाण in S. and आप in H. P.

[FDENTALS CHANGED TO PALATALS]

Dentals have a tendency to become palatals even when not followed by ए or ए, probably because they do so become when followed by those semi-vowels. Thus, from the Skr. बादपात 'to sound' or 'play on a musical instrument,' we have P. बजाउणा, H. बजाना, M. बाजविणें, &c.; from Skr. निज्ञा 'sleep,' M. नीज ; P. H. ओडा 'trifling,' 'vain', S. ओडा, from very probably, Skr. दथा ; M. सावज, H. साजा from Skr. खापद which appears even in the Prakrits to have assumed the form of सावज, though सावप is usually given; M. H. G. डी डी, M. डे डे, Pr. डि डि from Skr. धिक धिक &c.

[Table 94: (c) The conjunct at (when the sibilant is pronounced like 51.) and at, and at

Skr. भण

a moment, Pr. खण, P. छिण, S. खिण, H. छिन, G. खण, M. (dial.) खिण a festival, Pr. छण, M. । छिन, M. सण for छण.

Skr. मक्षिका a fly, Pr. {मिलिखआ, P. मक्सी, S. मसी, H. G. मासी. मच्छिआ, H. B. O. माछी, M. माशी.

Skr. कुक्षि a side of the abdomen, Pr. कुन्छि or कुक्सि, M. कुस; the rest कुस or कोस as in Table 5.

Skr. मक्ष a bear, Pr. रिच्छ, S. रिछ, H. G. रीछ, M. रीस.

Skr. तक्ष to shave, hew, Pr. तच्छ, P. तच्छणा, M. तासणे, G. तासबं.

Skr. क्षेत्र a field, M. शत from Pr. छत ; the rest खेत.

Skr. बत्स a calf, Pr. बच्छ, P. बच्छा, S. बछ, H. बाछा, बछा, बछ, G. बछ, बाछ-[रहुं], B. बाछु-[र], O. बाछु-[री], M. बास-[रुं]; P. H. बचा, S. बचो, B. बाचा, M. बच-[हुं], &c., in the sense of 'the young one of any animal', from the same.

Skr. मत्त्य a fish, Pr. मच्छ, P. मच्छ, S. मछु, H. मछ or माछ, B. O. माछ, M. मासा.

Skr. उत्सङ्घ lap, Pr. उच्छङ्ग, H. उछंग, M. ओसंग.

The conjunct आ sometimes appears in the Prakrits, and perhaps even in Sanskrit, in the form of झ. The Sanskrit अर is ज्झर in the Prakrits, and this we have in the H. झरना, M. झरणें and पाझरणें in which last पा stands for the preposition घ. क्षि is Pr. झिज्झ from which we have M. झिजणें 'to waste away', and from आप we have S. झीचो, H. झीच, &co.

59 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

[Table 95: (d) Instances in which a dental is changed to a cerebral through the influence of a previous ξ]

Skr. वर्ध to increase, Pr. बहु, H. बदना or बादना, M. बादजें, B. बादिवा, O. बदिवा. But P. S. G. बघ or बघ-(णा-ग्र-बुं)

Skr. वर्ध to cut, Pr. वडू. P. बडुणा or बडुणा, S. बडफ.

Skr. वर्धक-कि a carpenter, Pr. वहुद, P. वहिं, H. वटर्ड, O. वडाइ, B. बाइइ, S. G. वाडो.

Skr. छर्द to let off, to leave, Pr. छड्ड, P. छड्डणा, S. छड्डण, H. छाडना, B. O. छाडिया, H. छाडना, M. सांडणें, perhaps from the same, as also H. छोडना, M. सोडणें.

Skr. कर्त to cut, Pr. कट्ट, P. कट्टणा, S. कटण, H. काटना, B. काटिबा, G. काटबं, M. काटणें.

Skr. उद्दर्तन a cosmetic, Pr. उन्बद्धन, S. उबटण, H, उबटन, M. उटणें, G. इटण्.

Skr. कैवर्त a boatman, Pr. केवट, H. केवट.

Skr. सार्थ a half more, Pr. सडू, H. P. B. O. सांहे, S. साहा-हु, H. M. साहे, C. साहा.

We will now proceed to instances in which the first member of a conjunct prevails over the second and is doubled:—

[Table 96: Instances where the first member of a conjunct remains]

Skr. अग्न-[क:] fled away, Pr. भरग-[ओ], H. भागा, S. भगी.

Skr. लग्न adhered to, connected, Pr. लग्ग, P. लग्गा or लग्ग in लग्गणा, S. लग in लग्गण, H. M. G. लाग-[ना-जॅ-द्रं] B. लागा, O. लागिवा.

8kr. नग्न-[कः] naked, Pr. नग्ग-[ओ], P. H. नंगा, S. नंगो, G. नागो, M. नाग-[का], O. नागा.

Skr. रश्मि a cord, a rope, Pr. रस्सि, P. H. रस्सी, S. B. G. O. रसी, H. G. रास in the sense of 'reins'.

Skr. योग्य fit, Pr. जोग्ग, P. जोग or जोग्गा, S. जोश, H. G. जीग, H. M. जीगा.

Skr. सून्य void, empty, Pr. सुर्ग्ण, P. सुन्न or सुन्ना, S. सैन, H. सून or जूना, M. सुना. सुन has acquired the sense of 'insensibility' also.

Skr. मन्य of सन्यते to regard, Pr. मण्ण, P. मसणा, S. मनणु, M. G. H. मान-[जे-इं-ना].

Skr. ब्याख्यान to explain, Pr. वस्ताण, P. व-बत्ताणना, H. बत्तानना explain or praise, S. बत्ताणण praise, G. बत्ताणनं, H. वाताणणं,

Skr. sever desert, Pr. even, M. G. eta, G. ea, S. Rug.

Skr. ब्याझ a tiger, Pr. बण्च, P. H. B. O. बाच, S. बाचु, M. G. बाच.

Skr. अग्र front part, Pr. अन्त, S. अगो, H. आगा; P. आग्र before, G. आगो, G. आगह before, B. आगे, O. आग्र first of all.

Skr. चक a wheel, Pr. चक्क, P. चक्क, S. चकु (both) a potter's wheel, H. चाक, चक्की, in the sense of a 'mill-stone', G. M. चाक, B. चाका.

Skr. पत्र a leaf, Pr. पत्त, P. पत्त, S. पतो a playing card, H. पात, पाता, पत्ता, G. पातरं, M. पाते blade of a knife, M. पातेरा a collection of dry leaves.

Skr. चन्द्र moon, Pr. चन्द्, P. चंद्, S. चंद्रु, H. G. M. B. O. चांद्, H. चंद also.

Skr. * as in Table 34.

Skr. अम a cloud, Pr. अवस, H. असाल, M. असाळ or आसाळ (from आमाळ), G. आस.

Skr. ज्वल, Pr. and other forms with ज as in Table 93.

Skr. पार्श्व a side, Pr. पास, S. पासो, P. पास्सा, H. पास, G. पासे, M. पार्शी near, i. e. by one's side.

When t followed by u is changed to u, this last sound prevails over the u, and the conjunct becomes u in the Prakrits. The following instances of this change have come down to the vernaculars:—

[Table 97 : र्य is changed to लू]

Skr. पर्याय rotation, turn, Pr. पहाअ, H. पाला, M. G. O. पाली.

Skr. पर्यस्त changed, Pr. पहाट or पहात्य, P. H. पलटा, P. पळटा, M. G. पाडट.

Skr. पर्यक्क a bedstead, Pr. पहाक्क, P. परुंघ, S. परुंख, H. M. G. परुंग, B. पाइंक or पाइंग, O. परुंक.

The following are instances of other cases of the same change;

Skr. मद to squeeze, rub, knead, Pr. मल, P. M. G. मळ-[ना-जें-बुं], H. S. मल-[ना-जु].

Skr. आर्दक ginger, Pr. अल्लुअ, M. आलें. H. P. B. have आदा, G. आर्द्द, from Pr. अहअ.

Skr. आईक wet, Pr. अलुअ, उल्लुअ, ओल्लुअ, M.ओलें, S. आलो, H. आला. H. has आदा also from Pr. अद्वअ.

P. H. M. मला, G. S. मलो, B. भाल, from Skr. भन्न, through the change of tto इ and of the conjunct to ह.

When $\overline{\epsilon}$, the first sound of $\overline{\epsilon}$, prevails and adds to itself the heavy aspiration of $\overline{\epsilon}$, the conjunct becomes $\overline{\epsilon}$. Of this change there are many instances in the vernaculars:—

Table 98: er changed to even]

Skr. वृक्ष a tree, Pr. रुक्ख, P. रुक्ख, H. रूख.

Skr. रक्ष to keep, to protect, Pr. रक्ख, P. रक्खणा, S. रखणु, H. रखना also राखना, M. G. राख-[ण-बु], B. O. राखिवा.

Skr. उपलक्ष to mark, Pr. उवलक्ख, M. G. ओळख acquaintance.

Skr. शिक्ष to learn, Pr. सिक्ख, P. सिखणा, S. सिखणु, H. सीखना, G. शिखबुं, M. शिकणं, B. O. शिखिबा

Skr. क्षेत्र a field, Pr. खेत, P. खेत, S. खेतु or खेडु, H. B. O. खेत, G. खेत in खेती agriculture.

Skr. कुक्षि a side of the abdomen, Pr. कुक्खि, P. कुक्ख or कोख, S. कखि, H. कोख, G. कुख.

Skr. बुभुक्षा hunger, Pr. बुहुक्ला, P. भुक्ल, S. बुख, H. G. B. भूख, M. B. भूक, O. भोक.

Skr. ब्रह्मण to anoint, an unguent, Pr. मक्खण, P. मक्खण butter, S. मखणू anoint, butter, H. मक्खन or माखन butter, B.O. माखन butter' माखिना to anoint, M. माखणें to anoint, G. माखण butter.

Skr. परीक्षा examination, Pr. परिक्खा, H. P. B. O. परखं, M. G. S. पारख.

Skr. अक्षि the eye, Pr. अक्खि, P. अक्ख, S. अखि, H. G. आंख, B. O. आखि. Skr. क्षीर milk, Pr. खीर, S. खीरु, P, H. M. G. खीर a dish of rice and milk, O. खीरी.

Skr. मक्षिका and क्षण as in Table 93.

Skr. इक्ष sugar-cane, Pr. उक्ख or इक्ख, H. ऊख or ईख, P. इक्ख.

Though according to Hemacandra and Vararuci, the आ of क्षेत्र, कृक्षि, आहे, आहे, आहे कार, माधिका, and इस्रु is changed to च्छ in the Mahārāṣṣṭrī or principal Prakrit, still we see that most of the vernaculars derive their forms of these words from such Prakrit forms as had क्ल for the Sanskrit आ. But with the exception of इक्ल and सीर which are mentioned as occurring in the Jaina sacred books, these forms are not given as existing in any of the dialects.

This and other similar omissions show that the observation of the Prakrit grammarians was by no means perfect. The Marathi forms of these words, however, with the exception of आहा, which is unknown to the language, and of शीर which is सीर, have स or श, which is representative of the Prakrit छ, and hence they are the same as those given by Hemacandra and Vararuoi. Here we have one of several indications that the modern Marathi is the direct daughter of the old Mahārāṣṭrī of the grammarians.

It will be seen from the lists given above that the Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali mostly drop one component of the doubled consonants, and to make up for the quantity thus lost, lengthen the preceding vowel. In other words, the speakers of those dialects take the same time to pronounce two syllables the latter of which contains a double consonant which the speakers of the Prakrit did; but the preceding forcible vowel utterance and the subsequent strong contact and pressure being avoided, the effect is that one of the two consonants is dropped and the previous vowel lengthened. This then is essentially a case of softening.

The Sindhi drops one of the two consonants, but does not lengthen the preceding vowel; while the Panjabi generally preserves the doubled consonants handed down to it by the old Prakrits. The Hindi contains more instances in which the original Prakrit pronunciation is preserved than the other three dialects. Hemacandra notices in the Prakrits the softened pronunciation we have been considering in the case of the only, one the of which is according to him dropped and the preceding vowel is lengthened, as in the for that, Skr. And, &c. This lengthening of the previous vowel is in the four dialects prevented, as observed before, by the accent falling on a subsequent syllable.

¹ See pp. 424-26,

In the Pali and the Prakrits, you will remember, the components of some conjuncts such as &, &, \(\overline{\pi}\), \(\overlin

[Table 99: Interposition of a vowel between the members of a conjunct]

H. सराइना to praise, Pr. सलाइ, Skr. श्लाघ.

H. अग्नी, P. अग्न, B. आगुन fire, Pr. अग्णी, Skr. अग्नि.

H. बरस, बरिस, M. वरीस a year, Pr. वरिस, Skr. वर्ष. So also H. P. बरस-[ना-णा], G. वरसन्दुं, Skr. वर्ष.

H. गिलान tired, Pr. गिलाण, Skr. ग्लान.

M. किळस disgust, Pr. किलेस, Skr. क्रेश distress.

M. शिलोक, stanza, Skr. श्लोक; G. हरख joy, Skr. हर्ष; G. सळेखम, P. सिलेसम, Skr. श्लेष्म, are later instances of the same nature.

In modern times other conjuncts also are similarly dissolved, and we have पर्ताप S. M., &c. 'exploit' for भताप, खेतर, P. G., &c. 'a field' for क्षेत्र, पदस S. 'a lotus' for पद्म, तियाग P. for त्याग, तर्ह S., others तरास, 'vexation' for जास, धरम 'virtue' H. M. G., &c., for धर्म, &c.

But the books and dictionaries of some of these languages contain a good many Sanskrit words the conjuncts in which are not changed in any way. This is due to the fact that those languages are now the spoken languages of the educated as well as the uneducated portions of the different communities. and the former pronounce the words correctly, and the forms given to them by the latter are not taken into account by the authors of those books. Again, even the latter, though they interpose a vowel between the components of some conjuncts as shown above. have, to a certain extent, become used to Sanskrit sounds and can pronounce others correctly. But in some of the provinces the old disability of the Prakrit speakers has been inherited in certain cases by their modern descendants, whether educated or uneducated, and it is very much to be regretted that the writers of books should in such cases write words in their Sanskrit forms which, when they are read by themselves or others, are read in a quite different way.

The people of Sindh, whether belonging to the higher or lower classes, and the Bengalis pronounce the conjuct at invariably as कार्. Thus Sanskrit नक्षत्र as नक्खत्र, साक्षी as साखी, मोक्ष as मोक्ख or मोस. &c. The speakers of the Hindi more often pronounce आ as ब्ह than as क्ल . नक्षत्र becoming नव्हेत्तर with them ; साक्षी, साव्ही ; मोक्ष मोच्छ : लक्ष्मण, लच्छमन : लक्षणा, लच्छना : क्षत्रिय, खत्री or छत्री : क्षय, छय : क्षम, सम ; &c. The Panjabis pronounce the first three words as नच्छत्र, सासी, and मोच्छ, लक्षण as लच्छण, क्षत्रिय as सात्री, &c., so that they also agree with the Hindi people, but seem more inclined towards making इन्द् of the conjunct. The Marathas, however, pronounce the a properly, though ordinarily they make as of it rather than as remarked on a former occasion. Similarly, the Bengali assimilates conjuncts the latter member of which is व or य, ईश्वर becoming इकार and व्याख्यान, बाक्खान in his mouth. Similarly he pronounces Skr. आत्मा as अत्ता just as his Prakrit ancestors did though it is written correctly.

ASSIMILATION OF MEMBERS OF CONJUNCTS CONTAINING NASALS

Some of the vernaculars assimilate the components of a conjunct made up of a nasal and a mute. Thus the Panjabi has उस for दण्ड 'penalty', सुस्तणा for सण्डना 'to shave', सुस्त for सण्ड, Skr. सुण्डा 'the trunk of an elephant', कसहा for कन्या, Skr. स्कन्य 'shoulder', कसहा for बन्य 'binding', खस्त for सण्ड 'a piece', भस्तणा 'to break' for भक्तना or भस्ता, थस्म for सन्ध 'a pillar,' &c. In the Bengali सान 'a piece', one of the two न sounds of स्मा is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened. Similarly we have धाम 'to stop' from स्तम्म. In Sindhi we have भस् 'interruption', for भक्त, चर्टी 'good' for नक्ति, M. नांगला; मसुट 'madder' for माश्रेष्ट; पिनु 'a ball' for पिण्ड; सनु 'a piece of bread' for सण्ड; सुमण् 'to kiss' for सुम्ब, &c. Here the Sindhi, as is usual with him, drops one component of the

¹ While I was Head Master of the High School at Hyderabad in Sindh, I introduced about the beginning of 1865 the study of Sanskrit, and the first thing I had to do was to teach correct pronunciation to my pupils. I had no great difficulty, so far as I can now remember, in making them pronounce the other conjuncts; but when I came to अ, all my endeavours to teach its correct pronunciation failed. I got the most intelligent of my boys to pronounce first ≅ and then ₹. This he did very well, whereupon I told him to utter both the sounds one after another immediately; but instead of making ₹₹ of them he invariably gave them the form of ₹₹. I then gave up attempt in despair.

doubled consonants. With this exception, the modern dialects have got no cases of the assimilation of the members of a conjunct unknown to the Prakrits, while, as shown above, the speakers of those dialects tenaciously retain the vocal habit of assimilation of their Prakrit ancestors in a few cases.

And now I close this part of my inquiry. The results at which we have arrived are these: -The vernaculars of Northern India contain the instances and, in some cases, a large number of them, given by the Prakrit grammarians or occurring in Prakrit literature, of every one of the rules or processes of change grouped by me under the heads of softening, assimilation, dissimilation. interchange of places, accentuation, and peculiarities by which Sanskrit words become Prakrit. Most of these processes have been continued and their range widened, to such an extent in some of the dialects as to render them distinctive characteristics of those dialects. Other processes scarcely or rarely observable in the Prakrits have come into operation, such as the original accent on the penultimate syllable and the final accent derived from it, the avoiding of the hiatus caused by the elision of consonants in the Prakrits in different ways, the change of # to # and the dropping of one component of a double consonant and the lengthening of a previous vowel; and these have further transformed the Prakrit vocables and changed also those Sanskrit words that have been adopted in later times.

Some of the vocal tendencies and habits of the Prakrit speakers are exihibited by the speakers of the vernaculars. Thus, like the former, the ordinary Gujarati pronounces ऐ and ओ as ए and ओ, the Deshastha Brahmans and other people of Eastern Mahārāstra have a predilection for ज to which they reduce न in most cases,' the Sindhis make क्या of हा, the Bengalis do the same and also pronounce भ्र, रूप and स as रहा, क्या and त, and the Hindi people reduce आ to च. These again and the Konkan lower classes pronounce ज as न like the speakers of the Paiśāci, and the Bengali reduces all the sibilants to ज like the speakers of the Māgadhi; while the speakers of the Hindi, Sindhi and the Panjabi exhibit the old Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī characteristic of reducing them to च.

¹ I feel it necessary for the present thus to modify the assertion made in p. 454.

The tendency to pronounce dentals as cerebrals is common to all, though it appears in a very strong form in the mouth of the Sindhis, and next to them in that of the Panjabis and the Hindi people.

The general or almost universal elision of certain uninitial consonants, which was a characteristic of the Prakrits, has disappeared except in isolated cases, and the assimilation of the components of a conjunct, which was also very general, has become restricted to the few cases I have mentioned, though the words changed in the Prakrits in accordance with these two processes have come down to us in large numbers. While, therefore, this fact shows that the speakers of the Prakrits were in a condition which rendered the two phenomena very general in their speech, and that we are now free from it, the fact that we exhibit some of the same vocal peculiarities which they possessed leads to the conclusion that we are their successors or lineal descendants. And the fact that the vocables in ordinary use in our modern dialects are the same as those in the old Prakrits, whether of a Desya or Sanskrit origin, and in the latter case, whether derived by the transformation of Sanskrit words in accordance with processes which have ceased or which have continued to operate in the vernaculars, affords strong evidence in favour of the hypothesis that these dialects are but a more developed form of the Prakrits. But to place this hypothesis beyond the reach of cavil we must examine the grammar of our vernaculars: and this I propose doing in the next two lectures.

LECTURE V

REMNANTS OF THE OLDER GRAMMATICAL FORMS IN THE NORTHERN VERNACULARS

I have already directed your attention to the accent on the penultimate syllable of words in the vernaculars of Northern India and the effect it has had in mutilating and transforming the Sanskrit and Prakrit words existing in their vocabularies. Through its influence, you will remember, the final vowel or the vowel of the last syllable is shortened in some cases, and often entirely dropped and the word ends in a consonant or silent 3. When the consonant of the last syllable is dropped in consequence of the Prakrit law of the elision of uninitial consonants, the final vowel and the vowel of the penultimate syllable are brought together and when they are in this condition, it is possible for them to unite into one sound and thus the final vowel is dropped in some cases and combined with the preceding in others. The Sindhi, however, oftentimes resists the influence of this accent as I have already mentioned.

CASE TERMINATIONS IN THE VERNACULARS.

Now on account of these processes, the nominative singular termination of masculine Prakrit nouns ending in of is sometimes shortened to of and in this form we have it in the Sindhi and in old Marathi and Hindi literature. In the other dialects including the modern Marathi and Hindi, it is dropped except in instances such as well M. and with command H. The Prakrit plural terminations of and of this case are also dropped everywhere for the same reason and we have such forms as the S., the H., the M. G. &c. for the nom. pl. and these are the sing. forms also except in the case of the Sindhi, which has the

In the Prakrit the plurals of the nominative and accusative cases of all nouns are alike and so are they alike in the vernaculars. The analogy came to be extended to the singulars also in the Apabhramsa and accordingly the singulars of the two cases are the same in the vernaculars. An independent accusative.

case made up by affixing a termination to a noun is given in ordinary grammars; but it has the sense of the dative, or rather of the Sanskrit genitive, which expresses relation in general. Thus we say मी काम करितों M. 'I do a work,' हं काम कलं छूं G., आंद कस थो कर्यो S., मै कम करदा P., मै काम करता हूं H., आमि or सह काम करि or करिते छि B., स कर्म कर आछ O., in which instances काम etc. are really acousatives and we do not use कामास, कामने, कमखे, कमनु, कामको, कामके and कर्मक, which forms are generally referred to the accusative.

The masculine nom. and acc. sing. form in 3 was in the Apabhramsa extended by analogy to the neuter singular also; and, though the peculiar neuter plural termination was preserved. the fact shows that in the vernacular speech of the times there was a tendency to forget the distinction between the two genders. Accordingly we now find that in the Sindhi, the Panjabi, the Hindi, Bengali and Oriya the distinction is entirely lost. In Gujarati also nouns ending in a have retained none of the two neuter terminations; but the Prakrit and Apabhramsa i plural of that gender exists in the Marathi combined with the preceding w into पं as फळ 'a fruit' sing., फळें 'fruits' pl.

This neuter pl. termination is applied in Hindi, Sindhi, and Panjabi to the pl. of fem. nouns ending in अ as in राते 'nights' H., जाला 'women' S. and गहां 'words' P., though the इ is changed to आ in the last two cases.

The change of the final syllables अओ of Prakrit words resulting from such Sanskrit words as आम्रातकः-को, पारवः-दो, वीपकः-को etc. to at by the dropping of the final and lengthening of the penultimate through the force of the general accent on the penultimate in some of the modern dialects such as the Marathi and the Hindi and to ओ. into which the two vowels are combined in consequence of the weakness of the accent in such languages as the Gujarati and the Sindhi and in some of the minor dialects of the Marathi, has already been noticed in the last lecture. Similarly the change of the Prakrit final syllables of neuter nouns अअं or अपं arising from such Sanskrit words as कदलकम, मस्तकम have been changed to एं in the Marathi and to उं in Gujarati and to आं in some of the dialects of the Marathi. This also has been explained. The pl. of such neuter nouns, most of which are formed by the addition of ক and may be called augmented nouns, is formed by the addition of the Apabhramsa ‡, which being rendered emphatic by the nasal sound absorbs the previous স or light ব and thus we have কঠা for Ap. কসন্তম + ‡ = Skr. ক্ষুত্ৰ + সানি.

Fem. nouns in इ or ई add आं as घोडी -घोडियां H., घोडिआं P. This यां or आं represents the combination of य or आ with ई; such nouns as घोडी being derived from घोटिका = घोडिआ. In Panjabi after fem. nouns in आ the ई appears distinct, as बला a calamity, बलाई nom. pl. In Sindhi the neuter termination is added to the original Prakrit fem. pl. उ, shortened from ओ, as घोड्यूं 'mares' nom. pl.; इचा 'murder' इचाऊं 'murders'; जाल a 'woman,' जालूं 'women' nom. pl. This last has जालां also like the P. रातां. In Marathi also it is not very unusual to speak of women in the neuter pl. when respect is intended as राणीसाहेब आली. This transference of neuter termination to the fem. must have taken place when genders began to be confused in the Apabhramsa period.

The nom. pl. termination of masc. nouns, which in the Prakrit was M, is preserved by the class of nouns we have been considering i. e. augmented nouns, in Sindhi and Gujarati; while the Q of the Prakrit acc. pl. is used for those nouns in the Marathi and its dialects and the Hindi and the Panjabi. When the two cases were thoroughly confounded, one can easily see how this came to pass. Other or unaugmented nouns have dropped both the terminations in all the languages, as has been already noticed.

The Marathi has preserved the Apabhramsainstr. sing. $\dot{\mathbf{q}}$ which is used after nouns in \mathbf{a} and the plural \mathbf{f} reduced to $\dot{\mathbf{q}}$. In all the modern languages the \mathbf{q} of the Apabhramsa forms is dropped. These terminations are appended to the old instrumental termination \mathbf{q} and we have $\dot{\mathbf{q}}$ and $\dot{\mathbf{q}}$ which are now ordinarily used. These you will see are double forms and of such we have many in the various languages. Goan., Mal. and Cit. have $\dot{\mathbf{q}}$ for the sing. and the last has $\dot{\mathbf{s}}$ for the pl.

The loc. Apabhramsa हिं from the Pali कि and the Skr. किय is also used, as पर्त नेला; this is peculiar to nouns in अ, and in old Marathi it is reduced to at after the augmented nouns in आ; as गळा, साथां etc. There are instances of the other locative in ए such as सभ्ये and सते (साइया सते तुन्ही जावे 'you should go in my opinion,'

where मते is hardly an instrumental); but here evidently the termination ए is confounded with the ए of the instrumental and we have माझ्या मते lit. "by my opinion."

The dative \overline{n} is generally considered a remnant of the Skr. \overline{n} and Pr. \overline{n} . But I have not found it in the Jäänesvari and in its place we have \overline{n} in the old poets, which is connected with a similar post-position in other languages which will be considered hereafter. None of the minor dialects of the languages have anything like it, but still the derivation may be correct.

Gujarati has the old instrumental in $\dot{\mathbf{q}}$, but it is confounded with the corresponding \mathbf{q} of the fem. and with the locative \mathbf{q} and we have one termination for both, with the nasal dropped. The shortened Apabhramsa form in \mathbf{q} is found in old Gujarati. It is confounded with that in $\dot{\mathbf{q}}$, the anusvāra being dropped.

- (1) कान्हतणइ संपत्ति इसी जिसी इंद्रह घरि रिद्धि राजभवनि नवनिषि.

 'The wealth or affluence of Kanha was as great as that of Indra.'

 From the chronicle of Kanhadade-prabandha
 given in the Gujarati School-paper.
 - (2) पछि हुं माहरी गामि आव्यो । पछिं बीजे दिनि.

Pancopākhyāna, the story of Hiraņyaka.

In this latter, however, there occurs an anusvāra, which should be correct, the termination is a remnant हिं. The Gujarati has also the double instrumental में in pronouns, as तेम, की, etc.

The Sindhi has got the ablative terminations आं, आं, ऊं, अउ and आउ. The first is from the pronominal instrumental हां of the Apabhramsa and महा of the Prakrit; आं and ऊं from हुं of the former and अउ and आउ from the corresponding Prakrit. The locative प and its shortened form ह are also preserved, but they are used after nouns in अ as in the older dialects, as खुह or खुहे पिओ 'he fell into a well.'

The Panjabi possesses the abl. in हुं with the ह dropped and the उ amalgamated with the preceding अ into आं as घरों 'from a house,' the locative pl. हिं as घरों 'in the house', the instrumental pl. हिं as उसदे हथीं 'by the hands' and the locative sing. in ए as उसदो दरगाहे 'in his court.' The instr. in ने is also ordinarily used in the form of ने, The Hindi has scattered instances of the loc. in ¢, but the instrumental ₹ is common. The Bengali has preserved the former. The instrumental also has ₹, though the grammarians do not give it, as—

सरोबर मध्ये इंस देखि रूपवती । धरिवार मानसे चलिल शीव्र गति ॥

'The beautiful one having seen the swan in the lake went in haste with a desire to catch it.'

शुनिया मैमीर मन अनक्क पीडिल।

'Having heard (this) the heart of Bhaimi was oppressed by love.'

गगनथाले केमन दीप सपे अनुक्षण शोमि के शशीतपन

'How do the moon and the sun in the form of lamps shine in the plate of the sky!'

The Oriya also possesses the loc. in ∇ and as in the B. and G. it is confounded with the instr. in ∇ , the nasal being lost, as ∇ in or by the hand. This dialect has the Pr. abl. in ∇ also as ∇ from the hand.

The nom. pl ओ or उ of fem. nouns in आ or ई is preserved in the Mal., Goan, and Cit. as जीभ, जिमो; साही, साहचो; and घोडी, घोडवो; but the two latter are derived from the Skr. शादिका and पोटिका. which are nouns ending in M. The final M, which alone remains after the elision of the consonant 5, is dropped in consequence of the penultimate accent and we have साडी and चोडी. The ओ or उ of the plural of the original Prakrit साहिआओ-उ is also dropped like the ओ or उ of घोडओ-उ in the ordinary Marathi चोडा : and, just as the previous vowel in this latter is lengthened in consequence the accent and the resulting form is घोडा, so the previous आ of साहिआ-ओ-उ and घोडिआ-ओ-उ. being accented, remains and we have साहचा and चोहचा for साहिआ and घोडिआ; but in the dialects of the Marathi, in which the ओ or ड of Masc. nouns in the sing, is preserved, we have घोडो and कांटो etc.; so also is the ओ न्ड of the sem. preserved and we have सादयो. पोडचो etc.

As to unaugmented fem. nouns in इ or ई, the final is, of course, dropped by the penultimate accent, but in the plural it is preserved, being accented, and the termination of the plural ओ-उ which is unaccented is dropped, as वेल sing., वेली pl., Skr. बहि, 'creeper'; बहिण sing., बहिणी pl., Skr. अगिनी 'sister'; क्स sing. कुसी-शी pl. 'sides'; केळ sing., केळी pl., Skr. कदली etc.

As in the dialects of the Marathi, the pl. ओ is preserved in Gujarati; but there it is transferred to the pl. of all nouns whatever and the process is going on even in our times, being extended to the masc. nouns ending in ओ also, which formed their nom. and acc. pl. formerly by adding आ, as घोडो sing., घाडा pl., but now often घोडाओ. The sindhi also has preserved the fem. ऊ, as I have already observed, but the nasal of the neuter is combined with it to form the nom. and acc. pl.

PRONOUNS IN THE VERNACULARS

The nom. sing. of the relative pronoun is जो in M. H. P. S. and जे in G. O. and B. O. have जेंडे also. The ए of the latter is another form of the nom. ओ to be traced perhaps to the old Magadhi nom. sing. as in एसे पुलिसे for Skr. एवः पुरुषः. The correlative is तो in M. and H. and ते in G. and सो in P. S. and से in B. and O. The Hindi has सो also. The सो is the old Pr. nom. sing., but the oblique base in P. S. B. and O. is the old त.

The base of the interrogative pronoun is क as in the older languages. The nom. sing. is कीन H., कीण P. and कीण G. M. and के O. and B.—also केउं O. The कोण and its varieties are to be traced to the Pr. कउण which stands for the Skr. क: प्रन:

The near demonstrative is इह or पह in H. P. nom. sing. which is also pronounced in other ways; and the nom. pl. is पे. The first is to be referred to the Ap. एहो, Pr. एसो, Skr. एषः; and the latter to आपे Ap. The अप of the Skr. अपच is generalised in this language and is to be found in all cases of the pronoun. Hence आपे is the nom. pl. The G. has ए, M. हा m., ही fem., हे n.,—dial. हो-ही-हार्ग for the nom. sing., and the regular हे m., हा. for the pl.; O. has ए, एहि, हाह nom. sing., and B. ए all of which are from the Ap. एहो-एह or एह. The general oblique base is ए or ह in M., ए G., ह or हि S., and ह in the rest, the origin of which is the

same, M. प. however, being referred to the Ap. आप which is the generalised form of इत्स.

The distant demonstrative has उ for its base. The nom. sing. in H. is उ, ओ, यह, pl. वे; in P. उह, S. हू and हो and B. ओ for both. The S. has ऊ also for the sing. G. has आ for the sing. and its usual आओ for the pl. All these are to be derived from the Ap. ओ nom. and ओइ acc. pl., traced to अस of the Skr. pronoun अवस्. The M. and O. have lost this pronoun.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN THE VERNACULARS

The nom. sing. of the first personal pronoun in M. is भी and Cit. में both of which are to be traced to the Ap. acc. instr. and loc. मई, Pr. मइ, Skr. मया and मिथ. The Goan. has हांच, the G. हूं, old H. dialects हों, हूं, the Dogar dialect of the P. हउं, which are all from the Ap. इउं to be traced to the Skr. अहरूप, ' the उ of which is, you will remember, that of the nom. sing. which in that dialect was freely used as the G. ओ is at present. The Sindhi ओउं and ओ are further corruptions of these. H. P. have also में like the Cit. में the origin of both being the same. The B. and O. have सह and स which may be traced to the Ap. abl. and gen. sing. मह, but I should prefer considering the इ of the Ap. and M. forms to be changed to उ in consequence of the usual fondness of the B. and O. for the उ sound as noticed in the last lecture.

The pl. of this pronoun in M. is आही, dial. आमी, B. आमि, which is the same as the Ap. अहाइ traced by me to the Skr. असके. The G. अमे and the O. अम्मे are from the usual Ap. and Pr. from आहो from असमे generalised from the usual Skr. base असम by false analogy. In अम्मे, हा is changed to म्म as it often is. The H. हम is this आहा but the aspiration is transferred to the initial अ, and the म, to which it is attached in the older and the other dialect, is left free. The termination प is also dropped. The S. and P. have असी. Skr. सम is sometimes changed in the Pr. to स्स as in the Magadhi and Mah.

¹ Mr. Beames traces them to ইউ Ap., সম্ভাৰ Skr., but such forms do not exist.

Prof. Lassen to whom he refers, only conjectures সম্ভাৱ to account for সম্ভাৱ,
but সম্ভাৱ is clearly derived from সম্ভাৱ which exists even in Skr. The reading ইউ in the passage from Kramādiśvarā given by Lassen is questionable.

Hemacandra has ইউ distinctly and the form occurs in many verses.

from locative; but in the written Prakrits that have been handed down to us, the असम of असमह is not found corrupted to स्स. It may, however, have been so in some part of the country.

The second person sing is in all the languages except B. which has ag. The H. has a also. Of these a is the same as the Ap. as, the s of this dialect being, as you know, dropped throughout; and as and a are transferred from the instrumental. The pl. is तुम्ही in M. from the Ap. तुम्हइ similar to अम्हइ, and the B. तुमि is softened from this. The G. has तमे, softened from तुम्हे, the उ being changed to 3 by a peculiarity of the Gujarati, which has been fully noticed in the last lecture. In the O. as the final q is dropped and a softened form of this is the Hindi तुम. The P. has तुसी to be derived from तुम or युष्म in the same way as असी from अस्म. The S. has तन्हीं, तबीं, तहीं, तहीं, अन्हीं, अबी, अहीं, आंहें and अंहें. In तन्हीं we have the अ to which उ is reduced as in G, and the म of स्त्री analysed into its labial and nasal elements. The other three are softened forms of this same, and in the rest the initial a is dropped as we have seen it dropped in the Pr. in the bases उहा for तहा, उड़ा for तुज्झ, उद्भ for तृद्भ and उद्ध for तृह्य, both of which exist in that dialect.

THE VERB IN THE VERNACULARS

The Skr. conjugational distinction is, you will remember, lost in the Prakrits; but the increments that roots undergo in the several classes, are preserved and made parts of the roots themselves. Now these roots so augmented have descended to the vernaculars. Thus we have विह old M. G. 'to fear ' from the Skr. बिभी of the 3rd class; बुझ M. G. ' to understand ', ासेज M. 'to be cooked, 'विझ S. 'to throw, 'नाच M. G. H., etc. ' to dance, ' उपज M. G. 'to be born, ' निपज M. G. 'to issue forth, 'जझ M. 'to fight.' माज M. G. 'to be maddened 'and श्विज old M. G. 'to be sad ' from the Skr. बुध्य, स्विय, विध्य, तृत्य, उत्पय, निष्पय, युध्य, माय and खिय, all belonging to the 4th class; धन or इज H. S. B. P. O. from Skr. जूज of the 5th; जाण M. G. H. P. etc. 'to know, 'क्रिण B. O. 'to buy ' and गिण्ड S. ' to take ' from the Skr. जाना, क्रीणा and यहा of the 9th class. We have roots also in the forms which they have in the second and sixth classes, as न्हा and जा from स्ना and या of the 2nd, and लिख, लिह, 'तुट, फ्रुट, लिंप M., लिंब S., कांत (Skr. क्रन्त), also कांट ' to out, ' सिंच from the 6th.

61 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

VERBAL TERMINATIONS THE PRESENT

Of the three Pr. tenses and moods the Marathi has preserved two, the Present and the Imperative. The third, viz. the Future, is not lost, but the form became by phonetic corruption similar to those of the Present and you will remember, that the difference between the two tenses consisted in the intercalatory Ru, afterwards dissolved into सि. and thence softened to हि. which, having dropped its 5 in the vernaculars, melted away and another sign had to be added to the Present forms to indicate the Future. The Present was used in old Marathi and is used even at present in poetry, but in ordinary speech it has acquired a past habitual sense. It has a potential signification in some cases as मी येई तेथ-पर्यंत तेथे थांब. In the Gujarati it has acquired a potential sense in addition to the old and, to indicate present time distinctly, the forms of the present tense of the substantive verb are used in conjunction with it, as 克本文文. The Brajbhāsā agrees with the G. in this respect and adds its हों as मै करों हों. In the H. P. and S. it signifies potentiality only; and in the last थो masc., थी fem. are added to the forms to denote present time. will is the past part. of the root थिअप from Skr. स्थित. Pr. थिअ. which means 'become 'in Sindhi. The old Hindi or Braj poets use this tense in the present also. In all these languages, however, the old Present tense of the auxiliary अस् or आन् indicates present time alone. B. O. preserve this tense in the old sense throughout.

M. has two forms of this old Present:-

Sing.	Plural	Sing.	Plural
1st करीं	कर्र	इसें	इस्
2nd करीस	करा	इसस	इ सा
3rd करी	करीत	हसे	इसल

In poetry we have ति and सि for त and स as— आह्यविया काजाचेनि पाँडे । देसती आपुर्ले जीवित्व थोकडें ॥

Jñāneśvari, I. 112.

पेशी सामग्री माझ्या आंगी जाणसी है।

Jñāneśvari, III. 162.

The termination t of the first person sing, is derived from the Pr. A, when simply converted into an anusvara, i. e., A when

pronounced without closing the lips, becomes ξ . In the same way the Pr. ξ of the pl. becomes ξ . The 2nd per. sing. ξ remains unaltered, but in ordinary usage the final ξ is dropped in consequence of the usual accent on the penultimate. The ξ of Pr. pl. loses its aspiration, as we have found it to have done in the cases, and thus we have $\xi \xi + 3 = \xi \xi \xi$. The 3rd per sing termination is the same as in pr., viz. ξ . The pl. has lost its nasal and in current Marathi the ξ also, on account of the penultimate accent.

In the other set the 3rd per. sing. termination is ए, the same as in Pr., and to be traced to the Skr. त of the Atm. In the Prakrit there is no Atmanepada termination for the 1st per. sing., but still we have ए here. This vowel is inserted before all the consonantal terminations of the present tense of the verb आहे. We have also ई in करीस and करीत, though it has no place in the Pr. This is probably due to the transference of the final इ in करसी and करती to the penultimate syllable.

The first of the two, i. e., the Parasm. set of forms, is used for transitive verbs and the second or Atmanepada for those that are intransitive and some that are transitive but denote a sort of reflexive action as पढ 'to read', शिक to 'learn', बोल 'to speak', सांग 'to tell', etc.

The Cit. has both the padas and the ए of the Atm. is confined to the 3rd pers. sing. in the root अस as तो से but में सां or सई. In the Mal. we have आ, and the Goan. अ long for ए as आसा, धाबा and अस, the final अ being long. In these dialects the 2nd pers. pl. termination is त, which is transferred from the corresponding 3rd or is a remnant of the Pr. इत्या and the vowels of the first pers. form vyddhi dipthongs with the preceding base in both the padas; as भी करें 'I do', or 'I used to do', आवशे करें 'we do',' or 'used to do'. The Goan. and Cit., however, have the first pers. sing. Atm. in आ also. The Atm. is not used for roots ending in other vowels

¹ These viddhi forms appear to be due to the penultimate आ being pronounced long through the accent according to the usual rule and by the combination of i or उं with it; so that the combined sound is आई and आउं. When the lengthened आ becomes आ it overpowers the final I and this latter is dropped and we have में करा Cit. or हांच करा Goan., 'I do or used to do', just as in बाह्य a horse' the penultimate is lengthened into आ and the final I is dropped and we have बाहा.

than अ, though tney may be intransitive, as न्हा, जा, हो, दे, etc., and in this particular the Marathi remarkably agrees with the old Pr.

O. and B. have the following forms for the Present Tense:

· O.		В.		
सु करइं	अम्भे करु	सुइ करि	आमि करि	
तु करु	तुम्भे कर	तुइ करिस	तुमि कर	
से करड़	से करन्ति	से करे	तिनि करेन	

These also are from the Pr. forms. O. has lost nasal of the 1st. pers. pl. and B. of the sing. also, i. e., it has one same form for both. O. has lost the $\overline{\pi}$ of the 2nd pers. sing. and has $\overline{\pi}$ in its place. The pl. $\overline{\pi}\overline{\pi}$ of both is pronounced $\overline{\pi}\overline{\pi}$; $\overline{\pi}$ being broad like that to which $\overline{\pi}$ even of Skr. words is reduced in ordinary uttarance by the speakers of these languages. This form $\overline{\pi}\overline{\pi}$ is the same as the M. $\overline{\pi}\overline{\pi}$ from the Pr. $\overline{\pi}\overline{\pi}\overline{\pi}$. O. has preserved the 3rd pers. pl. $\overline{\pi}\overline{\pi}$ intact; B. has lost the $\overline{\pi}$ and $\overline{\pi}$.

The other languages have :-

G.			1	Ħ.
हुं करं	अमे करिये		मै करुं	हम करें
तं करे	तमे करो		तुं करे	तुम करो
ते करे	तेओ करे		उह करे	
		S. Tr.		
	ऊं मारिआं-यों		असीं मारिऊं-रें	t
र्व्:	मारिएं-रें-रीं		अहीं मारिओ-ये	Ť
हूं र	गारे		हू मारीनि-रिनि	
S. In	tr.		I	.,
इ लां	ह ल्रं		मे करां	असीं करये
	इली		तुं करें	तुसी करो
ह ले	इलनि		उह करे	उह करण

The Hindi 2nd and 3rd person sing and pl. are derived directly from those in Ap. The इ of करहि हु-इ-हि being dropped as usual, the forms are दरइ-उ-इ-ई and, when the vowels are combined, we have करे-रो-रे-रे.

The G. P. and S. forms are exactly similar, the only difference sonsisting in the nasal of the 3rd. pers. pl., which has been elided in the first, as is done in the instrumental singular. The P. and

S. ज and नि must be referred to नित of the Pr. since the Ap. possessed the Pr. forms as well as the new ones. In old G. MSS. it is usual to write the z and z of these forms separately. The G. and H. first pers. sing. कर is from the Ap. कर , while the आ of the P. करां and the S. इलां is to be traced rather to the मि of the Pr., than to this is as that of the in the Cit. and Goan, by the elision of and the lengthening of the preceding vowel. There are instances of this change given in the Pr. as we have seen. The S. 3 of the 1st pers. pl. is the same as that in M and O. and is to be derived from the Ap. & and the Pr. H. The tof the Hindi 1st per. pl. is brought over from the 3rd person and this transference was facilitated by the nasal of the original termination; or, since in the Ap. both भि and उं exist, when in a later stage of the language the letter was appropriated and fixed for the sing., the former was adopted for the pl. and changed to t which became t by amalgamation. The G. and P. further dropped the nasal of this q and interbosed a vowel which is probably of the same nature as that in the S. मार्च. The S. like the M. inserts s before the terminations in the case of transitive verbs, as in the forms of HIT given above, and does not when the verbs are intransitive or reflexive as and and us.

The forms of the Ap. Present occur in the older Hindi poets. Thus in Tulsidas's Rāmāyaņa we have :—

3rd per. sing.

शंसु गिरा पुनि मृषा न होई । शिष सर्वज्ञ जान सब कोई ।

Bāla-Kāṇḍa.

'But Sambhu's word is not false.

Everybody knows Siva to be omniscient.'

निशिचर एक सिंधु मह रहई । करि माया नमकै खग गहई॥

Sundara-kānda.

An evil spirit dwells in the sea and having recourse to deceit catches hold of the birds in the sky.

3rd per. pl.

-संत इंस ग्रण गहाईं पे परिहरिं बारि विकार । Bāla-kānda.

'Good men like swans admit merit like milk leaving off the watery pollution,'

नारद शिख जु छनाईं नरनारी । अवश भवन ताजि होंहिं शिखारी ॥ Bāla-K.

'Those men and women that listen to the advice of Nārada become beggars having abandoned their homes.'

2nd per. pl.:

करह कबन कारण तप भारी।

Bāla-K.

'For what reason do you go through excessive austerities?'

विपिन अकेली फिरडु केहि हेतू।

Bāla-K.

'Why do you wander alone in the forest?'

1st pers. sing. :

नारद बचन न मैं परिहरऊं । बसी भवन उजरो नहिं हरऊं ॥

Bāla-K.

'I shall not neglect the advice of Nārada and shall not be afraid even if thereby the world stands or falls (becomes desolated).'

1st pers. pl.:

तात छनतु सावर मन लाई। कहतुं रामकी कथा छहाई॥

Raia-K.

'Dear one, do hear with an attentive mind; [we] narrate the pleasing story of Rāma.'

Another reading is कहीं which is sing. and the sense is 'I narrate.'

The old 2nd pers. sing. in सि is met with thus:—

भरत सपथ तोहि सत्य कहु परि हरि कपट दुराइ।

हरच समय विस्मय करसि कारण मोहि सनाइ॥

Ayo.-K.

'I charge thee in the name of Bharata; tell me the truth laying aside all insincerity. On the occasion of joy thou art gloomy; explain to me the reason.'

There are also specimens of the Atm. :

देखे जहं तहं रघुपति ।

Bala-K.

' Sees Raghupati here and there. '

जो अब करों सती सन घीती। मिटै भक्ति पथ होइ अंनीती ॥ Bāla-K.

'If now you are amorous towards the Sati (Pārvatī), the way of devotion will end and immorality (will) result.'

चले बसह चड़ि।

Bāla-K.

' He goes having sat on the bull. '

And it appears that the ए of the Present is used after verbs of the same kind as in Marathi. The vowel इ of the 3rd pers. sing. does not become ए as in the modern Hindi and other languages, where the distinction between the two padas is lost, but retains its original forms as in यरि पुछी (गइ समीप महेश तब हासि पूछी कुशसात 'when she went near, Mahesa smiling asked her how she fared').

THE IMPERATIVE

The Marathi, Oriya, and the Bangali have preserved the Imperative mood entire; the others, only the second person sing., the rest being taken over from the old present or the modern Potential.

	3	M.		0.	В.	
1st 2nd 3rd	क रू कर-रीं करो	क रू -रॉ करा करोत	करि कर करु	क रूं कर करन्तु or करन्त	करि कर-करीस करुक्	करि कर करह करीओ करुन

In the 1st per. sing. the \overline{u} of the Pr. is changed to \overline{s} in M. i. e. \overline{u} has lost its labial element as in the Present. O. and B. have got the form of the Present for it, the nasal being dropped. The \overline{u} of the pl. is similarly changed to \overline{u} and is also shortened or resolved into \overline{s} . The B. has the same form as the sing. The 2nd pers. sing. in M. has the form without the termination as in the Pr., the other made up by adding \overline{s} corresponds to that in the Ap. ending in that vowel. Intransitive and reflexive roots have \overline{s} instead of \overline{s} , which form is also found in the Ap. as \overline{u} \overline{s} , \overline{s}

The O. and B. do not possess these terminations but the latter has which is to be traced to the Pr. w. The pl. is the same as in the Pr. the s having left its trace in the lengthening of the vowel.

The O. and B. কা is also really কৰা pronounced broadly কৰা and the latter retains হ unchanged also. The 3rd pers. sing. termination उ of the Pr. is amalgamated with the preceding vowel into ओ in M. and ব in O. and B. M. has also sometimes ব for ओ.

The क of the B. is a later addition and is probably to be traced to the Interrogative pronoun beginning with क. It is to be compared with such M. expressions as जाउँ दे थि. The O. preserves the 3rd per. pl. न्तु unchanged but in the optional form the final उ is dropped. M. and B have transferred the characteristic उ to the preceding syllable and the former has dropped the nasal and the latter the त. In M. the उ is, as in the sing, changed to ओ, but in some cases it is preserved and we have such forms as जाउन्त, देउन etc. We find instances in which the उ preserves its place after त as in the O. Thus in Jñānesvari:-

हे बरी भलतें करितु। आतांचि एथें मारितु। परी आपण मनें घातु। न चिंतावा॥ I—225.

'These on their part may do an unwelcome thing, just here and now kill us but we should not think of doing injury.'

H. P. and G. have \$\(\pi\) for the sing, as in the above; and \$\(\pi\) \text{?} l. the same as that of the Present, which itself is from the Ap. \$\(\pi\) \text{?}, the characteristic Imper. \$\(\pi\) being attached to the \$\(\pi\) of the Pr.; and even in the Pr. and M. B. and O. the 2nd per. pl. is the same as in the Present. The P. has also the form in \$\(\pi\). The Sindhi Imperative 2nd per. sing, of intransitive and reflexive verbs ends in \$\(\pi\) as \$\(\pi\) and of transitive verbs and a few others in \$\(\pi\) as \$\(\pi\). The \$\(\pi\) occurs in the Ap. along with the \$\(\pi\) and \$\(\pi\) as already noticed.

Though Modern Hindi has lost the Imperative forms for other persons than the second, old Hindi poets use them; and for the second per sing also, they have the Ap form in \$\ \text{preserved} in \$\ \text{S}, and \$M\$. Thus Tulsidas:—

2nd pers. sing. प्रशु हतुमंतिह कहा बुझाइ। in इ धरी बदुरूप अवध दुर जाइ॥

'The lord said to Hanumanta, "Assume the form of a boy and go to the city of Ayodhyā."

The 2nd pers. pl. is the same as that of Present which prevails in all the languages from the Pr. downwards.

पारवती पहं जाइ तुम प्रेमपरीक्षा लेहु।

"Having gone to Pārvatī examine her devotion."
The 3rd per, sing. ends in sin or sin as in the M. and O.

मेरी भव बाधा हरी राधा नागरि सोड।

-Behārilāla.

"May that polished Rādhā remove my worldly distress." करो अनुग्रह सोइ।—Tuls. R.

"May he confer favours."

The 3rd pers. pl. has $\overline{\epsilon}$ which is an Ap. form found in some of Hemacandra's quotations. The $\overline{\epsilon}$ has been introduced simply to distinguish it from the sing.

चरणकमल बंदौं सबकेरे । पुरबहु सकल मनोरथ मेरे ॥-Tuls. R.

"I adore the lotus-like feet of all. May they fulfil all my desires."

The 1st per sing is the same as that of the Present and it is difficult to distinguish it; but in such a construction as the following the M. would have the imperative:

चली सती ज्ञिव आयसपाई। करहिं विचार करो का माई॥

"The Sati having got Siva's permission went, and was thinking what deception to use."

The pl. also must be the same. Old G. has also the Imper. forms in ₹ and ₹ as:—

पूछइ बात पातशाह इसी । गूजरातिते कहीइ किसी ॥

"The emperor asked this matter "how is Gujarat?"

ग्रजरा स्यूं मांडिसिं कलहु । माहारइ साथइ कटक मोकलु ॥

"If you will declare war against Gujarat, send an army with me."

The G. and S. have another form for the 2nd per. of the Imper.; the terminations of this are इजि S., जे G. for the sing. and इजो and जो for the pl. The H. has जे and जो for roots ending in ई and ज and इये and इये for the rest. The P. and B. have इजो for the pl. and in the former the singular is confounded with the usual इ termination. In M. such form is not now ordinarily used. In addresses on letters, however, such expressions as परिष्ट कीजे, दिने are used and these forms are found in the works of the old Marathi poets. Thus in Jūānešvari:—

62 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

परि यासी घात कीजे । मग आपण राज्यस्य भोगिजे । हे स्वर्जीह मन माझे । कक्षं न ठाके ॥ 1-213.

'This my mind cannot think of doing even in a dream that I should kill them and enjoy afterwards the pleasures of sovereignty.'

तरिं अवधान येकलें दीजे। मग सर्व छखासीं पात्र होईजे ॥ IX-1.

'Give your attention alone and qualify yourself for all happiness.'

म्रानि सांगे चुपनाथ । जनमेजया ॥ जे अद्वितीय उत्तम । पवित्रैक निरुपम । परम मंगळधाम । अवधारिजो ॥ I-48,49,

"The Muni narrates this story to Janamejaya the king, saying (you should) attend to this which is unique, excellent, the holy thing, the unsurpassed and the highest abode of all auspicious things."

आतां देइजी अवधान । तुझी बोलविला मी बोलेन !। I-8.

'Give attention now; I will speak what you make me speak.'

These forms have been traced by Dr. Trump in his Sindhi Grammar to the Pr. base in sa used in the Present, Imperative and Future, and derived by Lassen from the present, and by me from the Potential; and so far as the form in the S. and G. is concerned there is used no objection. But these forms are used in the vernaculars when respect for the person spoken to is intended and the Potential as distinguished from the Imperative is by no means more respectful in Skr. The H. forms are not assigned each to each number, but both of them are used in the sing, or pl. and its \mathbf{q} can by no means be derived from \mathbf{q} ; for, though the contrary process, namely, the changing of \mathbf{q} to \mathbf{q} , is common, there is, so far as I am aware, no single well-established instance of the other.

In Skr. nothing is more usual than to use the Passive of the 3rd pers. sing. Imperative in respectful solicitation. The second pers. of the active Imper is the least respectful, since there is a direct reference in that voice to the agent, and such a reference to great men is regarded as improper, or in the case of others, not courteous. The 3rd pers. with भवान as the nom. is more so, because the reference is indirect; but the most respectful construc-

tion is the Passive as it does not point to the agent at all, but to the thing done by him. Thus the wain these forms is from the woof the passive and the Hindi graftom gw, which is the other corruption of that termination in the Pr.

The M. देहजो corresponds to Skr. दीयताम, the Imper. 3rd pers. sing. termination in that language being उ. दीजे corresponds to दीयते of the Present and the Potential sense may be attributed to the fact that the whole tense has assumed that sense in the vernaculars. The agent may, if the forms are passive, be any person and any number since it does not agree with the verb; and this explains the Hindi usage. But generally in solicitation the person addressed is the second person, though he is referred to indirectly, and he is, when cases are used, put in the instras in the Jūānešvarī:—

द्रोणातें म्हणे पाहिजे तुम्हीं सकल ।

"He said to Drona everything should be looked after by you."

These forms become in the G. and S. identified with the second person, easily because one of the terminations side happens to be the same as that of the Imper. 2nd pers. pl. in those languages; and it got confused with the other Pr. Potential forms in significant wherefore we find in the S. the Imper. 2nd pers. sing. terminations and applied to the base as such 'become', using thear.' This confusion extended to the Hindi also since to roots in sor it appends si and side; for the Potential increment si significant in the Pr. to roots ending in side, side etc., i. e. any vowel except side. In the progress of a language confusion is natural and frequently observable. This double etymology explains all the facts of the case; while, if we confine ourselves to one, some are not accounted for.

We have seen that there are two classes of verbs in M. one of which takes the augment ξ in the Present before the consonantal terminations as करीस, करीत and the other takes ξ or अ as धारें, धारत. The Imper. 2nd pers. sing. of the former is made up by adding ξ in old or poetic Marathi and of the latter by adding ξ . The former takes ξ in the Future necessarily in the 1st and 3rd pers. sing. as करील, करीन and optionally in some others as करतील or करितील, करशील or करितील. This option is extended even to to the Present करिती or करती and the past participle धरिले or धरेले; while in the

present participle these verbs necessarily take ই as কৰিব সাই. The latter class takes q in the Future 1st and 3rd pers. sing. and the option in the last is not allowed, I being added in all, including the present part., as হাকল, হাকলাল not হাকিলাল, হাকলা not হাকিলা, হাকলা and হাকল আই; so that this class must have q in some cases and I in the rest.

The Sindhi has a similar distinction. Those roots that take we before the termination of the Pres. as कर्याथो "I do" form their Imper. 2nd pers. sing. in इ and insert this in the present part. as करीको; while the rest do not add this इ as इस्ते 1st per. sing., इस्त्रो pres. part., and take द in the Imper. sing., इस्त्र Imper. 2nd pers. sing. We thus see that we have we in the one case and opposed to it are the vowels ए, अ and द in the other. The former is a characteristic of the transitive or the non-reflexive nature of a root while the latter is that of the opposite.

Why should it be so? The vowels z and v form the distinctive marks of the Parasm, and Atm, in Skr. and Pr. A consciousness of this and of the difference between Parasm. roots and Atm. roots has been preserved in the modern S. and M. and hence there is an attempt to insert those vowels in all possible cases; and the base itself of the roots is made to end in them. But in the Prakrits and to a great extent even in Skr. the base of most of the roots (भण, इस etc.) has an imperative signification. Hence the newly constituted base करी and धावें also come to have an imper. sense. Now these are the forms of the Imper. not only in our language but the old Apabhramsa also; hence the process I mention must have been gone through even then. This is a better explanation of the Ap. forms than deriving them both from & especially since this is a dialect so prone to bring in & even when it cannot be had that it is not likely to reject an already existing one.

You will thus see how subtle the operation of the law of analogy is in the development of a language.

Now as regards the Ap. form 3, we see that we have it in Sindhi where the other languages have 31, so that it is the old inorganic 3 which prevails so much in the Ap. And we have

seen that ξ is used in many more grammatical forms in M. than ∇ , whilst, instead of it, in other places and in the Sindhi in all but the Imper. 2nd pers. sing. we have \Im ; so that ∇ is made the distinctive mark of the Parasm. character of a root while its absence or the insertion of ∇ indicates the Atm. character.

THE FUTURE

The third Skr. tense preserved by the Prakrits is the Second Future. It has descended to the Gujarati. Thus:—

Ė	करीस	अमे करिसुं
तं	करसे	तमे करसी
त	करसे	तेओ करसे

Saur. and स in the Ap. From the Skr. downwards the terminations of the Present in each of the languages are appended, as formerly observed, to this tense. So in G. we find in the 2nd and 3rd pers. the terminations ए and ओ of the G. Present attached to स. But the consciousness of the etymology of these forms has been partially lost; wherefore in 1st pers. we have not करहे for the sing. corresponding to करे, and करसीय corresponding to करीय. But G. has derived its 1st. pers. pl. करहे directly from the Skr. or Ap. pl. करिसास or करिसा, and the sing. करीस from करिस्स, which, you will remember, was an optional Saur. form in addition to करिस्सास, the nasal being dropped according to the usual Guj. rule.

We have these forms in the Braj-Bhāṣā but the ₹ is corrupted to ₹ as it very often is. Thus:—

करिहों	करिहें
करिंहे	करिहो
करिहै	करिहे

Here in the 1st pers. sing. we have the sit of the Pres. Braj as in sti, unlike the G. and in conformity with the ancient practice. You will also observe that the old augment z is preserved. It may be suspected that these forms are derived from those in the Pr. which have z instead of z, but you will have observed that there we have z as in still and here z which represents the Saur. and Aphr. z. The old Future occurs in Tulsidasa's Ramayana.

3rd per. sing. त्रिया सोच परिहरहु सब सुमिरहु श्री भगवान । पारवती जिन निर्मय सोड करिडडिं कल्यान ।।

"Dear, leave off all anxiety, remember the great God. He who created Parvati will do her good."

If the dot on fe is a mistake this is 3rd pers. sing.,

3rd pers. pl. छामिहाईं सज्जन मोरि ढिटाई । छनिहाईं बालवचन मन लाई ॥

"Good men will pardon my temerity and hear the words of (this) child with attention."

2nd pers. pl. कहत मम मन अतिसंकुचाई । हंसिहहु द्वानि इमारि जहताई ॥

"I am ashamed in my mind to tell the truth; for, hearing, at my stupidity you will laugh."

In these forms the terminations of the Apbhr. Present are appended to the z derived from w; but the following are three instances of the Braj form occurring in the same work.

1st pers. pl. तब तब बदन पैटिहों आई ॥ सत्य कहों मोहि जान दे माई ॥
"Then I will enter thy mouth; I tell you the truth, let me go, mother."

3rd pers. pl. मम कृत सेतु जो दरशन करिहैं। सो वितुश्रम भवसागर तरिहैं॥

"They who will visit this bridge constructed by me will cross the ocean of life without trouble."

In an essay published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1873, Mr. Beames gives the forms of the Future found in the earliest Hindi poet Cand, which are exactly similar to those in the Braj, and misled by the latter parts है, है, हो etc., which resemble those of अस or आस so greatly, traces them to the Periphrastic Future of the Skr. चलितास्मि-सि etc. But this future is in the first place rarely used in Skr. and altogether discarded by the Pali and not a trace of it is to be found in any of the numerous Prakrits. Besides if we derive these forms from the Periphrastic Future, we must have in the 3rd pers. such forms as चलिआ-चलिया and चलिआर. And the old forms which Tulsidās uses of the type of चलिहाह, from which evidently the others are derived, will remain unexplained. There can be little doubt that this derj-

vation is wrong. We have seen the several steps by which we gradually rise to चलिहे from चलिष्पति and the chain is so well connected that this etymology must be admitted as correct. The resemblance to that form in Gujarati also must not be forgotten.

THE PAST TENSE

Past time is, in all the vernaculars, expressed by means of the past participle as in the Pr., all the Skr. past tenses being lost, as you will remember, except in isolated cases. This participle is in the older languages passive in the case of transitive verbs generally and active when the verb is intransitive and also in the cases of some transitive verbs such as शिकला. प्यालां etc. This rule is strictly observed in most of the modern dialects and hence in the past tense we have generally no active voice when the verb is transitive and the agent is, as in the older languages, put in the instr.. thus in H. लेखकनें पोथी लिखी, P. उसने कम कीता, S. इन फकीरखे धनुडिणो, G. जबेरीलाले मारीपासे माणस मोकल्यो, M. पारध्याने बाघ मारिला. In all these sentences the last words are past participles and they agree with the object in the Nom. case in number. gender and person. In the O. and B., however, all distinction between gender, number and person being lost, the agreement with the object is not perceptible. In these languages, and to some extent in Marathi, this participle is made the base of the regular verbal forms; wherefore I shall have to discuss this point again.

THE PAST PARTICIPLE

The Hindi participle ends in अ which of course is the same termination as in Pr., thus Skr. गत, Pr. गअ, the consonant being elided, and with the connecting यू, गय. When augmented by the addition of क in the manner I have shown in the last lecture and also in this it is गया, the अ alone of the क being left. In the feminine the augmented form is गयी and where this य is not inserted it is गई. By adding this augmented form आ to any root whatever the Hindi past participle is formed as लिया, पदा etc. An euphonic य intervenes when the root ends in a vowel as दिया, भीषा etc. Similar to this is the B. and O. past participle as देखा in देखाजाब B. हेखा, दिया O. The S. termination is इंडो and the P.

इआ as जागिओ from जागण 'to be awake, 'परियो from पर्यस्य 'to remain,' गहुआ 'gone,' घलिआ 'sent;' the nom. termination उ and the augment अ for क being left out of consideration it is reduced to इस. The G. has यो and the Braj. यो as in राख्यो, राख्यो 'kept' from राख, कह्यो 'told' from कह, where also the ओ being dropped the termination is य i. e. इस hastily pronounced. These languages therefore preserve the old termination with augment इ prefixed to it as in the Pr., as हसिओ, पढिओ etc. Some of the vernaculars and notably the Sindhi have also inherited from the Pr. readymade Tadbhava forms of the past passive participles as:—

S.	Pr.	Skr.	G. Pr. Skr.
व धो	बद्धो	बद्धः	दीठी दिहो हृष्टः
बु धो	बुद्धो	बुद्धः	लीघो लखो लब्धः
भगो	भग्गो	भग्नः	पेठो पहट्टो प्रविष्टः
पातो	पसो	प्राप्तः	कीधो किदो Saur. इतः
पु णी	पुण्णो	पूर्णः	Hindi also possesses a few.
पीठो	पिद्धी	पिष्टः	बैठा उवद्दट्टो उपविष्टः
तपो	तत्ती	तप्तः	[중 being elided.]
तु डो	तुद्वी	नुष्टः	पैठा पैठा प्रविष्टः
छिनो	छिमो	তিদ্ধ :	But these participles are
हुची	दुखो	दुग्धः	made the bases of verbal
वीडो	दिहो	द् ष्टः	forms: the infinitive being
गठो	षट्टो	षृष्टः	बेटना and पेटना.
स्रभो	लडो	लब्धः	

The Sindhi seems to have made up the forms of a few roots on the analogy of these though they do not exist in the Pr. as अस्तो from अल, Skr. प्त, Pr. परिओ; पीतो drunk, कीतो done; (P. has this also); but some of these may be modern Tadbhavas.

This w has been traced to the Skr. a; but since in the Maharastri or principal Prakrit that termination leaves its 3 only, it must be derived from the Saur. 3 which often becomes 3, and ▼ is frequently confounded with ₹ and ♥ as we have seen. In Sindhi Skr. द is always ड as हे 'give' from दा, हुथी from दुरुष and fest etc. Similarly even in the Prakrit period, such a change must have taken place in several words; for instance, the Skr. दश in एकादश and in some of the succeeding numerals, becomes in the Pali दस, but is changed to रह in the Pr., which shows that ₹ must have become ₹ before it assumed the form of ₹. ₹ is interchanged with æ even in Skr. as प्रशेकाश or प्रशेकाश; and in the Pr. and modern dialects we have कील for क्रीड. पीळ or पील for Skr. पीड. हालिम for वाहिम etc. So that this etymology is possible; but I shall presently show to you that it is not to the Saur. that we should first look for the origin of M. words and forms; especially in cases when it stands alone. That the Marathi only should exhibit these consonantal changes in the past participle and none of the other sister dialects and that no instance of the intermediate step between the Saur. and the M. & should be found here or elsewhere as we find them in similar cases, goes a great way against this derivation.

The Marathi past participle in on, of, & is, I think, of the same nature as similar participles in other cognate languages ending in that termination. We have in G. besides कहा, करों, कहोलो and करेलो and in S. besides विओ and दिहो, विभन्न and दिहल, There is a little difference in the sense, but both are promiscuously used in ordinary usage. B. and O. form their Preterite with this participle as the base as गोपाल आमाके कहिल B. 'Gopal' told us'; अभ्भे कलम देइ लेखिल O. 'I wrote with a pen.' It is also' used as an adjective as गलादिन 'the past day,' पडिला गछ 'the fallen Though it does not occur in high Hindi and is not given in the grammars of the languages, the lower classes of the Hindi population use this participle very commonly as बेचल H. 'sold,' गयल 'gone'; and it is also found in the works of Kabīra, though I have not seen it in Tulsīdāsa's Rāmāyana, which is accounted for by the fact that Kabira was a Südra himself and consequently belonged to those classes which use it at the present day. Thus:-

63 [R.G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

-Rāmāyana II-4.

"Then Brahmā asked his mother: Who is thy husband and whose wife art thou!"

बहुज्ञन जनतन बांबल बाटी । सहिक्क न परे मोटरी फाटी ॥

-Ramayana V-7.

"In all the four ages holy men constructed ways but they did not know that the bundle they had tied had given way or was torn!"

Now in the Sindhi participles ≅ is a termination appended to other or old participles: as ৰিস and বিত with the suffix ল become विअल and दिवल. The Guiarati ones are of the same nature; in कहेली, लो is the suffix and कहे is the original participle in इअ or य or कहिअ or कहा which is changed to ए. as य often is. Even in Marathi in the forms गेला, केला, आला, आयली in the minor dialects, जाइला, मेला, भ्याला, प्याला etc., गे represents गय (Pr. गअ, Skr. गत); के, कय (Pr. कअ, Skr. छत); आय, आअ (Pr. आअअ, Skr. आगत); जाह, जाअ (Pr. जाअ, 8kr. जात), मे मय (Pr. मृत); भ्या-भीआ, प्या-पीआ and so on. In the B. too we have केल. गेल. आइल which are just like the Marathi forms and are to be explained in the same way. In old Marathi we similarly find this & appended to real past participles. In an old Inscription dated Saka 1128 = 1206 A. D., the latter portion of which is in the Marathi of the time and being so was difficult to decipher, there occurs the expression बहा दिन्दला 'given to a monastery 'in which we see that ला is appended to feet which is the same as the old Pali and Pr. participle विण्ण of the root वा.

In Skr. a great many roots formed their participles by adding ল instead of ল and we find several of these and others formed on the analogy of these in old Hindi and Marathi poetry. In the works of Tulsidāsa, Kabira, Canda and others কীল্ড 'done,' জাল্ড 'taken,' খাল্ড 'known,' খাল্ড 'given' and such others occur:—

नाना बिधि सुनि पूजा कीन्ही। अस्तुति करि पुनि आशिष दीन्ही॥

"The sage worshipped him in several ways, praised him and gave him a blessing."

In the Marathi poets we have at added to a as Jaanesvari.

ते दोनी शब्द अचाट । मिनले एकवट ।

'Both these dreadful noises mingled together.'

सनकादिकांचिया आशा । बाडीनस्या बहुवसा ।

"The hopes of Sanaka and others increased greatly."

Ekanātha.

धर्माप्रति धाविसला ।

'Ran towards Dharma or virtue.'

ऐकोनि हासिकला गीविंह।

'Hearing this, Govinda smiled'.

Rukmiņi Svayamvara.

In the following हा is applied to old Tadbhava participles:—
जै भाति सेजे सतला। ते स्वप्रसस श्वतला। मग तो ज्ञानीव्यीं चेवला। महच्चोनिया॥
Jaan. V-47.

"Because when he slept on the bed of delusion he enjoyed the pleasures of a dream and then awoke when the sun of knowledge rose."

भीतरीं पातला उठा उठीं । जेथ जगजेठी श्रीकृष्ण ॥

'Went in where the lord of the world Śri Kṛṣṇa was.'

Here सत, सत and पात, are from सत्त, सत्त and पत्त Pr., सत, सत्त and पात्र Skr.; and to these ला, is added. There are other instances in these works in which ला is added to past Tatsama or later Tadbhava participles such as दग्यला, लुक्यला, हाणितला, म्हणितला; and in the language of the day we have सांगितलें, घेतलें, मागितलें, पुतलें and one or two others. In the Jñanesvari we have also such forms as विस्थेला, 'excited', निदेला 'slept', and आभारेला where the पे represents the अय or इस of the old participle resembling in this respect the Gui.

When the अ or आ of the old participle became too weak to be expressive, this form with the suffix attached was oftener used and gradually supplanted the other; and a came in the course of time to be regarded as the past participle termination. Hence it is applied to roots directly without the intervention of the old ए that we have in केसा and गेला; and in low Hindi also, it is applied in the same way. The original participle was mostly used

predicatively as it it is in classical Skr. also, and this was attached to it to form an attributive expression to be used before nouns. But after a time this new form also came to be predicatively used; and it is now so used in M., G., S. and H. In M. however, when it was put to this purpose, it drove out the old one, and its own attributive sense became faint, though even now it is not entirely lost in such instances as आज्या नाही there is no remedy against the thing that has already taken place'.

Then another छ came to be attached to it to adapt it for attributive use, and thus we have now in M. the form केलला, गेलला etc. with a double छ. This ल is to be traced to the Pr. इह or उह which according to Hemacandra is applied in the sense of Bhāva i.e. being the thing signified by the base as उपाइले, अपपूछं, These two words are in M. वरील or वरला and आपुले or आपले, in which instances we see that the initial इ or उ of the suffix is optionally dropped. Or according to other writers, quoted by our grammarians, आल is also used. And in works such as the Gaudavadha and in the Bhagavati, we find these suffixes frequently used. These are generally applied to all bases; but ल is another termination which is restricted to certain nouns such as वियुत्, पीत, पत्र, अन्ध from which we have विकल, पीतल etc. In Skr. also this suffix has a pretty wide range as द्वाल Pāṇini V. 2. 96; सिध्मल, इञ्चल, पोसल, मोसल, स्नेइल etc., V. 3. 97; बस्सल V. 2. 98; फेनल V. 2-99.

THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE IN THE VERNACULARS

The present participle of the Pr. has lost its न in M. as करित, आवत, in G. करत 'doing', चढत 'ascending', in H. as करता and in B. as करित, देखित, while the O. has preserved it as करन्त, देखन्त. The S. and P. have preserved the Saur. form which has द instead of त and the former has preserved the nasal throughout while the latter has dropped it after roots in अ as S. मारियो. इसन्ते, P. सिखदा writing but जांदा 'going', हांदा 'becoming,' this participle is used as in the Pr., in the sense of Skr. Conditional, equivalent to the English Pluperfect Conditional, as M. तो करता तर होते 'if he had done it, it would have become,' G. ते करत तो थात; B. से यदि तो मार्के करित तवे तिम विश्वास करिता ना; 'if he had told you, you would not

had arisen, the darkness would not have remained'; H. जो में कहता तो मेरी बात न सुनता 'if I had told, he would not have listened to my words;' S. जेहू पाणिअमे न तरंदो 'if he had not been swimming', जे मे बहुदा 'if I were to send'.

THE ABSOLUTIVE IN THE VERNACULARS

: .

The absolutive in M. is formed by adding the termination ऊन, as कस्त, the same as the Mahārāstrī ऊज. Vararuci, you will remember, gives this termination only, but Hemacandra adds more.

The G. has इ, the same as the Ap. इ and Pr. इअ, Skr. य, and इने from the Ap. एविया or एव्यी, the Vedic Skr. त्वीन; or the ने of इने may be the same as the particle ने which means and added to इ.

The Sindhi has इ for intransitive and reflexive roots and ए for transitive and another इओ or यो for both, as सुणी 'having heard', मारे 'having beaten' and सुण्यो or मार्थों. The first is the same as the G., but in the ए of the transitive roots the अ of the original इअ seems to be preserved and this termination added to the root with the Parasm. sign इ. Thus we have first मारी and then, इअ or इय being added, we have मारीय, whereupon the य with the preceding इ becomes ए and we have मारे. The last यो is the same as the इउ of the Ap., traced to the infinitive, which, you will remember, is confounded with the absolutive.

The H. drops the इ of this form and the original root, as बोल, जा etc., is used in the sense of the Absol., but to make the sense distinct के or कर is added, as बोलके or बोलकर, जाके or जाकर. Of these के is a real absolutive derived from the Saur. किज and कर is the same as बोल, i. e. the usual form of it. Now when one form is felt to be not distinct enough, it is usual in our languages to add another to it of the same nature. You have instances of this process in the Pali double genitive तैसानं, and in the instr. ने and नी of some of our vernaculars.

P. agrees with the H. In H., however, the इ is pronounced by a great many people. It is also found in the old poets and in the Brajabhāsā. The absolutive always ends in this vowel as करि, सारि, though often के the same as H. के is added, as करिके, सारिके, etc.

The O. also has इ as करि and the B. has इ or ए or इया as देखि, देसे or देखिया 'having seen.' In the last the अ of the original इअ is preserved and lengthened, and the य is euphonic.

THE INFINITIVE OF PURPOSE IN THE VERNACULARS

The infinitive of purpose is preserved in M. as तो अध्यास कई जानता 'he began to study.' The form in the Pr. is करिउं, but the augment इ is lost in M. O. also has it, but its use is somewhat like that of the Absolutive विचार कर कहिले 'considering he spoke,' बाउ बाउ तुम होइला 'eating and eating he was satisfied.' But the original sense is somewhat preserved, and it is in this sense made the basis of the present tense definite, which will be considered hereafter. This infinitive and the absolutive are, I have already observed, confused in the Pr., and in some of the modern dialects the absolutive is used where we in Marathi use the infinitive: as G. हे करी सई छुं 'I am able to do it,' H. में कर सकता है, बानी जाको नहीं कहि सके है 'whom speech cannot express,' Br. में करि सकी हो for M. भी कर ज़कतों. For this infinitive the modern vernaculars however have got a reconstructed form which will be mentioned in its proper place.

THE POTENTIAL PARTICIPLE IN THE VERNACULARS

The potential participle in Skr. तथ्य, Pr. अस्त्र, is much used in the modern dialects and made the base of various verbal formations. In M. we have करावें 'should be done,' G. करबुं, S. पसिबो from पस to see, Braj. करबों, B. & O. करिबा. The H. has lost it, so also the P.

The Skr. verbal noun in अन appears as करने in M., करहा S., करनी Braj., करना H. and P., कहन O. & B., but in these latter it is probably a modern Tatsama. G. does not possess it. These forms are called infinitives by the Vernacular grammarians. Prof. Hörnle traces them to the Skr. potential participle in अनीय; but, as before remarked, the transition from नीय to नय and then to ने is taken for granted; regularly नीय ought in the vernaculars to be changed to नी as in पाणी, According to the observations I made before the ए of करने and जी of करने must be due to अकन-अर्ज-

जयं Pr. and अकस-अउं Ap., as in M. केळ and G. केळु; so that the verbal noun in M. and H. is an augmented form of the corresponding one in Skr., while that of the Sindhi is from the unaugmented form. A great many other verbal derivatives have come down to the vernaculars, but I must not go further.

THE PASSIVE IN THE VERNACULARS

The Pr. passive base in ईज and इज has been preserved only in P. & S. Thus मारीज 'he may be beaten' and मारीजन 'they may be beaten' are forms of the 3rd pers. sing. and pl. of the passive old Pres. and modern Potential; while मारीचा the present part is used as a base to form various tenses. This is the Pr. form in इज, the अ being lost. Sindhi has ज as पीजण 'to be drunk,' पोइजण 'to be washed,' पोइजे sing., पोइजिन pl. 3rd pers. Pres. or Pot. The pres. part is wanting; the potential participle from तज्य being used instead as पोइजा. The augment इ is introduced before this ज where euphony requires it. Old M. possessed these forms and they are very frequently to be met with in our poets as in Jūānešvar!

आतां आसुचा दळीं नायक । जे रूढ वीर सैनिक । ते प्रसंगें आइक । सांगिजित ॥

'Now incidentally will be mentioned, the leaders, proved warriors and soldiers in our army.'

तयापरी तूं देवा । मज झकऊन न यासे माधवा । जरी पुण्याचा ओलावा । नाजिजेल ॥

"In that manner, O lord Mādhava, you will abandon me and will not come to me if the moisture of virtue is dried up (lit. will be destroyed).

बिचारीं त् अर्ज्जुत । कीं कारुण्यें कीजसी दीतु । सांग मां अंघकारें भातु । ग्रासिला आधी ॥

'Think, Arjuna, you are being made contemptible by sorrow; say, is the sun ever swallowed up by darkness?'

Here we have instances of the Present and Future. Old Guj. had the passive:

जिंहां पूजिजह सालिग्राम । जिहां जिप्हजे हरितुं नाम । स्मृति पुराण मानीई गायह । जीजि दिसि कराय जाग्य । जिहां बहुदर्शन दीजह त्याग । जिहां ... बेदपुराण धर्म बुझीह ॥ नष संडे अपकीरति रही । माधवि म्लेङ आजियासही ॥ 'Where Śāligrāma is worshipped, where the name of Hari is muttered in meditation and Smṛtis, Purāṇas and the cows are respected, in which country sacrifices are performed, where there are the six philosophies, and alms are given, where Vedas, Purāṇas and duty are understood, there Mādhava for certain brought the Mlechha and infamy rests (on his name) in the nine divisions (of the world).'

Here we have instances of the forms in ज as पूजिजह and in ई (Pr. इअ) दुशीह ; and also of the modern forms as कराय which will be presently considered. In old H. poets we meet with such forms now and then. Thus Tulsidāsa :

महिमा जास जान गणराऊ । प्रथम पूजियत नामप्रभाऊ ॥

'The greatness of which (Rāma's name) the lord of the Ganas (Ganapati) knows, he is first worshipped; this is the achievement of the name.'

चहियत युगल किशोर लेखि। लोचन युगल अनेक ॥ Behārilāla.

'Many couples of eyes are wanted to see the couple of young persons (Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa).

Here पूजियत and चहियत are forms of the passive in ह्य. The verb चाहिये in mod. H. is also a passive forms as ज्योहये G. and पाहिजे M.

There are also, as in the Pr., Siddha Tadbhava forms of the passive बुझण् S. 'to be heard,' अजण् S. 'to be broken,' H. 'to flee away,' अजण् S. 'to be fried,' दिजण् S. 'to be plucked' from pr. बुज्झ, अजा, अजा and दिजा and Skr. बुध्य, अज्य, अज्ज्य and दिजा and Skr. बुध्य, अज्य, अज्ज्य and दिजा and Skr. बुध्य, अज्य, अज्ज्य and दिजा का कि Skr. बुध्य, अज्य, अज्ज्य and दिजा का कि Skr. बुध्य, अज्ज्य का दिखा, पन्य-ण-बु-ना-बु-ना from पन्न Pr., पन्य Skr. 'to be cooked' in all, though the sense is somewhat altered. लामणे M., लमण् S. from Pr. लड़्स, Skr. लस्य 'to be obtained,' बाह्य S., बाह्यां H. from Pr. बज्झ, Skr. ब्रह्य 'to be bound;' दिसर्ज-बु-ना M. G. H. P. from Pr. दीस, Skr. हृद्य 'to be seen' also दीखना H.; सुजर्ज-बु M. S., सुजना H. P. from Pr. सुज्ज, Skr. ख्य, root व्य 'to be increased,' 'to swell;' कळणे M., Pr. कल्ल, Skr. कल्य 'to be known;' सुन्यों के M. G. from सुन्न Pr., Skr. सुन्य 'to occur to one' etc.

THE CAUSAL IN THE VERNACULARS

The causal is formed in M. by appending ईव or अब as दरीवणें or करवर्णे, पावीयणें or पाववणें; you will remember, I have identified the ई that non-reflexive transitive roots take in M. with the

Parasm. इ, and ए or अ of the intransitive and reflexive with the Atm. Now when a root becomes causative, its reflexive character is lost, all verbs become transitive, and hence we have अ or ई promiscuously used after all roots. For this reason even in Skr. all causal verbs are both Parasm. and Atm. I do not derive the rule about M. verbs taking अ or इ from that in Skr., but attribute it to the same causes. In the Goan. and Cit. we have अप for अब, the प being pronounced as a consonant and often like the vowel इ, as करपणां or करइणां. In the Savantvadi and Vengurla districts it is formed in the same way, but in the other portions of the area over which the Mālvani is spoken it is formed as in the principal Marathi. The प stands for प; for this semi-vowel is often, by the vulgar, dropped leaving the vowel instead, as बजा for नवा like the H. नया for नवा, नाई for नावी etc.

In G. the causal termination is आव as करावधुं 'cause to do,' तपावधुं 'make hot;' in S. आइ as वधाइणु 'to cause to increase,' धोआइणु 'to cause to wash;' in P. आऊ or वाऊ as कराउना or करवाउना.

In H., it is आ as नचाना, पहाना, but नचानना and पहानना are also used; and the termination जा is invariably added to the first causal to form a second or double causal as नचनाना, पहनाना from नचाना and पहाना. The आव occurs in first causals in poetry, as Tulsidās: अब प्रभुचरित सुनावह मोहि 'Narrate (lit. make me hear) to me the history of the lord'; also:—

यथा अनेक बेष धरि चृत्य करें नट कोइ। सोड सोड भाव दिखावें आपन होड ना सोड।।

'As an actor assuming various masks dances; so he (the lord) shows this character and that but is not himself that (what he shows).'

The B. and O. causal is also similarly formed by adding आ as कराइ 'I cause to do,' देखाई 'I show' etc. Here also as in the H., the ब of आव is elided.

The इ of the S. आइ must be the इ which we have observed is used after transitive and non-reflexive roots in Pot., the pres. part. etc. as सार्थने.

Thus then the causal termination in all the languages is will or will, which is the same as one of the three in Pr. For, you 64 [R.G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

will remember, the Pr. has ए, आवे and, the ए of the latter being dropped, there is another आव. We have also a good many examples in the vernaculars of the Pr. causals mentioned by Hemacandra as formed by dropping all terminations and preserving the vowel changes, guna or viddhi, which roots take before the Skr. अय or Pr. ए Thus:—

M. G. H.	मरणें-बुं-ना	मारणं-दुं-ना.
H.	खुलना	स्रोलना.
G. H. S.	तुट णें-बुं -ना- णु	तोहर्णे-बु-ना-सु
M. G. H.	फुटणें-बुं-ना	फोडणें-बुं-ना
H.	फटना	फाडनां.
G. H.	स्टुटबुं-ना	छोडवुं-ना
M.	स टणें	सोढणें
M. G.	पहणें-बुं	पारुणें-द्वं
М.	चरणे	श्वारणें
S.	बरणु	बारख
M, S.	गळणें-गरणु	गाळणॅ-गारख
S.	पढणु	पाहणु
	H. S. H. S. M. G. H. H. G. H. M. M. G. M. S. M. S. M, S.	H. खुलना G. H. S. तुटर्णे-बुं-ना-खु M. G. H. फुटर्णे-बुं-ना H. फटना G. H. छुटबुं-ना M. छटणें M. G. पहणें-बुं M. चरणें S. बरखु M, S. गळणें-गरखु

I have already mentioned that the causal of some roots is formed in H. by inserting & before the causal termination आ. G. has इ and Sindhi ; for ल, खबाइबं 'to cause to eat' from खा to eat, देवाहबं 'to cause to give,' देखाइबं 'to show' from देख 'to see,' घवाडदुं ' to cause to run,' दिअणु ' to give, ' दिआरणु 'to cause to give,' सिल्य-सेलारण, वेहण-वेहारण 'to cause to sit.' In these instances we have वा or आ before द ; but in G. all these forms have आव optionally added to them when the previous at is dropped as प्यकावदे 'to cause to run,' खबडावदे 'to cause to eat 'etc.; and in 8. we have the causal आइ appended to ₹ after roots ending in आ as साराइण 'to cause to eat, 'घाराइण 'to cause to wound, 'धाराइण 'to cause to suck' or 'to suckle: 'so that the intervening आ is interchangeable in both these languages with the causal termination and hence some way conveys the same sense. M. has a trace of these forms as मोवर्ण 'to turn,' मोवडर्ण 'to cause to turn,' धावणें 'to run,' धावडणें 'to cause to run,' भिणे-भेडावणें 'to threaten.' Hemacandra mentions ममाडो as the causal base of अम and gives Wie in the sense of pushing which is very likely a causal form of W. We have this WE in the sense of sending in M.

We have seen that द or त is sometimes changed to and thence to द or ल in the Pr. and vernaculars; whence it appears that पिलाना is a denominative or nominal root from पिला or पिता or पीत, by the application of the usual denominative termination आप, which is also the causal termination. In Skr. such a denominative has the sense of doing the thing expressed by the base as पीत करोति-पीतपति, Saur. पीदावेदि.

We have a great many denominatives from past participles; first in the sense of being the thing expressed by the base, in which case the participle has simply the verbal terminations appended to it, as लग्गइ from लग, अञ्चिद्ध from अभ्येत, कट्टड from इड, पल्लटड, पल्लटड from प्रयेस्त etc.; and secondly in the sense of doing, when आव or आवे intervenes between the base and the terminations, as भीदाबेद in Mālati-Mādhava, from which we have in M, भेडाबबे. The forms in which we have आ before द as देवाइड, सवाइड etc. are denominatives from the past participles of original Pr. causals as दाबिद or खाबिद, the causal fermination आव being changed to औ and आ as in the H. in ordinary causals. In the vernaculars we have also the first class of denominatives expressive of being like the thing denoted by the base, as:-

M. G.	H.	काहणें-बुं-ना	to draw from	रुष्ट :	p. p. p. of	হূৰ
	н.	स्तना	to sleep	स्रप्त	**	स्वद
	G.	बुठबुं	to rain	इ ष्ट	,,	ट्र
H.	G.	बैठना-वेठबुं	to sit	उपविष्ट	**	विज् with उप
H.	G.	पैठना-पेठबुं	to enter	प्रविष्ट	19	विज्ञ् with प्र
	H.	कुढना	to cry	क्रष्ट	,,	ক্ষতা
	G.	रुठबुं	to be angry	रुष्ट	,,	रुग ्
	G.	तुठद्रं	to be pleased	तुष्ट	,,	दर
H.	G.	घटना-बुं	to be diminished	টুছ	,,	धृष्

We have another verbal base in M. which involves the idea of power and ability as करवते 'can be done,' बसवते 'can be sat.' These forms are passive when the original verb is transitive, and impersonal when it is intransitive. In old M. प is somesimes seen for च:--

जरी वेदें बहुत बोलिलें। विविध भेद साचिले। तरी आपन हित आपुलें। तेंचि घेषे॥

'Even if the Veda has told much and indicated a great many distinct things, still one should take that which is beneficial to himself.'

काय ग्राणिपे स्थितप्रज ?

' Who should be called स्थितप्रज्ञ ?'

Here the sense is simply passive and does not involve the notion of power. These forms are to be derived from the pass. of the causal, whence करवे is करव्यह Pr. for कराप्यते, Skr. कार्यते. Power is implied on account of the forms being derived in this manner: for, गोबिन्देन कर्म कार्यते मया in Skr. means the work is caused to be done by me by Govinda; when the agent caused is taken to be the same as that who causes, the sense is 'the work is caused to be done by me by myself, i. e. 'I am the causer of myself to do it' i. e., 'I can do it.' In G. this causal pass. अस्य is transformed into সা. as the causal সৰ so often is, and the sense is simply passive in some cases and passive and causative in others, as आं छोकरो सूर्व जणाय छे 'this boy is known to be a fool;'आ काम माराधी करातं नथी 'this work cannot be done from me.' There are traces of these forms in the other languages also, though the grammarians do not notice them, as H. एकवचन बस्तुर संख्या एक ब्रह्माय 'By the singulars the number of a thing is known to be one,' as a say कहाता है 'that is called a sentence' etc.1

Thus then you will see that we have nearly the whole of the grammar of the Prakrits, i. e. all their grammatical forms, in our vernaculars. The cases in the forms which they assumed in the Apabhramsa have been preserved, some in this language and some in that, but not all in one and the same. And along with them there are sometimes newly constructed forms also. The pronouns are the same as in the Pr. and the Apabhramsa. The two Prakrit tenses and one mood are preserved. All the

¹ Mr. Beames traces the vernacular causal terminations अव, इव, उ, आ etc. to the Skr. अंग. But this is evidently a mistake. The Pr. आवे or आब has escaped him somehow. The ल of the Hindi causal forms he also derives from the य of अय. But this य is too weak to be changed to any other letter than the vowel ए, and ए is never changed to a semi-vowel excepting in the doubtful instance लही from बाह.

vernaculars have the Present, though, except in the Q. and B., it has acquired another sense and another word or expression is wanted to restrict it to the signification of the present time. G. S. P. and H. have lost the Imperative, but it is preserved by the other three languages. The Future is retained by the G. and the Braj; while this latter possesses the solitary form of the Aorist that the old Pr. had retained. These are the only really simple or uncompounded verbal forms existing in our languages; the rest are made up by compounding or by using Pres. participles as bases and appending the Pres. verbal terminations, as will be hereafter shown. Past time is almost universally expressed by the past participle, and this retains the passive, in some cases the active, character it had in Skr. and Pr. in all those languages that have not thoroughly lost the distinction of gender and number. The several other Prakrit participles are preserved and we have no other. The passive forms are seen in Sindhi and Panjabi, the former having one set and the latter the other. The Pr. causal termination is preserved almost unchanged by the M. and G. while in the other languages it is somewhat transformed. So that, as they are at present, our vernaculars have between them preserved all that the Prakrits had and preserved nothing that the Prakrits lost.

And as we ascend higher up in the history of each of these languages, we find in use such forms as it has now lost. All our vernaculars must at one time have been in the condition in which we find the Apabhramsa, but the dialect of that name which is treated of by the grammarians, and specimens of which we find in the scraps of literature I have noticed, resemble the G. and the Braj and in a less degree the S. P. and the ordinary H.

The old literary dialect of the H. area was the Braj; and the works of Tulsidās, Bihārilāl, Kabīra and others are in that dialect, though these are called old Hindi poets, instead of old Braj poets as they should be called and as they are called by natives. In this old Braj literature we find the Apabhramsa forms of the Present tense unchanged; and from these has directly been derived the Present tense of the modern S., G., P., Braj and H. The Apbhr. Future is found in the G. and in modern Braj and in the

poets in an older and less corrupt form also, though the स is changed to इ. Such Apphr. forms as जैस, तेस are preserved in the G.; and the neuter sing in दे in that dialect as well as in the Braj, where it occurs especially in the verbal nouns or infinitives. The first pers. sing. इं exists in G., old H. and a dialect of the Panjabi. The other dialects also possess, as I have observed, some Ap. peculiarities, but the four named above bear a closer connection to it.

And since the Apabhramsa is referred by the grammarians to the Sauraseni type, we may regard these four modern dialects, viz. the G. S. P. and H., as the representatives of the old Sauraseni, which from the name seems to have been the dialect of the country about Mathurā.

The distinction between this and the old Maharastri was, as we have have seen, not very great and some of the peculiarities were such as could not last for many centuries. The change of and w to wand w, for instance, instead of elision and w is of such a nature. The law of elision which operated in a great many other cases could not long be kept from extending itself to त. But still we do find in the modern G. such forms as किन्नं, ार्ष्ट्रं, सार्ड etc. for इतम, पीतम and खादितम. This change was made in some cases in the Sauraseni as in सउन्दला, for शकुन्तला, and in others not, as अय्यक्त for आर्यपुत्र. And the change of नत to न्द and we find in the S. and P. Present Participles. The Saur. Future which had an intercalatory en instead of the Mahārāstrī is, as we have seen, preserved in the G. and the Braj with the slight modification it underwent in the Apabhramsa. Then, if we follow Vararuci, the Saur. Absolute termination was 53. and in the prose speeches in the dramatic plays it is this alone that we find. The absolutive in these four modern languages is formed by adding this same termination with the 37 dropped.

Now all these peculiarities are absent from the M. In the old Mahārāstrī verses, occurring in the plays, as well as according to Vararuci, the absolutive termination was 云呵, which we find in the M. alone. The past passive participle of 云 and 夏 in old Mahr. was 云河 and 河河, and we have these forms in the M. in 京河 and 河河, as we have seen, while 帝 instead of 帝, 表 instead of

Recover in the four Saurasenic dialects and these we find in the plays. The Pres. and Imper. of the M. have been derived from the Pr. and not from the Apbhr. forms. Thus then, the M. is the modern representative of the old Mahārāṣṭrī; so that it hardly admits of any doubt that the two old languages derived their names from the provinces in which they prevailed. The B. and O. have a few peculiarities of the Saur.; and they seem to occupy a middle position between M. on the one hand and the four Apbhr. or Saur. languages on the other; while the consonantal changes, especially the reduction of all the sibilants to the palatal N, point to their being the descendants of the old Māgadhī.

LECTURE VI

NEW GRAMMATICAL FORMATIONS IN THE NORTHERN VERNACULARS

We will now proceed to consider those forms in the grammar of our languages which are not derived from corresponding Sanskrit or Prakrit forms, but which have been constructed in recent times. Such new forms owe their origin to various causes. The old ones lose their distinctive portions and become confused by phonetic decay; or, having been in long use, lose all freshness of meaning, and cease to be as expressive as one would wish them to be, or their sense is not exactly that which one desires to convey. Thus the old Present and Future got confused in our vernaculars and a new Future was wanted. The old Present itself acquired a potential sense in some cases and a past habitual sense in others, whence for the expression of present time another set of forms was required.

In Sanskrit itself such a phrase as दिजाय यवाम्: 'gruel for a Brahman' is not so expressive as दिजार्था यवाम्: 'gruel for a Brahman's purpose'; which again is analysed into its separate elements for greater distinctness into दिजस्यार्थे यवाम्: 'gruel for the purpose of a Brahman'.

When different words so brought together are kept distinct and consciously used, there is no growth of new forms. But if by frequent use and the oblivion of etymology such an expression as स्पाचे comes to be looked upon as an independent word meaning "for the sake of" and applied promiscuously to all nouns, including such as could not originally by the usage of Sanskrit have it, as in आवृष्याचे, it becomes a termination, and a new case form grows up and the old one often goes out of use. Then again phonetic decay sets in and by reducing this expression to साहे and ultimately to साहे (M. साडी the original word being सहरामा), irrevocably stamps it with the character of a case termination having no meaning by itself. Lastly, if one wishes to say of a book that it belongs to him and looks upon it as possessing that attribute and subordinates him to it, the expression तस्य प्रसद्ध

will not serve his purpose, but he must have some such as तदीयं पुस्तकम्. And if this way of looking at things becomes general, तदीय supersedes तस्य. In this way our new forms have grown up.

THE OBLIQUE FORMS

The case terminations are, in the majority of the languages, applied not to the original noun itself but to a certain modified form of it called the oblique form, or by the native Marathi grammarians the Sāmānya-rūpa or the common form, because it is used in all the cases.

THE OBLIQUE FORM IN THE MARATHI

There are two Sāmānya-rūpas for the two numbers. In the old languages plurality is expressed by independent terminations, but the new terminations of the modern languages being the same for both numbers, plurality is denoted by a distinctive oblique form. Some of the modern languages that have no Sāmānya-rūpa have recourse to a novel way of expressing plurality. Of all the vernaculars it is the Marathi that is the most particular in the formation of the oblique and has minute rules. Sindhi comes next, then the Hindi and the Panjabi; after these the Gujarati, and lastly the Bengali and the Oriya; which may be said to have no oblique form at all.

The Marathi oblique forms are made up by adding these terminations:—

(1) Sing	द. आ	Pl. आ
(2) "	ŧ	, ই
(3) "	ŧ	,, આં
(4) "	ऊ	" ক
(5),	प	,, આં

- (1) The following classes of nouns take the first-
- (a) Masc. and Neut. nouns in अ as हात 'hand'. हाता obl., हातास sing. 'to a hand', हातांस pl. 'to hands'.
- (b) Masc. nouns in आ and neuter nouns in ए which combine the final and the termination into या, but to ए in the speech of the Konkani Karhādās and in the Citpāvani and optionally to या or ए in adjectives: as आंबा 'a mango', आंबा 65 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

obl., आंब्यास sing. 'to a mango'; केळें 'a plantain', केळ्या obl., केळ्यास sing. 'to a plantain'; आंबेस 'to a mango' in the Konkani Karhāḍās, पिवळा 'yellow', पिवळ्या or पिवळे obl., पिवळ्या आंब्यास or पिवळे आंब्यास sing. 'to a yellow mango', respectively.

(c) A good many Masc. nouns in ई, the ई of which is changed to या before आ as न्हाची nom., न्हाच्या obl., न्हान्यास sing. न्हान्यांस pl.

All neuter nouns in हैं as मोर्ता-मोत्या-मोत्यास-मोत्यांस.

- (d) Some Masc. and nearly all neuter nouns in ऊ. Some of these change ऊ to बा, and others drop it, since it is the ऊ of the nom. sing. Apbhr., as भाऊ 'a brother'—भावा obl., भावास sing. 'to a brother', भावांस pl. 'to brothers'; बाटसरू 'traveller', बाटसरा obl., बाटसरास sing., बाटसरांस pl.; गळूं-गळवा-गळवास sing., गळवांस pl. लेकसं-लेकरा-लेकरास sing., लेकरांस pl. Some nouns of this class take आ optionally as विंसू -विंच्या-विंखास sing., विंख्यांस pl.
- (2) The following nouns take the second form 衰, 毫:--
 - (a) Tatsamas in short इ as कवि-कवी-कवीस.
 - (b) A few masc. nouns in ई as हत्ती 'elephant', हत्ती-हत्तीस sing., हत्तीस pl.
 - (c) A good many femininine nouns in अ as रीत manner, रिती—नितीस sing., रितीस pl.; केळ 'a plantain tree', केळी— केळीस sing., केळीस pl.
 - (d) Some feminine nouns in ई as सुई 'ground', सुई—सुईस sing., सुईस pl.
- (3) A good many feminine nouns take the third form ई—आं as घोडी 'a mare', घाडी sing., घोडवां pl., घोडीस sing., घोडवांस pl.; साडी 'a garment worn by females', साडी sing., साडवा pl., साडीस sing., साडवांस pl. In the Goan. and Māl., however, this form does not exist and these nouns take the fifth form ए—आ, as घोडये— घोडयेक sing, घोडयांक pl.; साडी—साडयेक sing., साडवांक pl.
- (4) Some masc. and feminine nouns in ক take the fourth form ক-ঠ, as লাক-লাকল sing., লাইল pl.; ৰাজু f. 'a side', ৰাজু-- বাৰুল sing., ৰাইল pl.

(5) The following classes take the fifth form:—A good many fem. nouns in अ as जीभ 'a tongue', जिमें sing., जिमां pl., जिमेंस sing., जिमां pl.; a good many fem. nouns in ई in the Goan. and Māl. dialects; see instances given above; some fem. nouns in ऊ, as जक्ष 'a leech', जळवे sing., जळवां pl., जळवेस sing., जळवांस pl.; जाऊ 'husband's brother's wife', जावे—जावां etc. Some nouns take this form optionally as सासस or सायेस; सासंस or सायांस. The usage in several cases is still unsettled as regards some of these forms. You will observe that there is an anusvāra in the pl. of all forms. Another fact should also be borne in mind that nouns in ई and ऊ often take the आ—आं or ए—आं forms though these properly belong to nouns in अ.

THE OBLIQUE FORM IN SINDHI

- (1) The following classes of nouns take अ for the obl. sing. and आं, ए and आनि for the pl.:—
 - (a) Masc. nouns, the nom. sing. of which ends in e, as देह 'a country', देह-देहनि obl., देहजो sing. 'of a country', देह-जो pl. 'of countries', also देहां—देहें— जो.
 - (b) Masc. nouns in ओ, which, however, combine the final and the termination into ए as in the Cit. Mar. as बाहों 'a carpenter', obl. बाहे sing., बाहानि, बाहां and बाहें pl.
- (2) The following nouns take अ for the obl. sing. and নি, সনি and বনি for the pl. in addition to आ and ए :--
 - (a) Masc. nouns in ई as हारी 'a peasant', हारिअ or हारिआ sing., हार्ये, हारिएं, हार्या, हारिनि, हार्यनि and हार्युनि pl.
 - (b) Fem. nouns in ई as घोड़ी 'a mare', obl. घोडिअ sing. घोडिआं, घोडिएं, घोडिनि, घोड्यानि and घोड्युनि pl.
 - (c) Masc. nouns in ऊ; as माण्हू 'a man', obl. माण्हुआ sing., माण्हुनि, माण्हुआने, माण्हुआं and माण्हुणं pl.
- (3) Nouns in short इ have no separate form for the sing. of the obl., the nom. form being used; the pl. they form like the above class, as गाल्डि f. 'a story', obl. गाल्डि sing., गाल्डिआं, गाल्डि

(4) Fem. nouns in अ, आ and उ have no separate form for the sing. while in the pl. they take उनि as सघ 'wish', obl. सघ sing., समुनि pl.; हचा 'a murder', obl. हचा sing., हचाउनि pl.; विज्ञ 'lightning', obl. विज्ञ sing., विज्ञानि pl. The first has सघा and सघ also for the pl. Here there is one type for one class of nouns and not two, as is the case sometimes in the M. The form in उनि is taken by all feminine nouns in अ, आ and ई and also masc. nouns in ई. Masc. nouns in क and fem. nouns in उ have उ in the criginal base itself and it does not belong to the termination.

THE OBLIQUE FORM IN PANJABI

The Panjabi has the termination ए for the sing. obl. of nouns ending in आ. The sing. of all other nouns has no special form while आ is appended to all nouns to form the obl. pl., before which the final आ of nouns preceded by a consonant is changed to इ. as घोडा 'a horse', घोडे obl. sing. and घोडिआं pl. Final उ preceded by a vowel combines with this आ to form बां, as पिड or पेड 'father', पेबां obl. pl.; and final आ forms आ as महस्स 'man', महस्सं obl. pl. There are no other changes.

THE OBLIQUE FORM IN HINDI

The Hindi, like the Panjabi, has an oblique sing. for nouns in आ only. It ends in प, as that of the S. and Cit. M. nouns in ओ, Karh. M. and P. nouhs in आ as; घोडे-घोडेका. The pl. obl. of all nouns whatever is formed by adding ओ which amalgamates with the preceding अ of all nouns and the आ of such as are masculine, and combines with इ to form इया; as गांव 'a village', गांबोका pl. 'of villages'; घोडा 'a horse', घोडोका pl. 'of horses'; पति 'a master', पतियोका pl. 'of masters.' In other cases it is simply added to the noun as भालू 'a jackal,' भालुओंका pl. 'of jackals'.

In the Brajbhāṣā and in the old poets the obl. pl. of all nouns has न or नि instead of ऑ, as संत 'a good man' संतनका pl. 'of good men'. This termination is also added to the nom. sing. to form the nom. pl. of those nouns that have no distinctive form for it; as लोग 'people' sing. लोगन pl.; भगत 'devotee', भगतन pl. (चहु जुग भगतन बांचल वादी—Kabir).

THE OBLIQUE FORM IN GUJARATI

In G. the obl. form of masc. and neuter nouns ending in wit and t is formed by substituting at for those vowels. The latter

take an anusvara in the pl., and the forms of the former for both numbers are alike as घोडो-घोडा-घोडाने sing, and pl. 'to a horse or horses'; केळ 'a plantain', केळा-केळाने sing. 'to a plantain', केळाने pl. 'to plantains'. But the nom. pl. forms of these are घोडा and केळां. whence it appears that in the pl. the obl. cases are formed simply adding the terminations to the nom, pl. and there is no such thing as a common oblique form. And this is the case with the sing, as well as the pl. of all other nouns; as माजस 'a man' nom. sing.. माणसी nom. pl., माणसने sing., माणसीने pl. The plural termination is ओ and is thus used in all cases. It is added in these days even to the final आ and आं of nouns in ओ and उं to distinguish the pl. forms from the sing. as घोडा or घोडाओ nom. pl., घोडाने or घोडाओने dat. pl. But the practice has not yet established itself and mostly the forms without sit are used. Masc. and neut. nouns ending in ओ or उं are often used in the pl. without it in such instances as तिहा घणा माणस छे in the nom. and other cases. And this is the usual practice in old G. literature : as लोकना प्रजना विवाह होई छी (Panch.): 'The marriages of the sons of other people are performed; 'सर्व शास्त्रनो परिचय छ 'he has a knowledge of all the Śāstras'.

> कलज्जगना बाह्मण जटला धर्मद्दीन थासे तेटला तां घर करसे पोता तणां स्वर्गारोहणनो कीधो ग्रंथ जेहमा सकल धर्मनो पंथ

> > Svargārohaņa by Sundarabhatta.

'All the Brahmans of Kaliyuga will be without virtue. They will build their homes there. The work Svargarobana was composed in which there is the way of all virtues'.

अनेक पंस्ती करे पोकार। गिरिजंगल बहु डुंगरा बळी बांदरना ठाठ Kavyadohana, Tulasi.

'Many birds raise a noise. There are mountains, forests many hills; over these is a crowd of monkeys.'

The ओ however is seen in fem. nouns ending in ई :—.
सम्रद्र गांमनी नदीयों जे इसे। तेमांथी जल स्रकी जसे॥
Svargarohana.

'The water of the sea and of the rivers on land (in villages) will be dried up.'

मोठा पर्वत निद्यो जेह । तेह तणो निह लाघे छेह ॥ Kāvyadohana, Tulasi.

'There is no end of great mountains and rivers that exist.'

It therefore appears that in masc, and neut, nouns the sit is a modern innovation and that there was no distinction between the sing. and pl. cases except the nom. of nouns in ओ and इं. The true explanation therefore of the modern sit of the pl. is that fem. nouns in an and preserved this termination, since they had it in the Prakrits, as the minor M. dialects have done, and, the sing. and pl. forms of masc. nouns being alike, the fem. 31 was transferred to them afterwards to distinguish the pl. as is now being done to nouns in ओ and उं. Thus then the G. noun may be said to have no real Samanya-rūpa or oblique form. Adjectives in sit however have a form ending in T when they are used to qualify a substantive in the instr. or old loc. case in ए as आ काम सारे माणसे कींधुं 'this thing was done by a good man', तलावने काटे छोकरा गिया 'boys went to the margin of a tank'; but this may be explained as a remnant of the old agreement between the noun and its adjective and सारे may be regarded as an instr. form and तलावने a locative.

ABSENCE OF THE OBLIQUE FORM IN BENGALI AND ORIYA

The Bengali and Oriya apply the case terminations directly to the nom. and there is no oblique form. The new terminations being, as in all the modern languages, the same for both numbers and there being no oblique form to express the distinction between them as in M. S. H. etc., these languages, like the Gui, were under the necessity of deriving some expression for denoting plurality. The G. found its fem. In and employed it for this purpose, but the B. and O. had no such distinctively pl. termination left to fall back upon and so they have recourse to the use of a word signifying collection such as Gu originally 'direction, row, line', 'un, the and there etc., after the noun, the plurality of which is to be expressed. Thus the course of a king', that of kings' lit. 'of the direction row or line of a

king.' Sometimes the word दिंग is attached to the gen. sing. as राजारदिगेर to express the gen. relation between the राजा and दिग, which is understood in the first expression. To nouns denoting inferior animals समृह and such words are appended and such others as सकल to those signifying inanimate creatures as कुक्कुरेर 'of a dog' कुक्कुरसमुहेर 'of dogs.' The Oriya sign of the plural is मान for rational and animate creatures and सकल, समरत etc. for irrational or inanimate, as पुद्ध 'a beast', पुद्धर sing. 'of a beast', पुद्धमानकर 'of beasts.' The B. adds रा to the nom. sing. of names of rational creatures to form the nom. pl., while समृह, सकल, etc. are applied to the rest, as राजा 'a king', राजारा 'kings'; कुक्कुर 'a dog', कुक्कुरसमुह 'dogs.' The O. adds ए to मान to form the nom. pl. as पद्धमाने. This ए is the same as that of पोटे in M. and H.

THE NATURE OF THE OBLIQUE FORM

Now the question is what is the nature of this Sāmānya-rūpa or oblique form, why does a noun undergo a certain modification before it becomes fit to receive the termination and what is the signification of the modified form and of the nasal that appears in the plural. Let us see how we, at the present day, join certain words expressive of relation such as संनिध or पार्शी with a noun. We say त्याच्या संनिध or त्याच्या पार्शी i. e. put the noun into the gen. case. Now this त्याच्यापार्शी is convertible with त्याजपार्शी, in which त्याज is the oblique form of तो the demonstrative. Similarly we append even some of the case terminations to the gen. as माइयाने काम करवत नाहीं '¡I cannot do the work'; त्याच्यांत काही पाणी नाहीं 'there is no spirit (lit. water) in him.'

May the Sāmānyarūpa then be an original genitive? The gen. is used in the Prakrits and even in Pali, not only with independent words, but is made the base of some cases also, as we have seen, and the case terminations attached to it; thus ममं is acc. sing. of अहम 'I' in the Pali and the Pr., ममाई instr., ममाई, की., ममसि loc. in the latter, in which instances the usual terminations of those cases are added to the original gen. form मम. We find everywhere in the history of our languages that after a time the terminations in some cases come to have an independent sense and then they are detached from the original base and used like

ordinary post-positions. Thus, before the loc. किम was appended to मम, it must have acquired some such sense as 'in the interior of' and that the whole expression ममन्मि might mean 'in the interior of me.' Similarly in the Apabhramsa, some of the post-positions which came into use and which, as I shall bereafter show, have grown into our case terminations are used with the gen. of the noun to which they are attached. Thus :— इन्हें सिजान तन केहिं पित्र तहुं पुष्ट असह रोसे 'I pine away for thee, oh beloved, but thou for another', in which we have the postposition केहिं and रोसे having the sense of 'for' used with the genitives तन्ने 'thy' and असह 'of another.'

ANALYSIS OF THE MARATHI OBLIQUE FORM

And if we examine the oblique forms themselves, we shall find that that they are derived from the Apbhr. and Pr. genitives. Thus the form in M sing. and M pl. which nouns in M, M etc. take is derived from the Apbhr. I sing. and I or M pl. derived from Pr. W and W. The grammarians give the Apbhr. sing. termination as N, but I is also found, as in MMI in the above quotation, and in the following occurring in an old work:—

कान्ह तणइ संपत्ति इसी। जिसी इंद्रह घरि रिद्धि॥

'The wealth of Kanha was like the affluence in the house of Indra' where হৈছে is gen. sing. The হ of হযেহ, for instance, is reduced to স, the aspirate being lost, as is often the case in the vernaculars, and we have হযো or হাবা. Similarly স of the pl. combines with the preceding স into সা and we have হাবা.

The second form है and है is derived from tha gen. of nouns in ह or ह masc. or fem. Thus केलीह is the Pr. gen. sing. from which we have केली the sing. obl., and केलिण pl., the ण of which is reduced to अ as in the other case, and we have केलीओ; अ, as proved in the last lecture, generally goes out in the vernaculars, after a long vowel even when medial, and after a short dissimilar vowel when final, and hence we have केली the obl. pl. Or the sing. ह may be derived from another fem. gen. termination अ or the mase. अ for ह, which, before the preceding short ह, goes out since it is final, as कविड-कविअ-कवी.

The fourth form उ and दं is similarly derived from masc. and fem. nouns in उ or ऊ; as साहस्स-साहह-साहअ-साह obl. M., though we have not this word in this form in M. where it is व्यश्न-सस्स समझ gen. साम् obl. sing. M.; सम्मूर्ण-सस्मू अं-सामूं obl. pl. M.

The fifth form in ए sing. and आं pl. is from fem. nouns in आ; Pr. जिन्माइ or जिन्माए-जिमे M. obl. sing. and जिन्माण-जिन्माअ-जिमां M. obl. pl.

The third form $\hat{\xi}$ sing, and $\Re \hat{\eta}$ pl. is a mixture of the second and the fifth and the nouns that take it form their oblique on the type of the fifth in the Goan, and Māl.

ANALYSIS OF THE SINDHI OBLIQUE FORMS

The Sindhi in its \(\mathrm{A} \) of the sing, of its first and second forms, shortens the \(\mathrm{A} \) of the M., i. e. the two \(\mathrm{A} \) form one strong \(\mathrm{A} \); while in its third or fourth, it either dispenses with the special oblique or this is the same as the nom., as in the case of the M. \(\mathrm{A} \) is the corresponding M. \(\mathrm{A} \), which appears to be from the Apbhr. \(\mathrm{A} \) of the gen. pl. of nouns in short \(\mathrm{A} \) or \(\mathrm{A} \) given by Kramādisvara and the rest presents the gen. \(\mathrm{A} \) in an uncorrupted form. Of these \(\mathrm{A} \) which all fem. nouns and one set of masc. nouns take appears to be a combination of the fem. nom. pl. \(\mathrm{A} \) and the gen. \(\mathrm{A} \); i. e. to the nom. pl. of these nouns the obl. \(\mathrm{A} \) was added instead of to the original base.

THE HINDI AND THE PUNJABI OBLIQUE FORMS

The P. pl. आ is the same as the M. and the H. ओ is from the Apphr. g of nouns in g or उ. Or it may be explained as a combination of the fem. ओ with the nasal of the gen. as the Sindhi उनि is.

The Braj a also presents the gen. termination in an unchanged form.

This then is the way in which the oblique forms are derived, but as usual the law of false analogy and simplication has been in operation even here and thus while the M. represents them in a pristine condition, the Sindhi has reduced them to fewer types and the P. and H. and perhaps the G. to one and the B. and O. have dropped them altogether.

66 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

It now remains to show why nouns with various endings inflect the obl. in M. and S. according to the same type. I have already shown that the oblique terminations at and at properly belong to nouns in 3. Sindhi masc, nouns in 3 are, as observed on a former occasion, really nouns in अ, उ being the nom. sing. termination, whence they take in the sing. AT shortened to A. Nouns in आ Mar. and P. and in ओ S. also form their oblique according to this type. But the sing. base ends in पा or ए in M. and q in others. These nouns, as shown in the last but one lecture, were originally nouns augmented by the addition of . Thus Skr. घोटक is Pr. घोडअ or घोडय, since अ is pronounced य. and with ह or अ the gen. termination becomes घोडय + अ = घोडया, which by hasty pronunciation becomes view; but in the older M. poets we find घोडया also. Now in the state of घोडय it may become, as I have once stated, घोडे, as कपल for कदल becomes केल or केळ, and after a long vowel the following of is elided, whence we have the form of the M. dialects and S. and P. and H. Similarly we have the plural ঘাহমা.

Neuter nouns in ए are also nouns with a final क, as has been shown, hence their oblique is like that of the Masc. nouns in आ. क्षलक्ष-कपलअं-केळें and केलप + अ of the gen. = केळपा-केळपा. Similarly सोनें = स्वण्णअ = स्वर्णक etc.

Masc. nouns in ई also take this form. If they do so, they must be nouns in अ originally and as a matter of fact we do find some of them at least to be so. Thus न्हाबी is न्हाबिश Pr., नापित Sk.; wherefore we have न्हाबिश + आ = न्हाच्या; ताम्बोलिक is Pr. तम्बोलिश and with the gen. ह or अ the obl. ताम्बोल्या; वाणित Pr. बाजिश and with अ for ह बाण्या obl. etc. Similarly मौकिक is मोतिश, where with gen. अ we have M. मौत्या; पाणी is पानीश and thence पाण्या. S. हारी is Skr. हालिक, Pr. हालिश which is the S. obl. form, since the effect of two अ coming together is in this language to prevent the usual elision and form one strong अ.

We thus see that most Mar. and S, masc. nouns in \(\frac{1}{2}\) and M, neuter nouns \(\frac{1}{2}\) are derived from Pr. nouns having a final अ representing Skr. क or any other syllable. In the same way Skr. सहक is Pr. सहआ thence साहुआ and with the gen. आ for ह साहचा the M. obl.; so also M. आउ must be Pr. भारुआ, Skr. आयुक; M. नातु, Pr. नम्ज,

Skr. नज्द, in order that with the gen. अ they may yield आजा or नातवा. Neuter गर्ह is गडुअ, Skr. गडुक and hence by the combination of गडुअ + अ we have गड्या or गळवा. S. आण्डू must have been माग्रह from माग्रुव and the aspiration being transferred to म we have माण्डूअ which is the obl. form. Thus then those M. and S. masc. nouns in उ and M. neuter nouns in ऊ which take this oblique form were Pr. nouns in अ representing a Skr. syllable ending in अ, mostly क. Now these vernacular nouns in इ or ई and उ or ऊ which in Skr. have not a syllable like त or क at the end must have the क attached to them in the Pr. and Apbhr., as we have seen it was, to nouns in अ which on that account have become nouns in ओ or आ in the modern languages.

Those fem. nouns in अ that have ह or ह for their Samanyarupa terminations must be Skr. and Pr. nouns in ह or ह as they are as a matter of fact; as केळ is Pr. केली or कचली, Skr. कदली; भित is Pr. and Skr. भित्ते; पार्थ, Skr. पापाई, Pr. पार्थी; बहिआ, Skr. भगिनी, Pr. बहिणी; बांब, Skr. वापी, Pr. बाबी; and a good many modern Tadbhavas such as रीत, गत, विश्वत from रीति, गति, विश्वति etc.; others that end in ह and take these terminations were also originally nouns in ह or ह as शुर्ह, Skr. भूमी and others. Some masc. nouns in ह which form their obl. in this way must also be derived from corresponding nouns in ह, as हत्ती is from the Skr. and Pr. Nom. sing. हत्ती. And modern Tatsamas in ह or ह of course can only take this form. Similarly those nouns that form their oblique by taking s and s must be originally nouns in उ or s. Modern Tatsamas ending in these vowels also take these forms.

The fifth form has already been traced to the Pr. gen. of fem. nouns in आ, whence those nouns that take the form in M. must have been originally nouns ending in that vowel. Thus जीअ, Pr. जिल्ला, Skr. जिल्ला; आक—Skr. आवा (mod. Tad.); आळ—आला—साला—साला; औक—अक्ला—शिक्षा; नीज or नीव—निज्ञा—निज्ञा; सांज—संख्या—संख्या; सेज—सेज्ला—संख्या; सेज—सेज्ला—संख्या; सेज—सेज्ला—संख्या; सेज—सेज्ला—संख्या; सेज—सेज्ला—संख्या; सेज—सेज्ला—संख्या; सेज—सेज्ला—संख्या; सेज—सेज्ला—संख्या; सेज—सेज्ला—संख्या कर्या etc. All modern fem. Tatsamas in आ are inflected in this way. From the fact that fem. nouns in ई take आं for the pl. obl. it would appear that they were originally nouns in आ. बोडी we know must have been Skr. बोडिका since the masc. is घोडक. Its gen. pl. in Pr. therefore was बोडिकाओ, whence we have घोडका, but the sing. obl. बोडी which is the same as the nominative is not

formed, as it should be, according to our theory. But, as observed before, the Goan and Mal. have faithfully preserved the old tradition here though the ordinary M. has lost it and in this instance applies the case terminations to the Nom. and not to special obl. form as the other languages do to a much greater extent. The Goan, and Mal. Samanyarupa of घोडी is घोडचे from Pr. gen. चोडिआइ. the last two vowels combining into प and the इ and ए into ये. Other instances are साही, Skr. शाटिका, बाही-बाटिका, नळी-नलिका, कळी-कलिका, माशी-मक्षिका, माती-मृत्तिका, सुदी-सुद्रिका, the sing. obl. of which in the Goan. and Mal. are साइचे, वाडचे, नळचे etc. Similarly those fem. nouns that take this type of the obl. must have been nouns in an representing such a syllable as का. Thus M. बाक्स is Pr. बालुआ, Skr. बालुका, and बालुआ with the इ or प of the Gen. sing. is बाळवे and with आ of the pl. बाळवांस; also जकू-जलोआ or जलुआ-जलोका; ऊ a louse Skr. एका, सासू-श्वश्रका. The last and also बाक्र have also the obl. form in ऊ and ऊं. Several other nouns also, masc. and fem. ending in § and 57, have the § and 55 form of the obl. as well as the M or V and M form. This arises from the practice of adding to or to optionally in the Pr. just as there are some nouns which, as we have seen, end both in w and w.

In this way the several types of the M. sāmānyarūpa arose from different sets of Pr. nouns, but it is not meant that all those nouns that in the present state of the languages take one or other of those types were derived from the corresponding Prakrit set. After the forms came into use, words—from foreign languages for instance—were introduced which cannot of course be traced to the Prakrit and those were assigned to some one form according to the gender in the first place and then to fancy or accident; there is no reason why दोलत should be दोलती for its oblique and not दोलते or फोज कोने and not कोनी; the tradition with regard to some Pr. nouns also must have been forgotten and then they also have been in the condition of these foreign nouns and must have been treated likewise; and to a certain extent oblivion is the reason why we have two forms in the case of some nouns and no other.

This then is clearly the origin of the oblique forms; and all the facts, especially in the Marathi language, harmonize so completely with it that there can be no doubt whatever as to its truth. And no other case than the gen, would have served the

purpose of reconstruction. When a language is in an early stage of growth and case forms such as the loc. sing. are made up by joining two words such as de 'a shining being' and w 'this' or 'here'. imagination is wanted to connect the 'here' or 'this' with the shining being, i. e. in the place of the shining being. But when a language has got the means of expressing the relation denoted by of, it is necessary that it should be used in connection with the new post-position; otherwise the sense would be incomplete. And thus in Skr., Pr. and the modern languages all such postpositions are appended to the gen. case. The gen. forms of nouns as they were in the Prakrits and the Apabhramsa have descended to the Marathi only somewhat phonetically altered, while the principal change that the nouns or crude forms have undergone is the loss of final अ or आ answering to such a Skr. syllable as त. क or का when preceded by a dissimilar vowel, i. e. इ or उ; while the other languages have, in most instances, taken this mutilated crude or nom. form as the base for all oblique cases, the M. confines it to its own place and uses the old gen everywhere and without exception if we take the minor dialects also into consideration. The other languages have of course, as has been shown, preserved this gen. in some cases and of them all the S. in the largest number of instances. Some such as the H. and P. have generalized the pl. form of one set of nouns and use it for all. The M. cases are thus more difficult to the learner than those of the other languages, but that is a matter with which we are not concerned here.

NEW TERMINATIONS IN THE VERNACULARS

We will now proceed to the consideration of the new terminations. These have not necessarily sprung up from independent words. We have seen that the old terminations such as the न of the instr. have been detached and constituted into post-positions. But the most common method the vernaculars have resorted to is to attach the case forms of certain words to the gen. of the nouns. The acc. and dat. terminations in the various dialects are these: H. तई, की, Braj. की, B. के, ते, O. क, S. को, ते, P. इं, ताई, G. ने, M. स, ला, and ते used in poetry. Of these स has been discussed. The Māl. and Goan, have की for pronours and the former क for

nouns and the latter कनां. Khāndesī has हे, P. has ताई also for इ. Old Bengali has also a dative in रे.

वैदर्भीरे ईस कहे मनुष्यवस्थने

Mah. Nalop. I.

'The swan said to Vaidarbhi with human speech.'

THE ORIGIN OF & IN THE VERNACULAR TERMINATIONS

Here we see that a good many languages have the termination with an initial w. What is its origin? Dr. Caldwell traces it to the Dravidian 5. But in our whole investigation we have not yet met a Dravidian influence in the grammar of our languages. Dr. Trump derives the S. से and B. के from इते. The last may not unlikely have been derived from it, but the aspiration of the S. से is not accounted for. Trump attributes it to the vowel ऋ; but we have seen that in the old Pr. this goes out, leaving nothing but आ, E or I, i. e. the consonantal portion of it, which is subordinated to the vowel portion, leaves no trace. There is no other instance in which we is known to exert such an influence. The Hindi को he also derives from इत and not इते. But here the Anusvāra is not accounted for and regarded as inorganic. Besides, as Mr. Beames remarks, and is not a word likely to yield the sense of a dative. It is never used in Skr. or Pr. as equivalent to कते.

To be able to arrive at the probable or correct etymology of any of these terminations it is necessary to collect and compare any more ancient forms of it that may possibly be found. Now there are such forms in the case of the H. को and the Braj की. The old H. poets often use कई, कई and even काई; for instance in Tulsidās's Rāmāyana we have:—

भातु छहाातु सर्व रस खाहीं। तिन कहं मंद कहत कोड नाहीं॥

'The sun and fire swallow all liquids. Nobody calls them stupid.'

काम जारि रतिकइं बर दीन्हा । रूपासिंधु यह आतिभल कीन्हा ॥

'He burned Kāma but gave a boon to Rati; this was an excellent act done by the ocean of mercy.'

क्षिन्द सहित विमन कहुं दान विविध विधि दीन्द्रा ॥

'He gave various gifts to the monkeys and the Brahmans.'

आसन उचित दये सब काहू । कहीं कहा सुस एक उच्छाहू ॥

'Proper seats were given to all; my mouth is one, how shall I relate the festivities?'

कैकई कहुं पानि मिले मनकर छोभ न जाइ।

'Met Kaikayl again, but the agitatiton of the heart did not subside!'

Now we have seen that often in the modern languages the T of older words is dropped; and thus from कहं we have कर and then को or को by the usual rule that we have noticed in going over the vowel changes. From we the Malvani and Goan. wi is derived. The st and se are also traced to set by Dr. Trump. But Mr. Beames derives them from the 'arm-pit, side', which becomes काल and then काइ, and the anusvāra he traces to the accusative and thus supposes कक्षं to be the original of की. कक्ष is preserved in the modern languages in the form of কাৰ, but the further change of w to w in the suffix he accounts for by considering it to be a later Tadbhava. And corresponding to these two forms he save we have the two forms of स्थान in the ordinary word थान H. 'a place' and in the s of করা, সরা. I have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Beames is altogether wrong in deriving wet, wet etc., and further on तह or ताई from किस्थान, यत्स्थान, तत्स्थान etc. Such new expressions in the face of the many good old words existing in Skr. and Pr. could not have come in ordinary vernacular use. The B. एथाय, ओधाय, कीयाय etc., which have led Mr. Beames to this etymology are manifestly new combinations of ए and थाय. ओ and थाय, को and थाय like the barbarous compounds एखानें, सेखाने of Skr. and foreign words derived by the Bengali in its poverty of the old Tadbhava element. Neither should we derive the M. TH and later TH from प्तत्स्थान in the face of the Pr. एत्थ from Skr. अज or इज which we find everywhere in Pr. works. Now as regards will, in addition to the objection which Mr. Beames has not succeeded in answering, it is to be observed that the word is found nowhere used in that sense in old H., G. or M. literature and, that it might be the original of the dat. case-affix in nearly all the languages, it is necessary that it should have been used extensively in Skr. or Pr. or in the old literature of the modern languages.

One chief and important source of the modern case affixes has been overlooked by all those who have written on varnacular philology. The words most fitted to express case relations are the pronouns and the old Aryan case endings have properly been traced by comparative philologists to pronominal roots. Even in the vernacular speech of the day we use pronominal expressions when a simply general sense is wanted; as मी गोविंदाचे एथें गेलों होतों 'I went to (lit.) the here of Govinda, i. e. to Govinda's place; आपके यहां सेवकको भेजा था 'I sent my servant to your here', i. e. your place; हं सुरहीधरने तहां गयो हतो 'I went to Murlidhar's there' i. e., place. These एथं, यहां and तहां are really remnants of the old Pr. locatives of इदम (in the forms इ or अ) and तत्. If these were more extensively used, they would in the course of time become terminations; and \overline{as} for \overline{as} , the Pr. Apphr. loc. of \overline{as} , has become a termination in H. as में शहरके तहें गया 'I went to the there of the town': उसके तड़ें 'to him or for him.' In the Apabhramsa. according to Hemacandra, केहिं and तेहिं were used as postrositions in the sense of 'for' 'on account of' as in the verse formerly given इं क्रिज़र तर केहि पित्र &c. These, as they are, appear like instrumental plurals of the pronouns किन and तद and they may be so really. The instr. and abl. may pass into the dat. and this into either. For of the several relations denoted by the first two cases one is that between a cause and its effect or reason and conclusion, and a confusion between an antecedent cause or reason and the final cause or purpose is natural. This last is generally indicated by the dat. case. Even the English preposition 'for' has these two senses. In the sentence, 'I bought the book for my own use', it signifies the purpose; and in such a one as 'for this, let people beware' it denotes an antecedent reason. In the same way साठी or करिता are in M. used in both these senses. स्वाच्यासाठीं भी इतका अस केला 'I took so much trouble for him' it has a dative sense and in बासाडी अभी गोष्ट कथीं कर्स नये 'for this, such a thing should never be done 'it has an ablative sense. This fact must be borne in mind as we go on discussing the origin of the case forms. केह and तेह therefore may be instrumentals.

This explanation is supported by the fact that another Aphhr. post-position in the sense of 'for' or 'on account of' given by Hemacandra is त्यांच which is evidently the sing, instr. of क्या.

a possessive suffix to be hereafter mentioned. The pl. case forms may become adverbs or postpositions as the Skr. ब्राने: 'slowly,' नीचे: and उचे: 'low' and 'high' which must originally have been instr. plurals. Another explanation of these forms is that they are derived from the Pr. gen. plurals केसि and तेसि, the स being changed to इ. The gen. has all along been used in the sense of the dat. In Skr. itself it is often so and in the Pr. it drove out the old dat altogether and was used instead. In old M. poetry the obl. form, which we have traced to the Pr. gen., is often used for this case or, since in the Apabhr. nouns the termination दि was used for loc. pl. also, the forms केदि and तेदि are not unlikely to be referred to that case. The loc. is another case which can readily be adapted to express a dat. acc. sense. Tulsidāsa frequently adds दि to nouns to form this case. Thus—

रुद्रहिं देखि मदन भयमाना।

'The god of love was afraid when he saw Rudra.'

रामहिं सौषिय जानकी नाइ कमल पदमाथ । स्रत कहुं राज समर्पि बन जाइ भजिथ रघुनाथ ॥

'Having restored Jānakī to Rāma and bowing your head at his lotus feet and giving the kingdom to your son, go to a forest and adore Raghunātha.'

That these several cases may pass into the dat. acc. is also proved by the fact that the forms of the Apabhramsa gerund of infinitive of purpose, which has essentially a dative sense, are derived from them. Thus Hemacandra gives these terminations of the infinitive: एवस as in देवस 'for giving' which is an acc. of the pot. part. देअञ्चस, अण as in करण 'for doing' in which the case termination is dropped, अणहस as in अंजणह 'for breaking' which is the gen. pl of सजन and अणहिं as in संजणह 'for enjoying' which is loc. sing. or pl. of सजन and अणहिं as in संजणह 'for enjoying' which is loc. sing. or pl. of सजन Pr. for Skr. सोजन. Thus then in the Apabhramsa pronominal forms had begun to be used as post-positions for expressing case relations. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to expect that we should find traces of the practice in our modern case forms and the forms themselves that were used in that dialect.

^{67 [} R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

The Apabhramsa dat. postposition aff survives in the S. a; the aspiration is thrown on के so as to make it से and the following vowel is dropped. We have already seen several instances of this process, but I will add one or two more to the point. The Pr. कहिं where 'is in the Goan. and Mal. संय, तहिं there' थंय, अहिं here' हेप. Often the old ह is dropped in the modern dialects and thus we have from केंद्र the B. के. The old H. termination कई is the Pr. काहिं ' where, ' so that originally the sense of राम कहं was ' Rāma's somewhere. ' 'Send to Rāma's somewhere 'and 'give it to Rāma's somewhere 'came afterwards to mean 'send it to Rāma 'and 'give it to Rāma.' The s of the loc. will is here dropped as is mostly the case in the pronominal locatives which in the modern languages as well as the Prakrit have become adverbs of place: such are जिंह relative 'where', ताई 'their', आई 'here 'and काई ' where ' (interrogative) which have become जहां, तहां, यहां and कहां and in Tulsidas जहं, तहं and कहं. Sometimes the इ is preserved in the current speech as in sei or sei H., sei, vei G. The other dat. termination कहं, the origin of कों or कों, is either the ablative or genitive form of किन since ह was in Apabhr. the termination of both these cases. The O. \$\frac{1}{2}\$ is another form of this \$\frac{1}{2}\$. The M. तें is from the Apabhr. तिहं as के from केहिं. The B. has this affix also used principally in the case of inanimate creatures.

धुयां ते गम्ध आछे आं ताहाते चक्कते बेदना होय।

'There is smell to smoke and from that harm to the eye results.'

तहातें सिंह कहिल।

' The lion said to him. '

The S. has it also.

सोइस्यो शिकारते 'He went for hunting. 'विओ हस फरिअते 'went on a travel. '

The P. ताइ like the H. तई is from ताई ' there.'

The M. তা is to be connected with similar terminations in its own dialects and the other languages. Khāndeśi has ই. H. possesses a post-position তাৰ or ন্তিই, P. তাই, S. তাই all in the sense of for, ' Brai. তা or তা ' up to.' The old H. poets have also ই or তাই in the sense of the M. তা i. e. ' to ' or ' at ': ৰাবাই বাব বাৰত বহুৱা' again and again they fall at her feet; ' হবলৈ বহাৰ তিই বব্যাই

'joyfully he arose and pressed him to his bosom.' Then there are other forms in all the languages from इन. Goan has लागे in the sense of 'to' or ' with ', as माझे लागे उल्लय ' speak to or with me.' H. लग ' up to '; P. लग ' near, to '; लागों ' from contact with;' S. लगी-लगे ' on account of; ' B. लागि-लागिया-लागे ' for, on account of. ' In G. and H. poetry लागों, लगी or लागि are used in these senses and M. has लाग or लागि also.

All these forms are derived from the old Skr. root हम to adhere or stick. The past pass part of this is छम्, Pr. लग्ग. This, like many similar participles, is made the base of verbal forms in Pr. and we have लग्गइ = लग्नो भवाति 'adheres, sticks.' From this we have लागणें- बं-व M. G. B. by the usual rules, but S. generally and H. sometimes do not lengthen the preceding vowel when one of the two consonants is dropped and we have हम् and हमना, though लागना is also used in the latter. There is another form हागपति of this root which is made up according to the 10th Conjugation or which is properly the causal and, when the termination is dropped as is often the case, we have sink and by the elision of u the root becomes great and thence, by the usual introduction of य or ब. हाय or हाब. Now हायणा exists in the Goan. and लाइन in the S. while M. has लावजें. These mean to make to adhere, '' apply, '' bring in contact. ' From लागणें and लायणा or हार्बे all the forms we have above noticed have originated. हाई. है. लागी. लागिया are absolutives as also M. लागोनि, while the other M. form हार्गी is the loc. sing. of the noun हार्ग 'contact' or 'nearness.' The Braj. ਲੀ must be from the old Apabhr. abso., ਲਾਫ of हाअ. The M. dat. हा must be from such a form as हाउं ' having applied 'or 'for applying, 'since the final 3 of terminations is dropped in this language as in जिमा 'tongues ' from जिमाउ.

The dative pl. termination नां represents an euphonic change of हा necessitated by the preceding anusvāra. Instances of this change of हा to न have been given in a previous lecture. Cit. has both ना and न्हा. This ना is by some traced to the मं of the Pr. gen. pl. as स to the स्स of the gen. sing. The Cit. however has ना or न्हा in the pl. while हा alone is the sing. termination and the sameness of the sing. and pl. terminations is the great peculiarity of the modern dialect, whence the Cit. ना is a form of हा and if so, then it must be so in the standard Marathi also.

Mr. Beames thinks the G. 7 to be originally 3 and thus to belong to the class of terminations we have just examined, the & being changed to 7. I have not satisfied with this derivation as there is no corroborative evidence, though the change of ল to ৰ is not impossible or unexampled. The gen. termination नो-नी-सं in this language is derived from the old Apabhramsa termination तण, by the elision of the initial a, as will be hereafter shown. In the same manner the \(\) of the acc, dat, must have been derived from the Apabhr. dat. post-position तजेज, which, as I have already observed, is the instr. of तज. The last ज of this is changed to an anusvāra, as that of देवेण is, and, just as this becomes देवें. तणेण becomes तण and by the loss of त, ने. Or the process which in the Apabhr. led to the formation of तजेज from तज may have been resorted to when an became a in the G. and thus a is the instrumental or locative of the gen. न or its obl. form. But the anusvara of it which is lost in the G. instr. would show that it is derived directly from तणेज. P. इं may likewise be referred to a a form तणहं, the abl. of तण.

THE ORIGIN OF T IN THE VERNACULAR TERMINATIONS

In H. the termination से is applied in a dative sense to nouns governed by verbs denoting speaking राजाने बाह्मणसे कहा 'The king spoke to the Brahman.' It is used in the sense of the instr., तरवारसे सीर काटा 'He cut off his head with a sword, ' रुक्सिनीका विवाह बीडिज्याचन्त्रे हुआ 'Rukmini's marriage with Sri Krsnacanda took place; 'and in that of the abl. इतना वचन बाह्मणके सससे निकला 'These words fell from the mouth of the Brahman.' In Braj, we have सो for से, as कवीरजी आयके मोसों कह्यों 'Kabir came and said to me;' यक्सों पृक्षि लेह 'He should get it explained from the guru.' In old H. also it is used in the form of सो. In old M., as I have already remarked, we have सी in the sense of the modern dat. acc. स as:—

(1) सारथी शार्क्वधर । अर्जुनेसी ॥

Jāān. I-141.

' Śārngadhara was charioteer to Arjuna.'

(2) पंबादा तुवां केला गंधवींसी ॥

II--10.

^{&#}x27;Thou hast made a song for Gandharvas,

(3) जे नेदी देवकी यशोदेसी।
ते गति दीघली पूतनेसी॥
समान देणें अरिमित्रांसी।
उदारतेसीं काय वर्षे॥

Rukmini Svayamvara I—82.

"He gave that salvation to Pūtanā which he did not gave to Yasodā and Devaki. His gifts to friends and foes are alike. How shall I describe his bounty?"

(1) परी कवणेसीं म्यां झुंजावें । हे रणीं लागे पाहावें ॥

Jñān. I-171.

'It is necessary in the battlefield to see with whom I should fight.'

(2) अर्जुन असे पाइत । तो दळभार समस्त । संध्रमेसीं ॥

Jñān. I-176.

'Arjuna was looking at the whole force with an agitated heart.'

(3) आणि परलोकही अंतरेल । ऐहिकेसीं ॥

Jñān. II-27.

'And the interest of the future life will be lost along with those of this!'

In these last three examples सी has the sense of an instrumental. We do not now use it in the sense in which it is used in the last two passages and say संग्रमाने पाइतो and ऐडिकासहित अंतरेल. In the Salsette dialect, however, सी has these senses and also that of an abl. as that of गांवसी आपली 'He came from the village.'

Now we see that the old M. poets do not make a distinction between the सीं, which corresponds to our modern स, and that which even now we use in the sense of 'with'. They all use it in other senses in which it is used in H., but not in the M. of the day. The Salsette dialect, however, agrees with the H. in its use of this affix. H. uses से in one case उससे कहा in which we use स, as त्यास सांगितलें. Some of these circumstances favour the supposition that the origin of the M. dative affix स is the same as that of H. से and M. सीं. G. poetry has this in the form of दो or स्त as स्वाराधित कल्ह Declare war with Gujarati,' S. has से and सां in the sense of with.

All these are derived from the word सन. As is usual, स is in modern vernaculars changed to द and thus we have सर्व and with the instr. affix ए we have the सर्वे of the M. poets. I have in a former lecture given a great many instances in which T is dissolved into 3. which combines with the preceding vowel into 3. We thus get the old H. सों and the Brais सों, when अ and उ form ओ, while in G. the resulting vowel is in si. Another change of that we have noticed is its loss of the labial element and reduction to a vowel and anusvara, wherefore the word becomes सर्अ or सर्थ. Thence the sau passes off into v, as we have several times noticed, and so we have $\tilde{\pi}$, which with the anusyara dropped is the H. $\hat{\pi}$. The v is sometimes, as we have seen, changed to f as in vie from राअ-राय and so we have the M. सीं. Sometimes य does not take the place of the elided consonant and the vowels are combined, whence we have the S. At. Now the original sense of this word is with, but this with expresses many relations, the differences between which become wider in the course of time and thus the word AH has come to signify 'to, according to, with (as an instrument) and from'.

This instr. termination ने (sing.) नों (pl.) M., ने H., नइ P. have been traced by Mr. Beames to ले or ले, which are forms of लागें or लड़ etc. derived from the root लग. One great objection is that this derivation does not account for the anusvāra of ने or ने. His argument is that the old एन of the instr. having been reduced to ए. there was no other instrumental case to furnish the न of the modern instr. ने-नी; but in the Apabhr. according to Hemacandra both these forms existed and the instance he gives is

जे महु दिण्णा दिअहडा दहएं पबसन्तेण । ताण गणन्तिए अंग्रलिङ जज्जरि आउ नहेण ॥

'By counting (again and again) [the number of] days which were mentioned to me by my beloved when he set out on his travels [the skin of] my fingers has worn away by the nail.' Here ब्र्ध, प्रसन्तेष and नहेण are instances of the instrumental. The first two are expressive of the agent in the passive construction and the third of the simple instrument; so that the qu or u of the instrumental must have descended to the vernaculars. Again Mr. Beames says that the old H. poets do not use the instr. in न; but the oldest M. poet Jāānesvara does use it in some cases, His

agent instrumental is very often that which ends in c. but instances of the use of नि. which is another form of ने. also occur.

As:-

कीं बारेनि जान आहे।

Jñān. 13-197.

'Or whether he is going away by the wind.' दिसे बारेनि जैसे जाइल ।

Jñān. 13-214.

'Appears as if it will go away by the wind.' मकेनि घेतले मौन जैसे।

Jñān. 13-280.

'As the dumb may be said to have assumed silence deliberately.'

उन्हाळोनि जो न तापे। हिमबंति न कांपे॥ कायसेनिही न बासि ये। पातलेया ॥

Jñān. 13-347.

'He is not oppressed by heat or does not shiver by cold and is not terrified by anything that takes place.'

Here are instances of the instr. both indicative of the agent and of the simple instrument, but the termination is नि instead of नै. Besides these there are instances of the instrumental in जे of pronouns as येण मानें Jñān. 13-200 'By this standard ', जेण तीचें 13-244 'By which satisfaction', तेणे प्रसादें 18-1147 'By that grace.' Now I have stated my view in the last lecture that is a double instrumental, the first part being a of the old instrumental in एक or vo. and the second part t. to which that vo is reduced. Now instead of \$\dagger\$, the instr. \$\dagger\$ is added here. The instr. \$\dagger\$ represents the For of the Apabhr, instr. in For, which we have in such forms as अतिम mentioned by Pischel. Hindi poets as a rule indicate the agent instrumental by the oblique form, but Sürdas uses the form ending in नि or ने also.

कान्ड कह्यो गिरि गोवर्धनतें और देव नार्डं हजा। गोपानि सत्य मानि यह लीनो बढ़ो देव गिरिराज ॥

Sursāgar, pada 12, page 252.1

'Kanha said, 'There is no other God besides the mountain Govardhan." Taking it to be the truth the king of mountains was regarded by the cowherds as a great God.

¹ Lucknow Edn., 1874.

Here गोपनि is agent instrumental in नि. सविन देख्यो प्रकट ब्रुति सहस्रश्चजा पसारि। राचि सहित गिरि सविन आगे करनि हैहै साथ।।

Sursāgar, pada 24, page 254.

'The manifested form with the thousand arms stretched out was seen by all; with taste the mountain taking hold of every thing by his hands etc.'

Here seed is the instrumental.

आहरानि करि अवज्ञा प्रमुकी सो फल उनकों तुरत दिखावाहें।

Sursāgar, pada 44, page 257.

'Disrespect of the Lord has been shown by the cowherds; show to them the fruit of it.'

एक पुरुषने आज्ञ मोहि सपनाम्तर दीनों।

Sursāgar, pada 29, page 255.

'Today a certain dream was shown me by a Being.'

Here पुरुषने is agent instrumental.

The Ablative termination in M. is हून, Māl. सन, Cit. ठीं or पाडी (from पास and थीं), Sals. सिं, G. थी, S. सां-साउं-सों तों तां, P. तें-थीं थों, H. से, Braj. ते, H. dial. थीं, B. होइते तें. The Sindhi सां is the Pr. and Apabhr. abl. कहां of किस, the aspiration being thrown on क, as in the case of the dat. से and the other instances formerly given; so that the S. abl. etymologically means 'from his somewhere.' साउं and सों are from the Ap. कहुं abl. pl. In the same way तां is the old abl. तहां and तों, the abl. pl. तहुं of तह, in both of which the aspirate is elided but in the P. थों it is compounded with the preceding त. The form थी थां of the G. and P., and H. dial. and the Cit. ठीं are derived from तहिं, the loc. sing. Pr. and Ap. of तत with the aspiration thrown on त.

The differences between some of the significations of the different cases are, as I have already observed, so minute that they frequently run into one another and when on account of this resemblance, one case form becomes identified with another case, it afterwards acquires senses more widely different from its original. Thus तें प्रत्यक महा रामापाशी मिळालें i. e. (lit.) 'The book met me in vicinity of Rāmā', easily passes into रामापास्त मिळालें 'met me from Rāmā', i. e. 'got from Rāmā.' And the B, आपने प्रस्

कार लहा पाइलाम is generally considered equivalent to 'I got it from the master', though कार is like पार्शी a loc. form meaning 'in the vicinity of.' Thus the old loc. ताई meaning 'in that' was used as a postposition and thence came to mean 'from that.' Or the transition is first from the loc. to the dat., which I have spoken of, and thence to the causal abl. and afterwards to the local abl. The Braj. and P. ते is from the Apabhr. affix तोई (=for) mentioned before in which we have an instance of this passage of the dat. into the abl., as illustrated before in the M. postposition साठी. In M., S. and B. ते has preserved the dative sense. B. has the abl. ते also, though some grammarians do not give it, but its sense is that of causal abl. or instr. as:—

गृक्केप दीर्घताते आनंदित हइल ।

' Became glad on account of the length of its horns.'

ताहाते चक्कते वेदना होय।

'From that there is harm to the eye.'

Of a different origin are the M. हन and सन and the B. होडते. The first हन Mr. Beames, following Lassen, traces to the हिन्तो and बन्तो of the Pr. from a fusion, as it is called, of both, out of which arose हन्तो, and, the तो being lost, the form is इन. In a similar way सून may be traced to सन्तो, though its independent existence would make the supposed fusion a fiction. M. however has no instance of the loss of final and the preservation of a: but the chief objection to this derivation is the want of corroborative evidence. It is possible, but there is nothing to make it certain or even probable. Mr. Beames quotes passages from Canda in which हुन्त and हुन्तो occur in the sense of 'from.' But they may be derived from the present participle. The B. abl. affix sign is the loc. of the present participle of si, corresponding to M. sidi. which has the sense of the Skr. loc. absolute as असतां in मी करीत असतां तो गेला 'while I was doing he went away.' In B. too this loc. has the same sense as दिन थाकित कर्म कर ' work while it is day.' In H. also it is used in the same sense : बारपर देखते क्या है कि सिंह मरा पढा है 'looking at the door what did he find? he found that a lion was lying dead (lit. what is there, - a lion lying dead); भोर होतेहि उसने ससीसे कहा 'She told it to her friend immediately after dawn (lit. after it had dawned).'

68 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

In this sense as in that of the Skr. loc. absolute, the action denoted by the present participle is made the starting point of another action. 'My doing' in the first instance was the starting point of his going. And herein is the germ of an ablative. In H. होते is sometimes used in this sense as मकानसे होते 'outside of the house, from the house.'

In the B. ब्लाइड ते फल पहिल the original sense is the tree being there, a fruit fell. 'The M. इन is the absolutive of हो and equivalent to होऊन 'having become 'which yields an ablative sense more directly. The ह is sometimes dropped and the termination ऊन itself is attached in this sense to आं 'in', बर 'above ' and पास' side' to signify 'from in', 'from above', 'from the side' as आंतृन, बरून and पास्न which are the ablative affixes used in cases when हून cannot be applied; and ऊन is sometimes affixed to nouns in अ directly and not to the oblique form, as परून आला. Thus गांवाहून आला means lit. 'the village having been, he came.' The Mal. सन is the absolutive of अस instead of हो. The H. से has been explained.

We have seen that in the course of the development of our modern languages the genitive which even in Skr. expressed relation in general was used for the dative and sometimes for other cases also. The dative thus went out of use and, to express the relations which it indicated, various new suffixes, given and explained above, were brought into use and the old genitive being attenuated was felt to be too weak to express the usual genitive relation and it was adapted to serve as the base of all oblique cases to which the newly constituted terminations were appended. The relation of possession as well as other genitive relations. such as that of a thing and the material of which it is made, had thus no special expression left for them. In Skr. such relations are indicated, besides the genitive case, by adjectives formed from the name of the possessor, material etc. by the addition of specific terminations and from these mostly the genitive terminations in the modern languages are derived and consequently are adjectival in their nature and agree with the gender of the thing possessed or made. The genitive terminations are as follows !-

In the first lecture I have remarked that in the third stage of the development of Sanskrit the nominal style came into use instead of the verbal style or fluent style. When the language was in this condition, adjectival forms expressive of possession or other relations came into use instead of the genitive case and such forms, as:

तदीयम् गृहम् 'the house belonging to him,'
मदीयः छात्रः 'the pupil belonging to me.'

त्वरीया संसी 'the female friend belonging to thee,'

came into use instead of तस्य पहुन 'his home, 'सम छात्रः 'my pupil,' तब ससी 'thy female friend.' When the use of such adjectives became general the real genitive case, so far as it expressed possession and such other relations between nouns, was driven out and adapted to express the various other relations mentioned before. Thus then we find that the case forms expressive of possession and other relations mentioned in the vernaculars are of an adjectival character. It is, however, curious to find that in our seven modern languages they are derived from seven different forms in Sanskrit and Prakrit.

The M. चा—ची—चें must be traced to the त्य which certain indeclinables take in Sanskrit as इहत्य or अञ्चल of this place,' तत्रत्य of that place,' कृत्य or कृत्रत्य of what place.' इहत्य or अञ्चल must by the usual rules be changed to इहच, एथच; तत्रत्य to तत्यच; कृत्य or कृत्यच or कृत्यच or कृत्यच . तत्यच्च is तेथचा, एत्यच्च is एचचा, कृत्यच्च is कोटचा. This च्च was generalised and gradually came to be applied to all nouns to indicate possession and other relations.

The G. नो—नी— हं are derived from the Sanskrit termination तन, which is applied in the sense of possession to indeclinables expressive of time, such as अवतन of this day, ' इदानीतन of the present time, ' सायंतन of evening time, 'चिरंतन of the olden time' etc. This was generalised and Hemacandra gives तण as a noun expressive of 'something related to 'or 'belonging to' in his grammar of the Apbhr. dialect. In the line of the verse of

Premananda बाधी विरहतणी बेदना 'the agony of separation afflicts' and in the expressions previously given, such as पोतातण, and तहतणो नहि लाघे छेड etc., this तण remains, it will be seen, unchanged and in this form it is often used in G. poetry. By the dropping of the consonant त, it is reduced to अण or अन and thence to न, which with masc., fem., neut. terminations ओ ई- उं becomes की जी- है.

The S. जो--जी are derived from the Sanskrit possessive termination इंच applied to a great many nouns and all pronouns, as तदीच belonging to him, शासीच belonging to the house, भोनदीच belonging to or living in Gonarda. Dr. Trump assigns a different origin to this Sindhi जो-जी, which, as well as the etymologies of the corresponding possessive terminations existing in other cognate dialects, hardly bears examination.

Another way of expressing possession is furnished by derivatives of the root क 'to do or make.' The roar of a lion is his कार्य or act. The roar of a lion is a सिंहकार्य or lion act, i. e. it is something which belongs to the lion. The word कार्य therefore is adapted to express something belonging to one.' Now this कार्य is in the Pr. reduced to केर, as the पर्य of पर्यन्त to पेर, and the श्वर्य of आश्वर्य to छेर. From this केर, we have केरको which means 'something belonging to one 'or 'his property.' Madayantika in the Malatimādhava calls her body Makaranda's ক্ৰে or ককে, since he had saved it from the mouth of a lion. Hemacandra gives कर as a noun in the Apabhr, dialect expressive of the thing connected : with another. The instance he gives is जसकेरए हंकारए सहहं पढेति fours' From whose mouth grass falls down in consequence of the roar which is the केरअ of the lion.' He also gives in his grammar rof the principal Prakrit as a termination having the sense of possession as in तक्षकर 'yours' like तण. Thus then कर which was first a noun came to be used as a postposition expressive of possession and was used as such in the principal Prakrit and by the G. and H. poets:

अंघाकेरी लाकडी हूं दुवळीतु धन ।

Tulasi.

* 'I am the stick of the blind [women] and the wealth of a weak [woman].'

हुकुम होय हजोरी केरी शोबी नाखो बाधो सागर ॥ Sāmaladās.

'If the command of the lord is received, I will dry up the whole ocean.'

One of Kabira's Sākhi is-

दर्पण केरी जो छफा सोण्हा पैठा धाय । देखत प्रतिमा आपनि सूंखि सूंखि मरि जाय ॥

'A dog enters a room [made up] of mirrors and runs about and, seeing his own image, he barks and barks until he dies.'

There is another instance:

असतकेरी मोटरी सिरसे धरी उतारि । जाहि कहो में येक हो मोहि कहे द्वैचारि॥

'I put down from head the parcel containing nectar. To whomsoever I say that I am one, to me he speaks in return two or four.'

Here we have केरी as a possessive postposition. Similarly in Tulsidas's Ramayana we have कह सबर विभीषण केरी 'give us news about Bibhisana,' where also we have the same postposition. When the initial क is dropped we have एर which we find in the Hindi तेरा and मेरा as in Kabir's Sākhi.

जो तू चाही सझको छोडु सकलकी आस । मेरा ऐसा व्हे रहे सब किछ तेरे पास ॥

'If you want me, give up the desire for everything else; become mine; and you will have everything else with you.' एर is the general postposition in the B. as पापेर 'of sin, 'क्वरेर 'of God,' घरेर 'of a house.'

Prof. Hörnle and Mr. Beames derive the suffix কৈ from the Skr. past. part. তুন which they say is reduced to কৰিল and thence to केर. But I have not met with a trace of কৰিল as the Pr. form of তুন. The usual form of it is কিল or কল. Besides, the হ of কৰিল is inorganic, being simply a euphonic augment. Such a euphonic augment cannot persist throughout centuries as the q of किर has done until it was perpetuated in the form of प्र in the B. Besides, केरक is, as we have seen, used as a noun in the sense of property. There is no indication that a past pass. part. can be so used. It may be used as an abstract noun, as गतम in the sense of

'going.' So इतन may at the best acquire the sense of 'doing', but the transition of 'doing' to 'property' is hardly possible.

Another derivative of the root 5 has also supplied the vernaculars with a termination expressive of the genitive sense; and that is at. A good many words in Sanskrit have this at appended to them such as यशस्कर 'bringing fame', वचनकर 'obedient.' किंकर 'servant', प्रभाकर 'the sun,' लिपिकर 'a writer', etc. The original sense is 'one who does the thing' expressed by the nouns to which कर is appended, but the derived senses are many, such as cause, habit, obedience and any other relation into which the doing of a thing brings one with another. When the particular nature of this relation is left out of sight, the general sense is related to or 'belonging to.' Thus प्रभाकर originally meaning 'the maker of light' comes to denote 'belonging to light'; a certain person who is सिपिकर or the doer of the writing is a person related or belonging to the writing. Thus कर came gradually to signify a genitive relation like the termination ईय. त्य. तन etc., noticed above. In the Marathi & is applied in ordinary use to the name of a place to denote 'one residing in it' or generally 'belonging it it' as काज़ीकर 'belonging to Kasi', पुणेकर 'belonging to Poona.' Instances of this \$₹ occur in the old Hindi poets; thus in Tulsidās's Rāmāyana we have-

तजौं न नारदकर उपदेशु ।

Bālak.

'I will not set aside the advice of Nārada.'

पुनि पुनि हृदय बिचार करि धरि सीताकर रूप।

(Ditto).

'Again and again reflecting in her mind she (Pārvatī) assumed the form of Sītā.'

में शंकरकर कहा न माना।

(Ditto).

'I did not obey the word of Samkara.'

भरद्वाज स्रुत अपर अब राम जन्मकर हेतु ।

"Oh Bharadvāja, hear now another reason for the birth of Rāma."

In Kabir too we meet this termination as in :-

तब ब्रह्मा (ब्रह्में) पूछल महतारि । को तोर पुरुष का (के) करि तुम नारी ।

Kabīr's Rāmainī, 1-4th Chaupai.

'Then the mother was asked by Brahma "who is thy husband and whose wife art thou."'

Here we have काकरि or केकरि in which we have the feminine of the termination कर. In Sanskrit कार is almost as much used as कर after nouns and the signification is similar. This कार is sometimes used in the Bengali in a genitive sense as in आपनकार 'of your honour, 'आजकार 'of to-day, 'कालिकार 'of yesterday.' From कर, when the initial consonant is dropped, we have the Oriya genitive suffix अर as in घरर, while कार gives us the मार of the Hindi तुझारा 'yours, 'हमारा 'ours 'and of the Guj. तारो 'thine,' तमारो 'yours, 'मारो 'mine, 'अमारो 'ours.'

Another derivative of the root इ., the past pass. part. इत, changed to कआ in the Prakrit, has been appropriated in Hindi to express genitive relations. As the obl. form has been determined to be a remnant of the old genitive, the क appended to it must mean 'done of (by) the thing or person' denoted by the obl. form. The idea of 'a thing done by one 'passes easily into a thing belonging to one. पण्डितकत काव्य 'a poem composed by a Pandit 'becomes easily पण्डितका काव्य i.e. the poem of a Pandit. The terminations का, की exist in old Hindi along with करा, करी and कर, करी.

The easiest explanation of the Panjabi बा-बी appears to be that, like the Hindi का-की, they are derived from the past pass. part of दा to give in the form of दश made up on the analogy of कश from रू. Other explanations may also be given. It may be said that the रो-री of the Marvari dialect and certain G. and H. pronouns, which results from the Sanskrit कार, was changed to दो-दी or दा-दी, as these consonants are frequently confounded with each other; and thence दो-दी or दा-दी passed into दो-री or दा-दी. The Sanskrit suffixes used by the vernaculars to express genitive relations must have a final क added to them, since, like augmented nouns, the masc. nom. sing. ends in ओ or

जा and the feminine in ई. Thus for the original of the M. चा-ची-चें we must have त्यक, for the G. नो-नी- तुं तनक, for S. जो-जी ईयक, for H. का-की रूतक, and for old H. केरा and केरी केरक and for कर करक and for कार कारक. In the fourth lecture I have given several instances of the addition of क to all sorts of nouns and adjectives.

The new loc. termination in H. are में, Braj. में and दे, P. ते, S. में, G. मां, M. आंत and B. ते. The forms with an initial म are derived from the Skr. मध्य which has undergone several transformations. In old H. and G. poetry it occurs in the forms of माई। and मई etc., as:—

शिव संकल्प कीन्ह मनमाहीं।

Tulsi., Bāla-K.

'Siva resolved in his mind.'

जे हि राखे रघुवीर ते उवरे तेहि कालमहं।

(Ditto).

'Those were safe at that time whom Raghuvira protected.

पक्षार जेतारणमार्डो ।

(Ditto).

'Once in Tretāyuga'

पनि संदिर सहं बात जनाई।

'He announced the intelligence in the palace.'

स्दामा में पृथिवी माहीं। लीधा दश अवतार॥

Premānand's Sudāmānum Caritra.

'O Sudāma, I have gone through ten incarnations on this earth. '
सोरट मार्डी सहको नाटतं ।

'Everybody fled to Soratha.'

The Brai, में is from माहि, the ह being elided and आ and ह combining into ऐ, while in the S. and H. में they form ए. In the G. मा the whole हि of माहि is dropped. माहि is loc. sing. of माह for मध्य.

The P. and B. ते is from तहिं, the loc. of तह, or तेहिं which we have noticed as an Apphr. dative postposition.

H. पे is from Skr. पार्श्व, which first becomes पस्स, then पास, and then पाह or पह, and the loc. of पाह is पार्टी or पह which is its shorten ed form. पास is used as a post-position in H. and पासे and पासी, the loc. forms, in G. and M. respectively. The forms पाहि and पार्टी occur in the old H. poets, as:—

शंसु गये कुंभज ऋषि पार्ही ।

Tulsi, Bāla-K.

'Śambhu went to Agastya.'

गयो कपि राम पहं।

Tulsi.

'The monkey went to Rāma.'

The M. সান is from Skr. সনন: and its initial সা is dropped after a dissimilar vowel as মার্নান etc.

NEW VERBAL FORMS

We will now briefly examine the reconstructed verbal forms. We have observed that the materials out of which the case forms are constructed are not only independent words having, as in an earlier stage of a language, specific significations, the combination of which nearly constitutes the idea required to be expressed, but also independent case forms and existing terminations which have acquired a specific sense. Thus when the terminations came into use for both numbers of the cases, the B. and the O. have had recourse to the use of independent words such as दिंग 'a row' and मान 'a measure or class, ' सकल ' all ' etc. to express plurality, while the G. employed the already existing plural termination ओ ; and such forms as तिहं and किहं loc. and कहं abl. were used to express case relations and afterwards grew into terminations when their etymological sense was forgotten. We have also seen that, as in the case of the new words that come into a language, the new forms at first express inadequately the sense they are designed to convey, but in the course of time imagination and usage give them a definite signification; or like words the forms come by natural transitions to express different relations from those they did before. Thus it was that the abl. se and the loc. कों or तीं became dat. affixes or the loc. of the present participle होहते came to express an abl. relation.

We shall find these principles at work in the reconstruction of the verb also; and there too you will meet with verbal forms made up by applying the old personal and other terminations to new bases which are adjectival in their nature or by adding verbal forms to them or by appending independent words. The

69 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

M., S., B. and O. make up some of their tenses and moods in the first way; the others do not. We will first examine these. The bases for their formation are as a matter of course the participles that have come down from the Prakrits and there are no other. These are the present, past and the potential participles which are, as I have just said, adjectival in their nature. Since an adjective must agree with the noun which it qualifies in number and gender, our new verbs must express both these and the person of the nominative. The old verbal forms examined in the last lecture express, as Skr. and Pr. verbs do, only the number and person because they have descended to us from those languages.

In the modern dialects those adjectives only that end in ओ or आ agree with the noun to which they are referred, i. e. take the fem. termination ई when the noun is feminine and the plural ones when it is plural, as काळा-ला घोटा M. H. 'a black horse,' काळी-ली घोटी 'a black mare,' काळ-ले घोटे 'black horses,' काळ्या घोट्या, काली घोटियां. Similarly, G. and S. When the qualified noun is in an abl. case, sing. or pl., these adjectives take the obl. sing. form काळ्या घोट्यास M., काले घोटीकों H., काळ्या घोटीस M., काली घोटीकों H. Hindi has no obl. form for other nouns than those which end in आ and hence in काली घोटीकों the adjective remains unchanged.

Adjectives with other endings are not thus inflected as सराब घोडा-घोडे-घोडी-घोड्या-घोडियां-घोड्यास-घोडेकों etc. M. H.; while in the B. and O. no adjectives whatever.

Here then we see that, like nouns in ओ-आ, adjectives also with those endings have preserved the old terminations. Now the three participles I have mentioned end in आ or ओ arising from the original affix &, wherefore they must be inflected. In M. and G., however, under certain circumstances the present participle ends in M and therefore is not inflected. The old Present has in M. acquired another sense whence a new one came into use, the forms of which are as follows:—

	Sing.	Pl.
1st pers.	करतों—त्यें or तीं—तें	करतों
2nd pers.	करतोस—त्येस,तीस—तेस	करतां
3rd pers.	करतो—त्ये, ती —त ें	करतार

These are made up by adding the terminations expressive of gender and person to the pres. part. which is करत. With the fem. है this becomes करती, but there is another form in ये which appears to have been arrived at thus: करन्तआ (for करन्तक)—करतय—करतय—करतय + है of fem.—करतय—करत्ये. The neuter form is करते. These three forms are used in the sing, while the gender is neglected in the pl. There is however such a form as करत्यात used for the 3rd pers. pl. in the pure Deccan in which करत्यात is the fem. pl. of करती. To these adjectival bases are appended the personal terminations of the old Pres. for the two numbers, which, you will remember, are 3rd pers. sing. इ, pl. त; 2nd pers. sing. स, pl. आ; 1st pers. sing. ई, pl. ऊं.

In the 1st pers. sing. of the new present the $\dot{\xi}$ of the 1st pers. sing. is represented by the characteristic anusvāra, the vowels expressive of gender necessitating the elision of ξ . In the pl. $\xi \in \Pi$ and $\dot{\xi}$ become by combination $\xi \in \Pi$. The 2nd pers. sing. has the Π of the old Pres. and the pl. the Π which with the Π forms Π , to which however an inorganic anusvāra is added by some. The 3rd pers. sing. has no personal termination, the adjective in its own form expressing that idea, while in the pl. the Π of the old Pres. is added.

In these forms we see that the उ of the nom. which is dropped in ordinary nouns and adjectives is retained and we have करती but not चांगली.

In the Goan, and Mal, the gender is not attended to and the forms are the same for all. This arises from the use of the unaugmented participle কৰে and not কৰেন্স which retains the inflections. The forms are:—

1st pers. 2nd pers. 3rd pers.	Sing. करतें or तंच Māl. करतस Māl. करता Māl.	करतां Goan. करतास Goan. करता Goan.
	Pl.	
1st pers.	करत ों तंव Māl.	करतांव Goan.
2nd pers.	करतात Māl.	करतात Goan.
3rd pers.	avan Mal	STATE GOAD

The terminations are those of the old Pres. of intransitive roots in these dialects, i. e. the real Pr. terminations without the transitive or Parasm. augment £. The 2nd pers. pl. π , which I have traced to the Pr. Fau, is peculiar to the Goan. and Māl. and it is not altogether absent from the ordinary M. In the 1st. pers. sing. Māl. we have the old ‡ from the distinct and not reduced to an anusyāra as in the standard dialect and also the Goan.

A process the reverse of that observable in M. as regards the change in the sense of verbal forms has taken place in the O. and B. The old Pres. in M. has acquired the sense of the Past Habitual and the forms made up by appending the old terminations to the pres. part. express present time, but in the O. and B. this new Present of the M. expresses habitual past action and the old Pres. retains its present signification. In H. too the pres. part. used alone has the signification of the Past Habitual.

The reason why forms expressive of present time have come to denote past time is to be sought for in that natural use of the Pres. which is called Historic Present. A man in narrating a story transports himself for the sake of vividness into that time when the actions are supposed to have taken place and speaks of them as if they were present; and when this habit becomes general in a language, the fact of such an imaginary transfer is forgotten and the Present Tense becomes Past Tense. We have many instances of this use of the Skr. Pres. in such books as the Pañcatantra. The forms of the O. Past Habitual are these:—

	Sing.	Pl.
1st pers.	करन्ति	करन्तुं
2nd pers.	करन्तु	करन्त
3rd pers.	करन्ता	करन्ते

As in the M., the 3rd pers. sing. has no personal termination; and the pl. is the M. and H. pl. of nouns in आ as पोडे which we find in the O. nom. pl. पद्धमाने 'beasts' also. The second person has the same termination as the corresponding old Present, viz. अ and उ. The first person sing. has इ and the pl. उं and they are the same as the इ and उ of the Pres., but there is some confusion about the anusvāras.

Before proceeding it is necessary to mention that O. and B. use the sing, forms in speaking of, and to, inferiors, while the pl. is used in an honorific sense. This is so in all the languages; but these two use even in a singular nominative with the honorific forms or real plurals and a plural one with the inferior forms. This is due to the loss of the original plural of nouns in these languages, which I have before mentioned; so that one same form of the nom, came to be used for both the sing, and pl. verbal forms; but, since the usage common to all our vernaculars did exist, the pl. forms came to be understood in a simply honorific sense, and the sing. in the sense of inferiority. There was nothing in the form of the nom, which expressed plurality and hence the verbs also ceased to indicate it, though originally fitted to do so. Similarly, the pl. forms of personal pronouns which were not lost came to be restricted to an honorific signification and the sing, to that of inferiority. The words which were brought into use to indicate plurality expressed an aggregate or collection and thus, being themselves sing., the necessity of pl. verbal forms in connection with them was not felt; and hence they take a verb in the real old sing. But there is this consistency in the use of the verb, that the honorific pers, pronouns take an honorific verb and the inferior an inferior, i. e. an original pl. nom. takes an original plural verb and an original sing. a singular.

These same forms that we have been discussing have in the S. acquired a future signification and constitute the regular Future tense of that dialect. The Pres. expresses in all languages an immediate future—a man's intending shortly to do a thing is considered as good as actually doing it. This is the germ of futurity in the signification of forms of the Present tense; and usage may take hold of it and constitute them into a regular Future. The Sindhi forms are—

Masc	•	· Fe	m.
Sing.	P 1.	Sing.	P1.
1st pers. इलंदुसि	इलंदा सीं	हलांदिआस-चास	हलंदि ऊं - र् र्सां
2nd pers. इलंदें	हलंदउन्दो	हलं विअं─ एं	इसंदिऊं ~ •ा्
3rd pers. इलंदो	इलंदा	इलंदी	इलंदिऊं ~-गूं

Here হতাই is the old pres. part. The 3d pers., as in the O. and also M., partially has no personal terminations. The sing. and

the pl. are like those of corresponding adjectives in sq. The 2nd pers. has the termination of and s of the S. old Pres. In the fem. the first is optionally reduced to sq and the st combines with the fem. pl. st. The first pers. pl. has the corresponding S. pronoun sq. we attached to it as a termination as in an early stage of a language. The sing. sq or sq is perhaps the same without the nasal and shortened, which changes are made probably to adapt it to the expression of singularity. The adjectival mase, termination appears also in the first pers. sing., as in M., but it is shortened to stand the fem. sing. stand the pl. stor state optionally combined into standard throughout. In the M. the adjectival gender terminations are not used in the pl. Dr. Trump considers these personal terminations as the remnants of the old Pr. forms of sq., which, however, are quite different from these.

The old past part, is similarly made the base of verbal forms expressive of past time. In S. they are made up just in the same way as the above, the 3rd pers. having the purely adjectival forms, without the personal terminations, and the gender affixes appearing in the same places as in the above.

Masc.

Singular.	Plural.
इ ल्डि डासि−ल्युासि	इ लिआसीं-स्यासीं
इलिएं− ल् यें	इल्पड−ल्यु
इलिओ-ल्यो	इहिआ-ल्या
Fer	a.
Singular.	Plural.
इल्लिअसि-ल्यसि	इ लियांसि
इलिअं-एं	हलियं-ऊं
हर्ली	इलियं

When the verb is transitive, the participle is passive and the agent, if used, is put in the instr. case. The verb takes the person, gender and number of the object in the nom. case and the forms are just the same as the above, as माउँसि 'I was beaten', मार्च ' thou wert beaten.'

Masc.		Fem		Neut.	
Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
1st. गेलों	गेलों	गेल्वॅ-लीं	गेल्यों	गेलें	गेली
2nd. गेलास	गेलां	गेलीस	गेल्यात	गेलॅस	गेहीत
3rd. गेला	गेले	गेली	गेल्या	गेलें	गर्ही

Here as before we have simply adjectival forms for the 3rd pers.; and the verbal terminations of the old Pres. appear in the first and second united with the nominal affixes indicative of gender and number, which however are dropped where they cannot be easily combined with the other, as in the first and second person plural masc. It should be remarked that the old masc termination \exists or \Re is preserved in the 1st pers. sing., as in the new Pres., and the 2nd pers. pl. has in some cases the affix \Im , which I have already noticed and traced to the Pr. \Im

The Cit. and Goan. dialects agree with this in the main, but use त for the 2nd pers. pl. of the Masc. also, as गेलेत. Their masc. sing. is गेलो and fem. pl. गेल्यो, since they do not drop the old उ of the fem. nom. pl.

The Māl. discards gender in the first and second persons, when the verbal terminations are appended, and the first pers. sing. termination is the old i, which before the ओ of the others is reduced to an anusvāra, and we have নতা 'I went.' The 2nd pers. pl. termination is त throughout, as in the other dialects.

Goan.

आमी गेलॉ-ल्यॉ-लीं

हांब गेलों-लीं-लं

तूं गेलो−ली−लंस		तुमी गेले-ल्यो-लीत
तो−ती−तें गेलो−ली−लं		ते-त्यो-तीं गेले-स्यो -हीं
•	Māl.	
मी गेलइं		आमी गेलों
तूं गेलस		दुमी गेलात-ल्यात
तो–ती–तां गेलो–ली-लां		ते-त्यो-तीं गेले-त्यो -लीं

In transitive verbs M. attempts a curious combination. The participle being passive, it must agree with the object and take its number and gender and, if made the base of the verbal forms, its person also. But unlike the Sindhi, the M.does not use this passive participle for an object in the first and second persons. Thus मार्चे and माइनि in

S. mean 'thou wert beaten' and 'I was beaten', but we do not use such forms as मारिलास or मारिलो to express this sense, though a solitary line from Moropant containing परिलास has been often quoted. In these cases we use the impersonal construction putting the agent and the object in the instr. and dat. and using the sing. neuter form of the past part., as त्याणे मला or तुला मारिलें. Thus then this participle can have a nom. object only of the third person. Properly then it ought to take no personal terminations at all; but when the agent which is always in the instr. case is of the 2nd pers., the characteristic sing., स and pl. त of that pers. are appended to the participle, so that it takes the gender and number of the object which is in the nom. case and the pers. and number of the agent which is in the instr. case. Thus we have दे पोधी लिहिलीस 'thou transcribedst a book', दे पोध्या लिहिल्यास, दं काम केलेंस 'thou didst a work', तुझी पोधी लिहिलीत, पोध्या लिहिल्यास.

These forms are condemned by the Translation Department of the Director of Public Instruction, but the Marathi speakers cannot dispense with them; लां काम केलें, लां पोथी लिहिली, the proposed substitutes, are felt to be weak and emasculated. And the Konkanis are not satisfied with second personal forms alone of this nature and have devised a way of affiliating the past part with the third personal agent also and, as the old terminations s and n are not expressive enough, they append to that participle the last syllable of the agent forms, i.e. the ने or न of the instr. sing. and नी of the pl., as त्या साहेबाने—म सला बाह्मस दिलेन 'the Saheb gave me a reward', त्या साहेबानी मला बह्मसे दिलेनी 'the Sahebs gave me rewards', where the न and नी of साहेबान and साहेबानी are added to the verbs to connect them with them. These forms are not used in the Deccan except by some Konkani Brahmans settled there; and they are condemned by all good writers.

The O. and the B. do not inflect their adjectives, whether they end in sit or any other vowel and have no agent case or instrumental. When the languages came to be in this condition, there was nothing to mark off the passive nature of the transitive participle. Hence it was forgotten and we have now active verbal forms only, which are constructed as in the other languages.

O.		Э.	В.		
	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.	
1st. pers.	कलि	कलुं	देखिलाम	देखिलाम्	
2nd pers.	कलु	कल	देखिलि	देखिला-ले	
3rd pers.	कला	कले	देखिल (or क्)	देखिलेन	

As in the Pres., the O. like the other languages does not add verbal terminations to the third pers., but the forms are like those in M., namely the nom. sing. and pl. masc., though they do not indicate gender here. The other persons have the terminations of the Present.

The B. has no termination in the third pers. singular, while the pl. has the corresponding एन of the Present in that language. The 2nd pers. sing. has इ and the first person sing. स, which are not used in the B. Present, but are to be traced to the Apabhr. Present preserved in the इ and ऊं of the H and others; देखिल मं ऊं is देखिलांच like the Goan. करतांच from करत + उं, and the anusvara and the द are hardened into स. The first pers. pl. has the same form as the sing., and such a confusion is easy in a language without distinction of number. The second pers. pl. appears to be the old adjectival pl. like the M. केले and the O. कले; and the other form is देखिला sing., the two being confounded.

THE FUTURE TENSE

The Skr. potential participle in तच्य, Pr. अञ्च, which implies duty, has become the base of the O. and B. Future. In Skr. मया कर्तच्यम् means 'it is to be done by me' i. e. it is my duty to do it, and the transition from this idea to 'I shall do it' is natural. The very word 'shall' in English, which primarily signifies 'I owe' and has now become the sing of the English Future, is an example of it. This participle in Skr. and Pr. is impersonal when the root is intransitive and passive when it is transitive. Like the past part this has lost its passive character in these languages for the same reasons. The usual personal terminations are applied to it as—

О.		В.		
	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
1st	करिवि	करिद्य-बा	करिव	करिब
2nd	करिंदु	करिष	करिबि	करिवा-वे
3rd	करिव	करिवे	करिंबे	करिवेन

70 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

In the O., the third pers. sing, has no terminations and the pl. has the nom. pl. q, which we have found in so many cases. The others have the usual affixes. The optional q of the first pers. pl. appears to be the adjectival sing. q.

The B. first pers. has no termination; the second has the same as those we examined in the case of the Past tense and the third has the affixes of the regular Present.

This participle is similarly made the base of a future tense in Sindhi; but since its passive character was not forgotten by the Sindhis, as by the Bengalis and the Oriyas, the Future tense it forms is the Passive Future. The same terminations as those we have examined before are appended to it, as AIRER 'I shall be beaten', AIRER 'thou shalt be beaten' and AIRER 'he will be beaten.' The third person has, as before, no personal affixes. When the verb is intransitive, this participle is used only impersonally in the masc. sing., the agent being in the instrumental.

In M. however the optional participle has preserved its old sense and is passive and impersonal, and, when used as a base for verbal forms, takes only the second pers. sing. affix स and the pl. त. Like the past participle when it is passive it takes the gender and number of the object in the nom. and the person and number of the agent in the instrumental, as तुं अंग लिहाबास, पोणी बाचाबीस आणि इसरें काम कराबेस 'thou shouldst write a work, read a book and do some other work.' When the object is in the pl., we have लिहाबस, बाचाब्यास, कराबीस; and when the agent is in the pl. and the object sing., we have लिहाबात, बाचाबीत, कराबेत; and when both are in the pl. लिहाबेत, बाचाब्यात and कराबीत. When the verb is intransitive, it is impersonal i. e. has no Nom. with which it should agree, since the object alone can be Nom., but it takes the स and त of the agent, as तुं आवेस—तहीं जावेत.

Dr. Trump and Mr. Beames (Jour. R. A. S. Vol. VII), misled by the circumstance that in the B., O. and S. the wis pronounced like w, have likened these forms to the Latin bo and explain them as made up of the principal root and the Skr. w. But this latter has in none of the vernaculars assumed the form of w by dropping the vowel and the aspiration, nor are w or the aspirated consonants generally ever known to become the corresponding

unaspirates. The genius of the Prakrits and their descendants is to preserve the aspirate element and to drop the mute. In rare cases the former is thrown on an adjoining letter, but never lost. The usual form in which we have \(\mathbb{q}\) is \(\mathbb{g}\). And this etymology would not account for the fact that the forms with \(\mathbb{q}\) are passive in S.

In these verbal forms then we observe fresh instances of the law of generalization or false analogy. For the Present and Future tenses verbal or predicative forms, i. e. such as indicate the person of the Nom., were wanted; and so great is the necessity of such forms that we in M. make up such verbs as करावीस and केटीस agreeing with both the agent and the object as noticed above. But the languages being in spite of this want condemned to use participles only, they made the best of what they had and extended the analogy of the old Pres., which they possessed, to the participles, which they could not avoid, and thus applied the personal terminations to the participles and made verbs of them. The B. and O. rather than make the verbs agree with the object. as the passive nature of the participle base of the verb required. dropped the passive character altogether and made the participles take the personal turminations of the agent, while M. reconciles both and makes the verb based on the passive participles agree with the person and number of the agent and the gender number of the object.

We have next to examine the forms that are made up by adding independent words. There are not many of this class. The H. and P. Future is constructed by affixing आ sing., ने pl. masc., and नी sing. and नी pl. fem. to the forms of the Present. This आ appears to be the past participle of गम and ordinarily it is used in the form of गम. Participles of other roots also are in H. sometimes reduced to monosyllabic forms as नी for निर्दे , की for किई; these are feminine and the corresponding masc. monosyllabic forms are ना and का. We have seen that these का-की and ना-नी are appended to the obl. case form to make up the genitive in H. and P. Similarly the participle आ-जी is used to form the Future, so that करेना means 'gone that he may do.' The M. Future is formed by adding का or se to the old Present, as you will see from the following forms:—

Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.
1st. करीन	李 荣	धावेन	धावूं
2nd कर-रिशील	कराल	धावशील	धावाल
3rd करील	करितील	धावेल	धाषतील

In the first pers. sing. ल and the anusvāra of श together form न as they do in several other cases; the pl. is the same as that of the Pres. What is the nature of this wo or sw? One w that is appended to the past participle we have already examined. There is another appended in the Goan. and Mal. to the present part. and the forms thus made up have past habitual and future sense. Thus Goan, करताली means 'he used to do' and करतली Goan. and Māl. 'he will do.' In both cases the base is the present part., but in the first it occurs in the augmented form or the form with the old Skr. . The pres. part. has in the O., as we have seen, acquired a past and in the S. a future sense, the germs of both of which are, as I have explained, contained in its original signification, while here in the Goan, it has both the senses. Now, as it was the practice, as I observed in the last two lectures, to attach and or so optionally to a great many words, the same word had often several forms--one without 季. another with it. a third with ਲ. a fourth without it and a fifth with both ਲ and ਨ. These terminations did not signify much originally but afterwards, when the words such as the pres. part. began more and more to acquire distinct and diverse significations, one of the forms whether with or without & became identified with one sense and the other with another. Thus करताला, made up as it is by the addition of v, which has left its v, and of v, was appropriated for the Habitual Past and करतलो without क to the Future. But that the new additions themselves originally were not expressive of that sense is shown by the fact that the augmented form करता in तो करता तर वरें होतें expresses past conditional in M. and H., while it is the unaugmented करत in G. in ते करत तो सार्ड धात which conveys that sense. Thus then ह was applied in M. to the Present verbal forms also and, when the old Future was lost, these came to be appropriated for the Future, just as the present participle with w came to have a future signification in the Goan, and Mal.

The other tenses are made up by adding the verbal forms of auxiliary roots, but their etymological sense has not yet been forgotten and they have suffered no phonetic corruption except in a few cases. Hence they can easily be recognised. But the various ways in which they affect the sense of the principal root in the different languages are not without interest. The auxiliaries are हो from Skr. यू. the Skr. अस or आस, more likely the latter, which assumes the forms of आहे B., अह O., हे G., हे H. and P., आहे M. and S., and Skr. रथा from which the H. था and the S. थो are derived.

You will thus see that in this portion of their grammar the vernaculars have only adapted the materials they inherited from the Prakrits to their varying necessities according to the ways resorted to by all the languages in the course of their development. They have got nothing new and have simply given new shapes to the old; and the proposition, that they are descended from the Prakrits, holds good even here.

LECTURE VII.

RELATIONS BETWEEN SANSKRIT, PALI, THE PRAKRITS AND THE MODERN VERNACULARS.

Thus, gentlemen, have we surveyed the whole field of Indian Aryan speech from the Vedic times to our own, and what is it we have found? The Vedic dialect lost a great many of its words and some grammatical forms, its nouns and roots arranged themselves under definite declensions and conjugations, and thus became what I have called Middle Sanskrit.

Till then there was no phonetic corruption except in isolated instances. But after that time the process went on rapidly, and words were altered in form principally by the law of the assimilation of conjunct consonants and a few vowel changes. By the law of generalization or false analogy the declensions and conjugations were reduced to the prevailing types; some new words came into use and a few old ones became obsolete, and thus the language arrived at a stage of which the Pali, the sacred language of the Southern Buddhists and the inscriptions of Asoka afford us specimens. Then began a general use of attributive expressions for verbal forms, which had its effect on the the vernacular or derived languages also, and thus while a good many of these forms went out of use in Sanskrit, the number of tenses and moods in the derived languages was reduced to three,

In the meanwhile the process which formed the Pali went on, other laws of phonitic change, and principally that of the elision of uninital consonants and the reduction of aspirated ones to gramme into operation. The use of analogy in the simplification of grammar proceeded further, a few words of a non-Sanskrit origin were adopted, and thus arose the Prakrits.

There were several dialects of this class, but the distinction between them was not great. After a while in the Prakrits themselves new phonetic processes began, the chief of which were the dropping of one of the assimilated consonants and in most cases lengthening the preceding vowel, and the obviating of the

hiatus caused by the vowels brought together by consonantal elision by combining them or inserting light semi-vowels between them. These were carried on further, the declensional and conjugational terminations were corrupted and mutilated, and the forms began to get confused; case relations came to be expressed by connecting independent words or pronominal forms with the genitive of the noun; and new verbal forms were constructed from the participles by appending the personal terminations on the analogy of the existing tenses, or by using the roots indicative of existence as auxiliaries.

About this time the Prakrit speaking people came to be divided into independent communities, separated from each other by hills and rivers, or communication between them decreased; and therefore these several processes of destruction and construction were carried on at a varying rate and with a difference of detail in each; and thus grew up the modern Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, &c. This is the whole history. The vernaculars have descended from the Prakrits, and the Prakrits from Sanskrit; and since a language is transmitted from generation to generation orally, if the modern dialects are spoken languages the Prakrits must have been so, and if the Prakrits were spoken dialects the Sanskrit must have been so.

But these conclusions have been denied by some scholars. Professor H. H. Wilson says that that the Prakrit of the plays is an artificial modification of the Sanskrit language devised to adapt it to peculiar branches of literature. And the reason he gives is that even in later plays composed but a few centuries ago the Prakrit used is not the vernacular of the day, but that which we find in the very earliest work of the species. But he is by no means certain, and leaves the question undecided. The reason advanced by him is evidently of no weight. If I choose at this day to express my thoughts in Latin and compose a treatise in that language instead of my vernacular, does that prove that that language is artificial? Latin is sometimes still used in Europe for literary purposes, though it is not the vernacular of any country. Sanskrit playwriters of later ages, and even a stray dramatist at the present day, use the old Prakrits for their inferior characters in orthodox obedience to the rules laid down by the

old authorities on the histrionic art; and since the Prakrits, like Sanskrit, Latin, and other languages are preserved by means of grammars and literary works, it is possible to write in them as in these languages.

Mr. Beames at one time expressed himself decidedly on this point: "The Prakrit of the poets is clearly not a dialect that ever was spoken." So Dr. Pischel, a German scholar: "I agree with Mr. Beames, that none of the Prakrits was ever a spoken language, and that in order to learn what was the spoken language of the Aryans we must turn principally to the modern vernaculars."

This, gentlemen, we have done; we have examined the vernaculars and found that there is not a rule about the changes of letters in passing from Sanskrit into the Prakrit given by Vararuci or Hemacandra, of which instances are not found in the vernaculars. Of such as are general the examples are abundant: and in a great many cases even the words in which the change is of a special kind are preserved in the vernaculars in their Prakrit form, slightly altered according to the processes that afterwards came into operation. A good many of the vocal peculiarities of Pali and Prakrit speakers are preserved by the speakers of the Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi, Sindhi, and Bengali. I have already drawn your attention to the fact that the ordinary Gujarati cannot pronounce ए or औ but makes ए or ओ of it, the Marathi Desastha म of न, and the Sindhi and Bengali नस of क्ष, and the Hindi इस or इ of it and स of the sibilant. The Bengali pronounces a conjunct ending in T as a double consonant and preserves the old Magadhi peculiarty of reducing all the sibilants to st, while the Hindi still manifests the Paisaci pecularity of making \overline{q} of \overline{q} . The case terminations in the forms they assumed in the Apabhramsa have been preserved, some in this dialect, some in that. All the three Prakrit tenses do exist and none other; past time is expressed in just the same way as in the Prakrits; the participles, the causals, the passives, the denominatives, the nominal and verbal bases, and the remnants of the Sanskrit conjugations are just as they were in the Prakrits: and the new verbs and cases are formed out of Prakrit materials only. Then

again a good many of the Desya or non-Sanskrit words that existed in the Prakrits are found in the Vernaculars.

Now if the Prakrits were not spoken dialects, what these scholars probably mean is that they were artificial adaptations, as Professor Wilson calls them. But we have seen that they grew up by such natural laws as guide the development of any language whatever. The development of the Prakrit dialects from Sanskrit is parallelled by the development of the Romance languages from Latin. If the Prakrit dialects are to be considered artificial, it is difficult to conceive upon what principles they could have been constructed and for what purpose. A conscious manufacture of a language would be conducted upon some general principles and would not admit of such isolated forms, not obeying any general rule, as we have noticed. The analogies would be perfect; but on the contrary we have seen that in the Pali and the Prakrits a good many forms are made up according to a certain rule brought into use by analogy, as for instance making the passive by adding and or and, while there are others which are not thus constructed but have descended by simple phonetic corruption of Sanskrit forms, as दीसइ, लब्भइ and others. In all parts of grammar there are such forms, and these have descended to the modern Vernaculars, as we have seen.

Again, if these had been artificial languages, they would not have been called after the names of the provinces as we have seen they were. I have given reasons for believing that though the difference between the Sauraseni and the Mahārāṣṭri was not great, some peculiarities of the former have been preserved by the modern Sindhi, Panjabi, Braja and Hindi, while the Marathi represents the old Mahārāṣṭri and some of the peculiarities of the Māgadhi Prakrit are distinctly observable, as we have seen, in some of the Inscriptions of Asoka, in which it would be absurd to suppose an artificial language was used.

And how, if they were not popular dialects, could the idea of using them for women and the inferior characters in dramatic plays have in the first place arisen? That a poet should make certain persons in his work speak their peculiar dialect, especially when that is an inferior dialect and likely to create mirth, is

^{71 [}R.G. Bhandarkar's works, Vol. IV.]

natural, and this device is resorted to by writers in all countries. But it was probably more from considerations of propriety than liveliness that these languages began to be used by Sanskrit dramatists. For they are no less particular about such proprieties, and of even the so-called unities, than other nations. For one of the rules of the Art is that one act chould not contain the events of more than a day. Similarly the minute directions about the use of certain Prakrit dialects in the case of certain persons are explicable only on the supposition that the original idea was to represent in the drama a state of things actually existing in the world. For these varied reasons it admits of no question whatever that the Prakrits of the poets and of the grammarians were really at one time spoken languages. But it is of course not meant that they were spoken just as we find them written, or that they were necessarily spoken at the time when the poets that used them flourished.

The Prakrits became literary and dead dialects as Sanskrit itself had before them, and, as already remarked, they may be used for literary purposes even now, if one wishes to do so. The distinction between the written Prakrits and the corresponding spoken Prakrits cannot be greater than the usual distinction between the language of books and that of ordinary life; and prabably the Prakrits of some of our early plays represent the vernaculars of the time faithfully. I must not omit to mention that Mr. Beames has considerably modified his opinion since he wrote the article from which the above extract is taken, for in the beginning of the Introduction to his Comparative Grammar he speaks of the Prakrits as spoken languages, and attempts to account for the use of so many in the dramatic plays instead of setting it down to a mere fancy.

We will next proceed to consider the views that have been put forth, opposed to the conclusions we have arrived at, as regards the relation between Sanskrit and the Prakrits and endeavour to determine that relation more definitely than we have done. Professor Weber believes that in the Vedic times there were several dialects, and that by a fusion of these a common language called the Sanskrit was formed, while at the same time the dialects ran on their course and formed the Prakrits. He says:

"I incline to the opinion of those, who deny that the Sanskrit Bhāsā. properly so called, was ever the common spoken language of the whole Aryan people, and assign it to the learned alone. Just as our modern High German, arising out of the ancient dialects of the Germans, reduced what was common to all to universal rules and laws, and by the power of analogy obliterated all recollections of varieties; and just as, on the other hand, these dialects while they gradually degenerated often preserved at the same time fuller and more ancient forms; so also the Vedic dialects became partly combined in one stream, in which their individual existence was lost, and so formed the regular Sanskrit Bhāsā, and partly flowed on individually on their own original (Prakrta) irregular force, and continued to be the idioms of the different provinces in the corruption of which they participated. The Sanskrit language and the Prakrit dialects had, therefore, a common and simultaneous origin; the latter did not spring out of the former." Professor Weber gives a few instances of Prakritised Sanskrit words from the Vedic dialect, as he calls it, to show that the developments of the Prakrits began then, but nearly all of these are from such works as the Upanisads, which must be assigned to

Now if the development of Sanskrit and the Prakrits was contemporaneous, how comes it that almost all the words and grammatical forms in these latter dialects are manifest corruptions of Sanskrit words and forms? Professor Weber's theory does not account for this fact, but this defect is supplied by Mr. Beames, who holds nearly the same view as the Professor. He says:-"The idea of a common language is the creation of modern times, and the effect of the spread of literature." "The most probable hypothesis is, that the Aryans from the earliest times spoke many dialects, all closely akin, all having the same family likeness and tendencies common to all, perhaps in every case mutually intelligible, but still distinct and co-existent." In a note we are told that this is probable but cannot be proved. The dialect of Vedic hymns was, he says, only one of these. Then "after a time the Brahmans consciously and intentionally set themselves to the task of constructing 'a sacred language, by preserving and

a very late period when the language was in that confusion

which we find in the Buddhistic Gathas.

reducing to rule the grammatical elements of this Vedic tongue." "They seized on the salient features of Aryan speech as contained in all dialects, and moulded them into one harmonious whole." They (the popular dialects) were anterior to Sanskrit, contemporary with it, and they finally survived it. Nevertheless, Sanskrit is older than the dialects. This sounds like a paradox, but it is true in two senses; first, that "as ages rolled on, the vulgar dialects went on developing into new forms, while Sanskrit remained fixed and fossilized for ever." The second is that "though Panini, who is credited with this feat of constructing the Sanskrit language, lived when the early dialects were much changed, still among the Brahmans there was a traditional memory of the ancient and then obsolete forms of many words... In teaching his pupils the true principles of speech, Panini would naturally use these archaic words in preference to the corruptions current around him, and thus the language which he, to a certain extent, created, was in great part a resuscitation of antiquated terms."

To be able to estimate the views of these writers at their true worth, it is necessary that we should try to fix the meaning of the word dialect, which is the source of some confusion and endeavour to form some idea of the origin and growth of dialects generally. If little differences are to be regarded as sufficient to constitute a dialect, there are as many dialects as human beings. For just as no two human faces are exactly alike, no two men speak exactly alike. Every one has his peculiarities of pronunciation, and is fond of particular words or turns of expression. The principle of individuality is strong in human nature, but its effects are counteracted by the principle of community, which guides the development of human life; and the necessity of communication compels a man to drop peculiarities in speech and to conform himself to the prevailing model. Thus then, the individual differences come to be minute and insignifiant, and hence the language of a community becomes practically one language. But, constituted as communities generally, but not necessarily, are, they are composed of classes; and there is not as much communication between separate classes as within the limits of a class, and hence there come to be class languages, or varieties of speech in

the same community. There may be such classes; but the smaller ones may be neglected and we may distinguish between two large ones, generally called the lower and the higher, or the uneducated and educated classes. The languages of these differ, that of the lower class being more subject to those laws of development, growth, or corruption which I traced in the first lecture. Thus an uneducated Englishman uses many such forms as "I knowed," "you says," formed upon the prevailing analogies; and his pronunciation of a good many words is corrupt, as "genlman" for "gentleman," "wot" for "what," "guvner" for "governor," &c. And in the same way the language of the Marathi, Gujarati or Hindi lower classes is not the same as that of the higher. But still the word dialect is not used in speaking of these two varieties, one principal reason being that the language of the lower classes is not acknowledged to have an independent existence.

Again, when a community comes to have a literature, the style that is used, as a rule, differs from the ordinary conversational style. There are certain words, turns of expression, modes of construction, and even solitary forms which, though used in conversation, do not appear in books. Even these two varieties are not called dialects. The dialects of a language therefore or kindred dialects, as they may be called, are the languages of kindred communities, which, while they possess a large body of common words and forms, have also many others which are different, though in most cases the roots from which these are derived are common to all. And according to the proportion in which the similar and dissimilar elements are mixed, the dialects are more or less distant from each other.

The causes that divide men into distinct communities are the causes that create distinct dialects. The laws of change and development are always in operation in a language, in a changing condition of society, and the processes of destruction or disappearance of old words and forms and the construction or appearance of new ones, are constantly going on. Hence, when after the separation of men into distinct communities, communication between them is lessened, these processes go on in a varied and dissimilar manner. The conditions of life in their new

habitations may also be different, and when they are so, they bring about a varied linguistic development. But though the processes of destruction and construction are always going on in a language, they suppose that the society, whose language it is, is moving and not stationary. The life of a community may, however, be even and unvaried, in which case there will be little change in its language. Or certain races may be very conservative, and cling to the past with tenacity. Thus the Lithuanian peasants of the present day have through a number of ages, though they possess nothing like a literature, preserved a good many old Aryan words and forms in a purer condition than all their European neighbours. So that even after men are divided into distinct communities it is by no means necessary that distinct dialects should grow up. They may or they may not. But the possibility of slight difference, such as those which exist in the speech of the different classes of a community, even when the dialect is the same, is not denied.

Now, if for the various reasons above indicated dialects have come into existence, these continue until by the development of civilisation and by political events kindred communities come to form a nation; and then by increased communication and the growth of a common literature these dialects are fused together, and one harmonious language is formed; though, however, in remote quarters they may continue to have an independent existence. The writers whom I have quoted pay exclusive attention to this fact, of which there are several instances in modern European history, the most notable of which is the development of the modern German; and lay it down as a universal proposition which requires no proof, that in an early condition of society there must be a plurality of dialects, and that there could be no such thing as a common language.

This seems to be the epinion of Professor Max Müller also. But if there was not one common original dialect, whence are the common portion of the words and forms of kindred dialects, and the common roots derived? And does not comparative philology itself, in its comparisons and classifications, go upon the assumption that there was such a language? Thus then, since the creation of dialects depends on causes and the causes may not

exist, it will not do to assume that there were several dialects in Vedic times without positive proof or even positive indications. Several independent Aryan communities or tribes may not have migrated into India, but only one. Or even if more than one tribe came over, they may have been, like Lithuanian peasants, very conservative as regards their language. The circumstances we know about the language of the period do not necessitate the supposition of a plurality of dialects.

Besides, if according to Professor Weber these originally existing dialects went on in their own isolated course as the idioms of different provinces, and became the Pali and the Prakrits. we should expect to find much greater divergences between them, produced in the course of the many centuries that elapsed between the Vedic period and that in which they were as we now find them. But the distinction between the dialects of the Inscriptions of Asoka and even between the different Prakrits is by no means great, and concerns chiefly the pronunciation of individual letters. The plea of linguistic conservatism which I have before used in a certain case cannot be brought in here, since those early dialects resembling the language of the Vedas, as they must have done if they existed, were already very greatly corrupted in passing into the Pali or the Prakrits. Surely such very extensive changes as from the Vedic to the Prakrit form, if carried on in different provinces by different communities, must occasion very great divergences, greater even than we find between the modern Vernaculars. For the degree of departure from the old Prakrits which these last exhibit is not so great as that which the Prakrits do from the Vedic dialect. The divergence ought to be at least as great, but it certainly is not so.

Now, the way in which the supposed contemporaneous development of Sanskrit and the Prakrits is accounted for by Mr. Beames is, as we have seen, this:—That the Prakrits arose by a natural development while Sanskrit was created by the Brahmans, and principally by Pāṇini, out of the Vedic dialect and the salient points of Prakrit speech, and by a resuscitation of antiquated terms. Hence it contains the old words and forms from which those in the Prakrits are derived. And this also accounts for the existence of what Mr. Beames calls an Aryan but non-Sanskritic element

in the Prakrits, by which he probably means either those few forms that are not found in classical Sanskrit but must be referred to the Vedic dialect, or others that must be Aryan, though not found either in Classical or Vedic Sanskrit. Of the latter there are almost no instances which may be regarded as beyond the possibility of doubt.

But such a theory is calculated to bring relief to a puzzled philologist who, not knowing to what Sanskrit word to trace any Prakrit or Vernacular word, will at once get out of the difficulty by putting it down as an Aryan word not found in Sanskrit. But how is it possible to create such a language as the Sanskrit out of the elements indicated by Mr. Beames? A literary style. as distinguished from a conversational style, is what one can understand, but a language which never had anything to correspond to it in ordinary vernacular speech, but is simply created, is inconceivable. And if the creation of a sacred language was the conscious and deliberate aim of the Brahmans, and Panini resuscitated old or obsolete words, why did they or he not include in the new language all the innumerable old obsolete Vedic words and grammatical forms, which would have, from the very reverence that was paid to the Vedas, rendered their invention more sacred; and why should they, instead of doing so, have distinguished between a Chandara or Vedic, and Bhāsā or popular, speech? And, if the inventors seized all the salient features of the popular dialects, would they have left a few but striking Vedic peculiarties in the popular speech, such as the absolutive in त्वान or तन, unrepresented in their new language? And how could they from the popular dialects, in which the conjugations and declensions were reduced to fewer types. construct the innumerable forms of the Sanskrit noun or verb. Perfects. Acrists and the lost tenses or moods? And what must have been the basis of the incalculable Taddhita or nominal. and Krt or verbal derivatives, which have left but few traces in the Prakrits? Even the Vedic dialect is not calculated to afford much help. For if the grammar of the later Sanskrit had been framed by the conscious inventors upon the model of the Vedia. the declensions, conjugations, and the derivatives would have been like the Vedic; whereas, as a matter of fact, the differences are great, and some of these I pointed out in the first lecture.

There remains the third alternative, that there was a traditional memory of these forms. But why should they have been committed to memory when there was no motive? The sacred formulas which Mr. Beames says were orally transmitted do not, if they were the same as those that have come down to us. contain a large number of such forms; and, if they were different, they are simply imaginary. And, though the Vedas were and are committed to memory, the literally incalculable number of case forms, verbal forms, Taddhitas, and Krdantas, in the absence of any general rules which were laid down afterwards, as the theory supposes, by the grammarian-creators of the languages, it is thoroughly impossible to commit to memory, -impossible, as the great author of the Mahābhāsya says, even for Indra, with Brhaspati for his teacher and a thousand celestial years during which to learn them. Of course it is a different thing when they are current in a language which one learns from one's childhood, though even in this case very few know all the words and forms which are current in their own country, and nearly all only such as they are immediately concerned with. And what is the evidence for the truth of this theory? Absolutely none is given. It is simply the vague feeling of an individual or individuals, and not a conclusion arrived at after a deliberate weighing of evidence; while it sets at naught the clearest evidence available in the works of the grammarians themselves, which I shall presently adduce.

The theory, therefore, is utterly untenable, and the contemporaneous development of Sanskrit and the Prakrits derived from it, to account for which it was invented, is an inpossibility.

Professor Aufrecht, though he does not believe in a plurality of Vedic dialects, derives the Prakrits from the Vedic language and assigns Sanskrit to schools of the learned, but does not explain its genesis. Those who believe the Vernacular dialects to be derived directly from the Vedic must explain the origin of Classical Sanskrit in some such way as Mr. Beames has done; there is no other way.

Dismissing feelings which we have been considering so long, we will for a time examine the reason or reasons that are given 72 [R.G. Bhandarkar's works, Vol. IV.]

for doubting the derivation of the Pali and the Prakrits from Sanskrit. Thus Professor Childers, in the preface to his Pali Dictionary, states the relations between Sanskrit and Pali in the following lucid manner:—

"If we compare Pali with classical Sanskrit, we find that about two-fifths of the vocabulary consists of words identical in form with their Sanskrit equivalents, as Naga, Buddha, Nidana. Nearly all the remaining words present a more or less late or corrupted form..... Words of the above two classes nearly exhaust the Pali vocabulary; but their remains a small though important residuum of forms distinctly older than Sanskrit, and found only in the oldest known Sanskrit, that of the Vedas. Nay, I do not feel sure that Pali does not retain a few precious relics older than the most ancient Sanskrit, and only to be explained through the allied Indo-Germanic languages. It results from all this that Pali cannot be derived from Sanskrit; both, though most intimately connected, being independent corruptions of the lost Aryan speech which is their common parent; but that Pali is on the whole in a decidedly later stage than Sanskrit, and, to adopt a metaphor popularised by Max Müller, stands to it in the relation of a younger sister." Then in a foot-note he gives these Vedic forms in the Pali: the infinitive in tave, as katave "for doing," the absolutive or gerund in tvāna, as katvāna "having done." These two terminations, however, occur only occasionally, the usual ones are the Sanskrit tum and two. The next two, imassa, genitive singular of ayum, and gonam, genitive plural of go "a cow," I consider as made up by false analogy, as I have already indicated; tinnam, genitive plural of tri, is similar. Then vidu from vid to know and meaning "one who knows;" divo. which is masculine in the Veda and in the Pali, while it is feminine in Sanskrit; the Imperative first person plural in amase as in yamāmase, "I shall or may restrain" kasāmase, "I shall or may plough;" the Imperfect akā of karoti from the Vedic akat. Pali has the Vedic I, but this is a sound natural under certain circumstances, since we have it in Marathi and Gujarati, and kuham corresponding to the Vedic kuha. The Vedic Instrumental plural termination of nouns in 37 is retained in the Pali and also corrupted to chi. Professor Childers, however, thinks it is

corrupted from the Sanskrit ablative bhyas. I agree with those who derive it from the Vedic affix. To these may be added the the Prakrit कुणह "he does," in which there is a remnant of the fifth conjugation, while the root belongs to the eighth class; and also the affix त्रण of abstract nouns, while it is त्र in ordinary Sanskrit. Prakrit possesses त्रण or ऊण corresponding to the Pali त्यान or त्व and the instrumental affix पहि.

Then in another note Professor Childers gives the Pali garu "heavy" or "great" while Sanskrit has युर, though the गर appears in the Sanskrit comparative and superlative forms गरिय and गरित. The अ is seen in the Greek word Barus and Latin gravis. The Potential अस्म "let him be," is also said not to have anything to correspond to it in Sanskrit; but it may be traced to the Vedic subjunctive or होत, असत्, or regarded as a corruption of अस्पात् for Sanskrit स्पात, the अ though dropped in Sanskrit being brought ever by analogy from the singular of the other tenses. He also gives इप, while Sanskrit has इह, which is doubtful, and also सञ्चाचि "everywhere" the पि in which corresponds to fi in some Greek words. The Pali पि is the locative singular of the root, the instrumental singular of which is preserved in the Sanskrit पा ं। प्रथा, प्रथा &c.. Of these the Prakrits have गर in such words as गरुअ, गारब &c., and इप.

Here the question is reduced to a point. Two-fifths of the words in the Pali are pure Sanskrit, the rest are corrupt Sanskrit, while there are about six or seven forms which are lost in Classical Sanskrit but exist in Vedic Sanskrit; and there are one or two which exist in neither. The dialect then from which the Pali was corrupted or immediately sprang, granting for a moment that it was different from the Sanskrit, had two-fifths of its words exactly like those in Sanskrit, and the other three-fifths from which the Pali corruptions were derived were also exactly like Sanskrit, but it contained these eight or nine forms which Sanskrit has lost. In other words, Pali itself, if we take the original forms of the corrupt three-fifths of its words into consideration, is exactly like Sanskrit but for these nine forms. Is the dialect for this difference to be considered an independent dialect? Is the distinction enough to entitle the Pali or its

supposed immediate parent to be considered a dialect, that is, a language, elaborated, according to the definition given before. from the ancient speech by a community distinct from that which elaborated the Sanskrit? If any one thinks it is, he may do so, and regard the Pali as a distinct dialect; but he must for the same reason consider Surat Gujarati and Ahmedabad Gujarati, Konkani Marathi and Deccani Marathi or the Marathi, Gujarati, English and any other language as spoken by the uneducated classes of the population, and as spoken by the educated, to be distinct dialects of the same ancient speech. In the same community, as I have observed, varieties of speech may or do prevail and must prevail, but the distinction between them is not enough to constitute them distinct dialects; wherefore Sanskrit and the immediate parent of the Pali or the uncorrupt Pali must be considered as one language, even though the latter contained a few more ancient forms; and if both were one, the Pali must be regarded as the daughter of Sanskrit and not its sister. Some of its few peculiarities it may have derived from the spoken variety of Sanskrit, and the rest from that in use among the inferior classes. It often happens that the lower classes sometimes retain an old word or form after it has been given up by those above them, whence it is likely that the Pali was corrupted from the language of those classes. And as a matter of fact it was for a long time the speech of the uneducated, as will be presently shown. These observations apply to the later Prakrits also; wherefore, if these derived languages were spoken. that from which they were derived, i. e., Sanskrit, must have been a spoken language also.

And, independently of this consideration, there is positive evidence that Sanskrit was a spoken language. Yāska in the Nirukta frequently refers to the Vedic dialect and to another called Bhāṣā, the peculiarities of which mentioned by him are observable in Classical Sanskrit. Pāṇini in his Grammar gives a good many rules which are exclusively applicable to the dialect of the Vedas, to which he refers by using the words Chandas, Nigama, Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, and others which are applicable to the Bhāṣā alone, but by far the largest number of his Sūtras have reference to both. Now, since Bhāṣā, or the ordinary Sanskrit, is thus distinguished

from the dialect of the Vedas, it must be the language in use at the time when these writers lived. "Bhāṣā," as used by them, is a proper name, but in later Sanskrit it acquired a generic signification and meant language generally. The root from which the word is derived, signifies "to speak," wherefore the original sense of the word as a proper noun must have been the "speech" or "the spoken language." And, because this was its signification, it afterwards came to denote "explanation." When we ask for an explanation of something that is obscure and unintelligible, what we mean is that the sense should be expressed to us in the ordinary language of men, a language that we can understand. Thus such a sentence as स्थितप्रकर्य का भाषा, means "what is the Vernacular of स्थितप्रक," an expression similar to "what is the English of it?"

Pāṇini refers certain points expressly to popular usage. He says that the names of countries are conventional, and no grammatical analysis should be given of them, because it is fictitious; these should be used as we find them used. Similarly he says grammarians should not make rules to teach such things as these:—That the two words of a compound express the thing denoted by the principal word as qualified by the sense of the subordinate word; as for instance, राजपुरुष, a compound of राजद "a king" and पुरुष "a man," does not denote "a king," but "a man," and not "man" alone but as connected with a king, i. e. a king's man or officer; and that the base and the termination express the sense of the termination as qualified by that of the base; as अपगय signifies not उपग्र but a child, and not a child alone but a child as connected with उपग्र i. e. Upagu's child. For the significations of words are to be learnt from usage.

In the introduction to the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali tells us that some persons in his or Kātyāyana's time considered the study of grammar to be unnecessary. For said they, "Vedic words or forms we know from the Veda, and those current in popular usage from that usage; grammar is useless." Now the grammar which is thus declared useless is the grammar both of the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit; and the depreciators of the science profess to derive a knowledge of the first dialect from the Vedic books, and of the second not from other books but from popular usage. Hence

Sanskrit must have been in the time of those two grammarians a spoken language.

Similarly in the passage from the same work which I placed before you in the first lecture, you will remember that the objector (or Purvapaksin) argues that, since usage is the authority upon which the grammarians go, certain verbal forms which are no longer used by people ought not to be taught by the grammarians. and save that instead of those verbal forms participles are employed. The principal teacher (Siddhantin) does not deny the facts, but refers the objector to the vast literature of the language. where he may find them used, though obsolete at the time. It is evident from the whole passage, that Sanskrit was then a spoken language though some of its verbal forms had fallen into desuetude. I have also shown that the language was considerably changed between the times of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, and have called the Sanskrit that prevailed when Panini and Yaska flourished Middle Sanskrit, and that which was current in the time of Kātyāyana, Classical Sanskrit. Now these changes from the one form to the other could not have taken place if the language had been dead or petrified into a merely literary lauguage.

I am at a loss to see why some scholars should find it so difficult to belive that Sanskrit was a vernacular. If its declensions and conjugations are considered too complicated for the language of everyday life, it must not be forgotten that such a fact did not prevent the ancient languages of Europe from becoming spoken languages. And this objection would do equally well against the Vedic dialect, which or others like which, are regarded as the vernaculars of their times, and which are richer in inflexions than the later Sanskrit. Then it is held that the artificial regularity of Sanskrit makes it improbable that it should have been a vernacular. Where is this artificial regularity? On the contrary, it is the absence of regularity that renders its grammar so difficult and complicated. There is a freedom in the choice of words, expressions, and forms. In every department of its grammar there are innumerable optional forms; nouns and verbal roots are often declined and conjugated in several ways. One same root in a good many cases forms its special tenses in more ways than one, and in the nominal derivatives, the verbal

derivatives, the formation of the feminine and the uses of cases and tenses there is a freedom which some may consider a license. The only difference is, that Sanskrit has had the most perfect grammarians in the world, who observed all the facts of their language and laid them down as unchangeable fact, and it is this which gives that language a stiffened appearance.

Then Samdhis or euphonic combinations of letters, which are necessary in Sanskrit, are regarded as inconsistent with the character of a spoken language. It is, however, not denied that such combinations are observable in all languages, and particularly so in Latin and Greek; but it is urged that in Sanskrit there is a regularity or universality about them which is not found anywhere else. It should not, however, be forgotten that Samdhi in the same word and the same compound, and of a preposition with a root is alone necessary. Between different words it is optional, which means that it was on occasions neglected. Now Samdhi in the same word is necessary by a law of nature. The Sansk rit does not allow a hiatus; and this is a characteristic of most of the modern idioms also. Some languages, such as our Prakrits and the old languages of Europe, tolerate it. euphonic combination of consonants in the same word is necessary even in Latin; as in rex = reg-s, scriptus = scrib-tus, cinctum=cing-tum, lectum=leg-tum, tractum from traho, though the h like the Sanskrit & stands for an original gh; d and t combine to form an s, as defendo, defensum; sedeo, sessum; claudo, clausum; &c. Prepositions are really parts of words, and hence by the same law, they also must form one harmonious sound with the initial letter of the word to which they are attached; and modern vernaculars have got corruptions of the combined words. which shows that they must have been used in those forms in the colloquial Sanskrit; thus Sk. पर्यन्त, Pr. पहुद्द, M. पाहट; Sk. प्रत्यभिजाना, Pr. पवहिआज, H. पहिचान; Sk. अत्यर्थ, Pr. अबट्ट, M. अचाट, &c.

Now, as to compounds, this peculiarity of the Sanskrit has been carried to an extravagant extent by later writers, but Pāṇini allows only certain formations of this nature. These grew up as independent words in the language, and hence in the matter of Sandhi were treated like other words. In the spoken language the euphonic combinations we have been considering were not

consciously made, but the words themselves acquired those forms by habitual use in the same manner as in other tongues. The grammarians, however, discovered and laid down these rules; and the practice of using them in books even in combinining different words gained ground, though, however, many instances in which there is no such Samdhi are found in the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas. But if in colloquial speech such a combination was not possible, the grammarians do not enjoin that it should be made; and very probably it was not made.

And traces of many expressions, which only a collequial use of language can generate, have been preserved, not so much in the literature, as by the grammarians. Such is one expressive of an intensive or excessive action, composed of the Imperative second person form of a root repeated, followed by a verbal form of the same in any tense of the Indicative and in any person or number; as खाद खादोत खादति, lit. "eat, eat, he eats," i. e. eats much, कुछ द्विति करोति "do, do, he does," i. e. does much. This expression exists in Marathi and is considered so collequial that no Marathi grammarian has noticed it, as खा खा खाते, कर कर करते, in which, as in Sanskrit, खा and कर are forms of the Imperative second person singular.

A similar expression is used when several actions are attributed to the same agent; as ओदनं शुद्ध सक्तृ पिव धानाः खादेत्येवायसभ्य-वहराते "Eat rice, drink barely water, devour fried grain, in this way he fills his stomach;" which in Marathi is भात जेव पेज पी लाह्या खा असे पोट भरतो. In this case the Indicative should signify a general action of which the Imperatives denote the species, and we may have here करोति "does" instead of अभ्यवहरति.

Similarly those innumerable expressions consisting of a form made up by adding अस, technically जहल, to a root, preceded by a noun, and of a verbal form of the same root must be colloquial; as इस्त्रआह युक्तात "holds by the hand," जीवनाइं नदयति "he perishes," युद्दर्भ अद्धे "eats a stomachful," यथाकारमह भोदये तथाकार भोदये कि तवानेन "I will eat as I eat'(as I like), what have you to do with it?" &c. Etymologically इस्त्रआहम्, जीवनाइाम् &c. are accusatives, and they may in these cases be called cognate accusatives, and the expressions somewhat resemble such ones in English, as "run a race," "walk a walk," "die a death," &c.

The compounds दण्डादण्डि, केशाकेशि &c., meaning "a scuffle in which there is a brandishing of sticks and seizing each other by the hair," and a great many others made up of Imperative forms of verbs, or of a verb and its object, which are used as nouns, are of a nature suited for the purposes of a light conversation; as अञ्च सादतमोदता वर्तते "'eat and enjoy' is the rule here," अञ्चाश्चीतप्बता वर्तते "'eat and drink' is the rule here," अञ्चरीत्सृजा तस्य दानशोण्डीरस्य पहे "'take out and give' is what takes place in the house of that bountiful man," जिहस्तम्बोयम् "he is one who constantly says, 'strike the sheafs of corn'," एहिस्वागता वर्तते "'come, welcome to thee' is the practice," &c.

Sanskrit was not the only language spoken in the times of Kātvāvana and Patañjali. In the Mahābhāsya there are several passages which contain allusions to a dialect arising from a corruption of Sanskrit. Thus, in the comment on the Vartika: Siddhe Sabdarthasambandhe: we are told, with reference to the question, whether words are created or exist of themselves, that Pāṇini's rules suppose that they are not created but exist of themselves; and so is the relation between them and the things they denote, i. e. their power of expression, uncreated and self-existent; and, according to another interpretation of the Vartika, the things also which words denote are so. How is it known that all these are self-existent? Because in the affairs of the world or in ordinary life men think of certain things and use words to express them; they do not set about producing words before doing so. But this is not the case with those things that are created and self-existent. If a man wishes to do something with an earthern pot, he goes to the house of a potter and says, "Make a pot for me, I have to do something by its means. " Now, if he has to use words, he does not in the same way go to the house of a grammarian and say, "Make words, I want to use them;" but immediately that he thinks of this thing and that he uses words [for expressing them]. Well then, if words are to be taken from ordinary life [and are not made by grammarians], what is it that the Sastra [grammar] does? "The Sastra lays down a restriction by observing which a man may attain religious merit. It does what other Sastras in ordinary life do. Thus, while it is possible to satisfy hunger by eating anything whatever, it is enjoined that

78 [R. G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

one shall not eat a domesticated fowl or pig; and the object that he may by regulating his conduct thus attain religiment. In the same way this Sastra (grammar) tells us the while it is possible to express one's meaning by using correct words or incorrect words, correct ones alone which it teac should be used to secure the religious merit arising therefrom After this follows the discussion translated in the first lecture and then we have another of which the following is a portion:

Purv. Does religious merit arise from a knowledge of corrwords or from their use?

SID. What is the difference?

PURV. If you say religious merit arise from their knowled religious de-merit also must arise. For he, who knows what wor are correct, also knows what words are incorrect. If merit resu from the knowledge of those that are correct, demerit must res from the knowledge of those that are incorrect. Or greater de-me must arise [from their knowledge], as the number of incorr words is larger, and that of correct words smaller. For the corrections of one correct word are manifold; as, for instance, the corrections of the correct word are manifold; as, for instance, the corrections of the correct word are manifold; as, for instance, the corrections of the correct word are manifold; as, for instance, the corrections of the correct word are manifold; as, for instance, the corrections of the correct word are manifold; as, for instance, the corrections of the correct word are manifold; as, for instance, the corrections of the correct word are manifold; as, for instance, the corrections of the correct word are manifold; as, for instance, the corrections of the correct word are manifold; as, for instance, the corrections of the correct word are manifold; as, for instance, the corrections of the correct words concerns their use [and 1 knowledge].

SID. Well, then, let it be that religious merit arises from their use [and not from knowledge].

PURV. If from their use, the whole world would obta heavenly felicity.

SID. And now why should you be jealous if the whole wor obtain heavenly felicity?

PURV. No, certainly, I am not jealous. But what I mean that it thus becomes useless to make any effort; such effort on as is fruitful should be made. If you get the fruit without ar effort, the effort is useless. [The effort meant is that involved the study of grammar, i. e. of correct words. People use sor correct words at least without studying grammar, and, if etern felicity results from the use of such words, they get it without making the effort of studying the subject].

SID. Why, verily those who make the effort will largely use correct words, and will obtain a large amount of heavenly felicity.

PURV. That the fruit does not collow the effort is also an observed fact. For there are persons who though they have made the effort are seen to be incompetent [in the use of correct words], while others, who have not, are competent; wherefore it is possible, the fruit, i. e. heavenly felicity, may not follow.

SID. Well then, religious merit arises not from knowledge alone, neither from use alone.

PURV. From what then?

SID. Heavenly felicity arises from the use of correct words when it is accompanied by the knowledge, that they are correct, derived from a study of the Śāstra.

And thus it goes on.

Now it is clear from all this that correct words, i. e. Sanskrit, was spoken in those days by all, but that incorrect words had got mixed up with it, and the object of grammar was to teach how to avoid incorrect words or corruptions, though there were men who could speak correctly without knowing grammar. is the state in which more or less all languages are at all times: and even at the present day the purpose of grammar is considered to be to teach how to speak correctly. By the way, it will be seen how Sanskrit grammarians distinctly declare that they teach nothing that does not exist, that they do not create words, but separate the correct ones from such as are incorrect. But what did Patañiali consider to be the standard of correct Sanskrit: who was it that spoke the language correctly, and in whose speech were corruptions observable? This is clear from another passage at the beginning of the third pada of the first chapter of the Mahābhāsya. Patañjali interprets the Sūtra भ्वाद्यो पातवः (I. III. 1) in a manner to yield such a connotative definition of a dhatu or root as this, that a dhatu is that which denotes action or being. Then a question is raised, if this is the way to distinguish a root why should a list of roots be given: in other words, if we have got a connotative definition, a definition by enumeration is not In this case there is a difference of opinion between Kātyāyana and Patañjali.

 $P\overline{u}RV$. If you have given a connotative definition now, enumeration should not be made, i. e. a list of roots should not be given.

SID. It should be made.

PURV. What for?

SID. The enumeration of [the verbal roots] bhū and others should be made for the purpose of excluding nouns (Prātipadika) and the verbs that begin with आजपयति [i.e. If the roots are not actually enumerated, nouns also which express action or being may come under the the connotative definition. In the same way it will extend to roots used in ordinary life, which are not Sanskrit, such as आजपयति and others].

PURV. What verbs are those which begin with आजपपति?

SID. आजपयित, बहुति and बहुति. And enumeration should also be made in order that the anubandhas or indicatory letters and accents of roots may be made known; i.e. that one may know what the accents and indicatory letters of roots are. It is not possibe to know the accents or indicatory letters unless the roots are enumerated. [Anubandhas are certain letters attached to roots to denote some, conjugational or other peculiarity belonging to them].

PURV. Now those roots whose accents are capaple of being inferred. i. e., are उदात, and which have no anubandhas, but still are inserted in the list, may be omitted from it. [i. e. When those roots which have the अनुदात accent are enumerated, it may be inferred that the rest have the other or उदात accent].

SID. Even those should be enumerated in order that आजपयति and others [i. e., corrupt Sanskrit roots] may be excluded.

Hereupon Patanjali disagrees with Katyayana and says :-

PAT. No, आजपयति and others will be excluded, because the usage of the educated or Sistas is to be followed. This usage of the Sistas must be necessarily referred to in other cases even; for instance, in order to exclude the altered forms of those roots that are enumerated. For in ordinary life they use कसि for किय and दिसि for होता. [The sense is, that since in grammar we follow the usage of the Sistas or educated, these verbs आजपयति, बहुति

and बहुदात, and also कसि for रूपि and दिसि for दक्षि which are not used by them, will necessarily be excluded from our connotative definition; hence for the purpose of excluding them enumeration is not wanted].

Now आजपयति is a corruption of the Sanskrit आज्ञापयति, बहुति of बर्गते, तो Atm. being replaced by ति Parasm., and इस for हज्, and दिस for हज्. These and such other corruptions were in use at the time, but Patañjali clearly lays down that they were not used by the Sistas or educated people, and therefore they belonged to the language of the vulgar. Now all these roots are found in the Pali in these very forms, आजपयति being, however, आजापयति; but the reading in the MSS. and the Benares lithographed edition which I have consulted is faulty. So also of the corruptions of the word यो given by our author, we find बार्ची in Professor Childers's Pali Dictionary, and योज the masculine of योजी. Thus our grammarians recognise one language only, the Sanskrit, and these words and forms which are found in the Pali they assign to the speech of the vulgar.

In another passage still we are told more definitely who the Sistas were that spoke the Sanskrit language correctly without studying Pāṇini's grammar, and whose usage was the standard of correctness. Pāṇini's Sūtra VI. III, 109, lays down that such words as grift should be regarded as correct in the form in which they are upadista, i. e, used or uttered; the changes in them such as the elision, or augmentation, of letters or the alteration of their forms do not obey any general rules laid down by him, but still the words exhibiting those changes should be taken as correct, just as they are used. Now the Pūrvapaksin raises the question:—

PURV. What is meant by upadista?

SID. Uttered (used).

PURV. How does it come to mean that?

SID. The root 'dis' signifies 'uttering.' One utters (uses), letters, and says that they are thus upadista.

 $P\overline{u}RV$. By whom upadista (uttered or used)?

SID. By the Sistes.

PURV. Who are the Sistas?

SID. The grammarians.

PURV. How so?

SID. The character of a Śiṣṭa is conferred upon one by the knowledge of the science (Śāstra): and the grammarians know the science [of grammar].

PURV. If a man is made Śiṣṭa by the science, and the science depends upon a man's being Śiṣṭa, this is reasoning in a circle. An argument in a circle does not hold. [The circle is, one is Śiṣṭa, and consequently an authority in matters of language if he has studied grammar; and grammar itself depends on the usage of the Śiṣṭas.]

SID. Well, then, the character of a Sista is conferred upon one by the country in which he lives and by his conduct. That sort of conduct must be associated with residence in Aryavarta alone (lit. that sort of conduct must be in Aryavarta alone).

PŪRV. Which is Aryāvarta?

SID. The country which is to the east of the Adaréa, west of Kālkavana, south of the Himālaya, and north of the Pāriyātra. Those Brahmans in this country of the Aryas who do not store up riches (lit. who keep only so much grain as is contained in a jar), who are not greedy, who do good disinterestedly, and who without any effort are conversant with a certain branch of knowledge are the worshipful Śistas.

PURV. If, then, the Sistas are an authority as regards language, what function does the Astādhyāyi (Pāṇini's grammar) perform?

SID. The purpose of the Astadhyayi is to enable us to find out the Sistas.

PURV. How is it possible to find out the Sistas by means of the Astadhyayi?

SID. A student of the Astadhyāyi finds a man who has not studied the book using words just as they are taught in the Astadhyāyi. He then thinks, "Verily, this man possesses some; good luck or innate nature by means of which, though he has not

studied the Astādhyāyī, he uses words just as they are taught in that book. Verily he knows other words also "[not taught in the Astādhyāyī, such as gwiæv]. Thus, the purpose of the Astādhyāyī is to enable one to find out who is a Śiṣṭa [in order that he may refer to him and learn such words as do not obey the rules laid down by Pāṇini, but still are correct].

Here then we have the clearest possible evidence that Sanskrit was the vernacular of holy or respectable Brahmans of Aryāvarta or Northern India, who could speak the language correctly without the study of grammar. The corrupt language mentioned by Patañjali which was composed of correct and incorrect words, that is, a dialect like the Pali, must, therefore, have been the vernacular of the other classes. And this is what you may say even with regard to the modern vernaculars. Who is it that speaks good or correct Marathi? Of course, Brahmans of culture. The language of the other classes is not correct Marathi. The word Sista may be translated by "a man of education or culture;" and this education or culture has, since remote times, been almost confined to Brahmans.

Thus the dialects of the Inscriptions of Asoka and the Pali were the vernaculars of the non-Brahmanic classes; but a greater importance must evidently have been attached to them in the times of Asoka than is now assigned to the Marathi of the non-Brahmanic classes, since they are used by him in the Inscriptions. They are, however, not recognized as independent languages by our grammarians who treated them as we treat the Marathi of the lower classes; but they were in use and bore the same relation to Sanskrit that low Marathi does to high Marathi, the English of the lower classes in England to the speech of the higher. And the English of the lower classes contains, as we have seen, a great many such grammatical forms as "I knowed," and "you says," along with others that are correct.

It is on account of the mixture of such correct words and forms with others that were incorrect that the Pali was not regarded as an independent dialect. The case was different with the Prakrits. They assumed a more settled and fixed character, and were used over a larger area, and thus came to be considered and

treated as separate languages. But the propagators of Buddhism, who like all teachers of a new religion, addressed themselves to the lower or uneducated classes, soon raised this speech into importance. They wrote their religious works in it, and in the course of time it became their sacred language; but it is unknown in India as an independent tongue. From these passages in the Mahābhāṣya, therefore, it is clear that it is by no means true, as is generally supposed, that Sanskrit had ceased to be a spoken language when the Pali arose. The two varieties of speech existed side by side; but as education and culture retrograded, the number of Sanskrit speakers gradually decreased, and the lower variety went on spreading itself over a wider area and developed into the Prakrits.

This contemporaneous existence of the Sanskrit and Pali and the Prakrits as the spoken languages of two classes of the community explains, and is therefore confirmed by, several facts that we noticed before. If, when the Pali arose, Sanskrit became a dead language, it could not influence the grammar of the low dialects. Though words from a language that has ceased to be spoken may be adopted into a spoken dialect, the grammar remains intact. Even a living language if it is foreign, does not affect it. But we have seen that the gradual disappearance of verbal forms is a phenomenon common to both Sanskrit and Pali and that the latter derived some grammatical forms from the former, which did not possess when they were in the stage represented by the Pali. This could not have been the case if the two languages, Sanskrit and Pali, had not existed as two varieties of the varnaculars of a homogeneous community.

The fact that Sanskrit words are so greatly corrupted as to be difficult of recognition and are set down as Desyas by the native grammarians, while others can casily be traced to their original forms, also points to the same conclusion. Those that are greatly corrupted were early adopted into the language, and removed from subsequent influence. Most of the others, that exhibit only ordinary changes, are such as denote elementary notions, and must therefore have been adopted as early as those of the first sort. But, because they were such elementary words they were heard again and again in their original forms as used

by the higher classes; and thus a further corruption was prevented; and they exhibit only such changes as were necessitated by the vocal habits of the Prakrit speakers.

Another fact is the use of Sanskrit for the higher characters in the plays, and Prakrit for women and the lower ones. supposes that when the idea first originated, and for a considerable period subsequent to it, though not afterwards—when dramatic plays were written more according to rule than with a view to exhibit any existing state of things—women and persons in a low condition could understand Sanskrit, but not speak it. It was the same with Sanskrit then, as it is with Marathi, for instance, now. A Citpāvani or Mālvani woman speaks in her own dialect when conversing with an educated Marathi but understands the standard Marathi that he uses, though she cannot speak it herself. And this is the case everywhere; a person in a low condition understands what is said to him by one belonging to the higher classes, but cannot himself speak like him, and must use his own variety of the language. Thus then at the time when the earliest Sanskrit dramatic plays were written, that language must have been in vernacular use to such an extent as to be intelligible to uneducated persons. And that educated dramatic characters do actually speak it, shows that those whom they represent used it in real life. Again, the dramas were composed to entertain an audience, and were actually acted. If the audience did not understand Sanskrit. as well as Prakrit, the poet defeated his own purpose by making some of his characters speak in that language.

Sanskrit went on gradually losing ground, the number of those who speak it grew smaller and smaller, and after a time it ceased to be used by anybody for the ordinary concerns of life, though even now Pandits carry on their disputations in it. But at all times it has been acting the parent to the vernaculars and adorning and enriching them. The ancient Prakrits borrowed everything from it when it was in vernacular use; but the modern Prakrits mostly adopt such words as express abstract notions. There is, however, an apparent difference in the manner in which the borrowed words were treated by the Prakrits, and are treated by the modern dialects. A Sanskrit word when used by 74 [R.G. Bhandarkar's Works, Vol. IV.]

a Prakrit-speaking person was changed according to his habits of pronunciation; but in modern times it is preserved in a state of purity. This, however, is due to the fact that in modern times the educated classes as well as their uneducated brethren, speak the vernaculars, and it is the former that pronounce the word properly. But the latter, and often women belonging to the former, corrupt it. Now the Prakrit was, as I have shown, for a long time the language of precisely these persons. It is their pronunciation that is recorded by the Prakrit grammarians and poets. In some provinces in modern times, even the higher classes mispronounce the Sanskrit words adopted into the vernaculars, and also in reading Sanskrit books. But in the printed books the correct orthography is used.

As I have observed in a previous lecture and at the beginning of this, some of the vocal habits of the Prakrit speakers have come down to their modern descendants; but not all. The lapse of time and other causes have generated other peculiarities. Hence a Sanskrit word in these days is not corrupted in exactly the same way as in ancient times; and thus we get what are called modern Tadbhavas. Thus, then, as the Sindhi and Bengali cannot but pronounce Sanskrit सोझ as सोवस्त, and the Hindustani as सीच, or the average Gujarati, the Sanskrit word सीच as सोत, and केन as केन, so did his old Prakrit ancestors.

It should be borne in mind that the Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit words were not necessarily caused by their continual use for a number of ages, but were due in a good many cases to the vocal peculiarities of the men that used them. Most of those words that represent only the ordinary changes are words of this class; i. e. the corruptions simply represent, as I have above observed, the transformation which they underwent in the mouth of a Prakrit speaker. At all times Sanskrit words have been coming into the popular languages; but in old times they were pronounced in a manner natural to the men of those times, and thus became Prakrit words; and now they are pronounced in some cases in the same manner, but in a great many in another, and thus they become modern Tadbhavas; while the educated classes often, though not always, pronounce them correctly, and

thus we have modern Tatsamas. This is the way to account for the fact that there are so many pure Sanskrit words in our vernaculars, while there were but a few in the old Prakrits; and we need not connect their introduction with the expulsion of Buddhism and the selfish schemes of the Brahmans, with which it has nothing to do, as is done by one writer.

We will now try to form some idea of the chronology and historical causes of the several linguistic changes we have noticed. The Later or Classical Sanskrit is in the same phonetic condition as the Vedic dialect from which it sprang; and it was for a long succession of centuries, spoken by the Indian Arvans. If it was so, the corruptions observable in the other variety of speech or low Sanskrit, as it may be called, must have been due to the vocal peculiarities of another race than that which elaborated the Classical from the Vedic Sanskrit. The universal assimilation of confunct consonants which we observe in the Pali could not have proceeded from the same community that could speak Sanskrit with purity. And such an extensive assimilation we find in the Italian, which was formed out of the Latin spoken by the lower classes of the ancient Roman population by the barbarian races that overran the country. As remarked in the opening lecture, phonetic corruption is rapid and extensive when one race learns and adopts the language of another. The Pali corruptions, therefore, represent the manner in which a foreign race pronounced the Sanskrit of the Aryans. And from such history as we can glean from Sanskrit Literature, we know that the Aryan race when it emigrated to India came in contact with other races. After a time some of these were incorporated into the Aryan community, and formed its fourth order, known by the name of Śūdras. As long as these Śūdras were in thoroughly degraded condition and remained distinct from the other three orders, their speech produced no perceptible effect on that of the latter. But after a time this order began to mingle with the rest, principally by means of inter-marriages, which must have extensively taken place, since some Smrtis or Indian law-books allow them under certain circumstances and others prohibit them; so that the orthodox belief of learned Pandits at the present day is that the Ksatriya and Vaisya orders do not exist, and that all those who

are not Brahmans are Sudras. But there are indications that even Brahmanhood did not escape pollution. As this combination proceeded, the Śūdra corruptions of the language came into prominence, and after a time such a language as Pali became the ordinary speech of the uneducated. By the time of Asoka, we may suppose, the so-called Asista or uneducated people, who spoke the incorrect, or corrupt language, comprehended among them the greater portion of the military, trading, and cultivating classes. Professor Childers is of opinion that there are no Desya or non-Aryan words in the Pali. But the Prakrits do possess some at least; and you will remember that they exhibit other phonetic changes of which the chief is the elision of consonants. Up to the time of Asoka and even to that of Patañiali, these phenomena are not observable in the popular speech, though they may have existed in the speech of the very lowest classes. It, therefore, appears that, when this amalgamated community, with Sanskrit and Pali as the two forms of speech prevailing among the higher and the lower classes, spread over different parts of Northern India from the Himalayas to the southern confines of the Maratha country, they came in contact in the provinces with other races which led to the further corruptions we have been speaking of; and thus the Prakrits were formed. These new races while they adopted the language of the conquerors gave them a few of their own words.

Patañjali lived in the middle of the second century before Christ and king Asoka in the middle of the third. Between Patañjali and Kātyāyana a petty long time must have elapsed, since in the Mahābhāsya various readings or emendations in a few cases of the Vārtikas of the latter are noticed and sometimes their interpretations as given by other writers; so that a sort of literature must have grown round the Vārtikas. I am, therefore, inclined to accept the populār tradition which refers Kātyāyana to the period of the Nandas, i. e., to about the first quarter of the fourth century before Christ. Now we have seen that in the time of this grammarian the Sanskrit language assumed a different form from that it had in that of Pāṇini; and by the time of Patañjali very great reverence had come to be paid to this last author. For in giving the uses of grammar, the author

of the Mahabhasya says that it is the duty of a Brahmana to study the Vedas along with their Angas or illustrative Sastras; and of the six Angas grammar is the chief. Patafiali is not likely to yield this honour to any other than Panini's grammar. To account for these and some of the other circumstances noticed by Dr. Goldstücker, we must place Panini about four centuries before Katyayana, i. e. refer him to about the 8th century before Christ Yaska must have flourished a short time before him, Though the Pali or an idiom very close to it was the language of the uneducated classes in the times of Katyayana, Asoka, and Patanjali, still its formation must be dated some centuries earlier since in its verb it represents what I have called Middle Sanskrit, or the Sanskrit of Yaska and Panini, Yaska notices local varieties of Sanskrit words and gives one or two instances, but makes mo allusion to any Apabhramsas or corruptions, though from the nature of his work he may be expected to do so; while Kātyāyana and Patanjali mention them frequently, as we have seen. Even if they existed in his time, therefore, they must have been insignificant and unimportant, and did not enter into the speech of any class of the Aryan society to any appreciable extent After his time, however, i. e. about the seventh or sixth century B. Cathe elaboration of the Pali, or Low Sanskrit as it might be carled, began in a decided manner; and the language continued to be spoken up to the time of Pataniali. Till then it did inot specifically assume a Prakrit form though in the Inscriptions of Asoka, some of the characteristics of a later Prakrit, the Magadhi, ware developed, as we have seen in one province, very slikely. Megadhavitaelf. To a regions and careful for any althouse envisam

The Prakrits must have begun to be formed about that times but did not then attain any distinctive character; and the vernacular speech probably did not finally leave the Pali stage till a very long time afterwards. About the time when the Inscriptions in the cave-temples were composed, the Pali was as I have stated, a sacred and literary language. The longer and more important of the Inscriptions are therefore in that language, Bitt in a good many of the shorter Inscriptions, especially of private individuals, we have words exhibiting Prakrit characteristics.

¹ Such are काणमीअस for काणमीजस्य, पबहृतिकाअ for पबजितिकायाः, महामीयस for महाभोजस्य, भवन for महन्त, बेयिका for बेविका, पिक for प्रतिक &co

The growth of the specific Prakrits, therefore, must be referred to the early centuries of the Christain era; and we may therefore infer that about the time our first dramatic plays were written they were actually the spoken dialects of those classes of the people whose representatives use them in those works,

About the sixth or seventh century the Apabhramsa was developed in the country in which the Brajbhasa prevails in modern times; or, if the speeches in that dialect contained in the fourth act of the Vikramorvasiya were really composed by Kālidāsa, which, as remarked in a former lecture, we have the gravest reasons for doubting, its growth must be assigned to a somewhat earlier period. Dandin mentions the Apabhramsa, and a good many verses from his Kāvyādarsa are found in Vāmana's Alankāravītti; and if this be the same Vāmana that lived at the court of Jayāpīda, king of Kāsmir, who reigned from 755 A. C. to 783 A. C., Dandin must have flourished before the eighth century.

The Modern vernaculars seem to have begun to assume a distinctive character about the tenth century. In the Copper Plate Inscription containing the name of Bhāskarācārya, dated 1128 Saka or 1206 A. C., which I ones mentioned before, Marathi appears in its specific character, and so also does Hindi in the work of Cand, who flourished about the same time.

And now, gentlemen, I closs. It was impossible in the course of these lectures to do justice to the subject without extering future matters which are not interesting, except to those who have already paid some attention to it. Besides, the subject was wide and I was compelled to compress a great many facts into a small space, but in spite of this, and though I frequently omitted large portions of what I had written, the lectures were long and tedious. I am, therefore, obliged to you for the honour you have done me by your presence here, notwithstanding these drawbacks, and my thanks are specially due to those who have attended the course throughout.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abl. = Ablative

Absol. = Absolutive

Acc. = Accusative

Ait. = Aitareya

Ap., Apabhr., Apbhr., Apbr. =
Apabhramśa

Ath. Pr. = Atharva Prātišakhya

Ātm. = Ātmanepada

B.=Bengali

Brāh. = Brāhmana

Cit.=Citpavani

Corp. Insc. Ind.=Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum

Dat. = Dative

Dh. = Dhauli

Dial. = Dialect

Fem. = Feminine

G., Guj. = Gujarati

Gen. = Genitive

Goan. = Goanese

H.=Hindi

Imper. = Imperative

Ind. St.=Indische Studien

Instr. = Instrumental

Intr. = Intransitive

Jñān. = Jñānesvarī

Karh. = Karhādā or Karhada

Kh. = Khalsi

Loc. = Locative

M., Mar. = Marathi or Marathi

Mah., Mahr. = Mahārāstrī

Mal. = Malvani or Mālvaņī

Masc. = Masculine

Mod. = Modern

Neut. = Neuter

Nom. = Nominative

O = Oriya or Oriyā

Obl. = Oblique

P. = Panjabi or Panjabi

Pān. = Pānini

Parasm.=Parasmaipada

Part. = Participle

Per. or Pers. = Person

Pl.=Plural

Pot. = Potential.

P. p. p. = Past Passive Participle

Pr.= Prakrit

Pres. = Present

Pūrva. = Pūrvapaksin

Rv. = Rgveda

S. = Sindhi or Sindhi

Samh. = Samhitā

Sat. = Satapatha

Śaur. = Śauraseni

Sid. = Siddhāntin

Sing = Singular Sk = Sanskrit

St. = Standard

Tad. = Tadbhaya

Tait.=Taittirīya

Term.=Termination

Tr. = Transitive

Tulasi. = Tulasidā, Tulšīdāsa or Tulsidāsa

Vāj. Pr.=Vājasaneyi Prātišākhva

Voc. = Vocative

INDEXES

INDEX I

GENERAL INDEX

Allahabad, edicts of the King Aśoka found inscribed on columns which exist at, p. 313.

Anusvāra, pp. 297, 303, 314, 355, 268, 369, 394, 459, 477, 482, 515, 517 531, 532, 534, 547.

Anvādeśa, p. 302.

Apabhramsa, a dialect, pp. 321, 322f., 327, 342, 369, 370, 373, 375, 415, 442, 474f., 509f., 520, 525, 528, 529, 532, 553, 560: A. according to Dandin the language of Abhīras (cowherds) p. 321; A. dialect showing further decay in Prakrits; its position in Indian Prakrits, p. 362; a specimen of A, and its Sanskrit equivalent, p. 363; the same translated into English; its phonology illustrated, p. 364; its declension shows its further decay, p. 365f.; pronouns in it, p. 370; its verb, p. 371; forms of future in, p. 373; addition of suffix very common in A. and Prakrit, p.420f.; F in A. from Pali fig and Sk. स्मिन्, p. 476; forms of A. present in the older Hindi poets, e.g. in Tulasīdāsa's Rāmāyaņa, p. 485; pronouns in A. and the Prakrit are the same, p. 508f.; A.s or corruptions not alluded to by Yāska, p. 589; the date of A., 6th or 7th century A. D. p. 590.

Arabic, words of A. origin in the modern dialects, p. 387.

Ardhamāgadhī, pp. 323, 326.

Aryas, settled in the country known as Brahmāvarta and Kuruksetra, formed a consolidated community, in which aboriginal or alien race was incorporated, and the language of this race was the Pali; the consolidated community spread eastwards and southwards, met other alien races, words in the Pali stage further being corrupted into the forms we find in Prakrits, p. 338; A. conquered the Aborigines, p. 362.

Aryan, Aryan or Indo-European, one of the three families into which the languages of the civilized nations of the word have been divided, the other two being the Semitic, and the Turanian, p. 257; A. characteristic of the dialect, p. 344; A. people, p.563; A. words and forms preserved in a pure condition by Lithuanian peasants, p. 566; only one A. community or tribe may have migrated to India, p. 567; A. but non-Sanskritic element in the Prakrits, p. 567f.

Aśoka, the Buddhist king of Pātaliputra in Magadha, 3rd Century B. C. pp. 312, 319, 558, 588; his Inscriptions-five different versions of the edicts of Asoka have been discovered on rocks in different parts of the country at Girnar, near Junag ad in Kathiawar, at Dhauli in Kattak, at Kapurdigiri or Sahbazgarhi in Afghanistan, at Jaugad near Ganjam in the Northen Circars and at Khalsi near Masuri in the Himalayas; another at Babhra in Raiputana! the Girnar dialect is very much like the Pali, that of Dhauli, Ganjam and Khalsi is a later Prakrit called Magadhi; specimen of Girnar edict, pp. 312,313f.; peculiarities

of the dialect discussed, p. 314, specimens of other versions, p. 315; these edicts were first drawn in the king's dialect but were translated into the dialect of east province, p.316; the writers of these expressly mentioned in them, p. 317; the Prakrits spreading about the time of Asóka, p. 338; peculiarities of A.'s Inscriptions, pp.338, 373; their Orthography, pp. 567, 583.

Assimilation of consonants defined, p. 278; its different causes, p. 340.

Atmanepada, pp. 308, 310 f., 354, 483, 505,

Avadha, same as Ayodhya, p. 376.

Avadhī, dialect of the province of Avadha or Ayodhyā, p. 376.

Ayodhyā, p. 488.

Babhra, p. 315.

Bahlika or Balk, p. 345.

Bengali, a dialect, pp.375, 409, 475; \(\frac{3}{3} \) of Bk. pronounced as \(\frac{3}{4} \), p. 280; the largest number of Sanskrit words found in B., p.388; B. vernacular utterance the weakest, Hindi and Panjabi the strongest p. 445; B. terminations, p. 478; B. and Oriya terminations, p. 484; B. occupying a middle position between Marathi on the one hand and the four Apabhraméa or Saurasenī languages on the other, p. 511; reasons of the absence of oblique forms in Bengali and Oriya, p. 518 f.; future tense of these two, p. 553.

Bhava, the thing signified by the base, p. 500.

Bhilsa, p. 316.

Bhojapuri, a dialect, p. 376; a district, p. 395.

Bihar p. 376; B. and Mithila provinces, p. 395.

Brāhmaņa, pericd of B. literature,p.273;

Deccan or Mahārāşţra B.s' way of

pronouncing J as N, p. 454; Konkani B.s, p. 552; B.s set themselves to construct a sacred language, p. 563 f.

Brajabhāṣā or dialect, pp. 362, 405, 419, 501, 516, 590; the old Aryan tendency of pronouncing the diphthongs somewhat exaggerated in, p. 406; B. prevailing in the country near Mathurā, p. 376; য় corrupted to য় in, p. 493; its real use, p. 509.

Buddhists, p. 318; their sacred language the Pali, p. 316; the propagators of Buddhism addressing themselves to uneducated classes, p. 584; introduction of Sanskrit words in Vernaculars need not be connected with the expulsion of Buddhism and the selfish schemes of Brahmans, p. 587.

Cases, dative स a remnant of Skr. स्य and Pr. स्स p. 477; गाममा or गाममे forms of locative in Gujarati, Sindhi and Hindi; accusative and dative terminations in various dialects, p. 525f.; राने:, नीचे: and उच्चे: original instrumental plurals became adverbs or prepositions, p. 529; हस्तप्राहम, जीवनाशम etc. called cognate accusatives which resemble such ones in English as "run a race," "walk a walk", "die a death" etc. p. 576.

Cerebrals, dentals following a ? in Sk. word, changed to celebrals in Pali, pp. 282, 286.

Chinese, all the dead Aryan languages are in synthetic condition, while the Chinese in analytic stage, p. 249.

Citpāvanī dialect used by Brahmans only, p. 375; various forms in this dialect, p.483 and n.; C. and Goanese people, p.551; C. or Mālavaņī woman, her practice, p. 585.

Compounds, Dvandva, Tatpuruşa Karmadhārya, etc., p. 427.

Consonants, p. 279f; how semi-vowels 및, 및, pronounced, p. 280; Marathi Dento-Palatals 및, ভ, ञ, অ unknown to Pali, p. 282. Derivations of words in Vernaculars, pp. 534, 539, 544.

Desya (non-Sanskrit) words pp. 360, 361, 362, 387, 561; their definitions, p. 387; Sk. words greatly corrupted set down as D, by native grammarians, p. 584f.

Dhauli in Kattak, pp. 312, 313, 315.

Dialects, inferior d.s used by dramatic writers, p. 327; d.s not possessing cerebral ₹, p. 331; different dialects of Vernaculars, p. 375 f.; specimens of eight dialects of the several languages, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Panjabi, Hindi, Braj, Bengali and Oriyi with English translations, p. 377 f.; foreign element used in dialects principally in political matters, p. 388; four modern dialects, viz. G.S. P. and H. as the representatives of the old Saurasenī, the dialect of the country about Mathurā, p. 570.

Doha or Copai, metre in Hindi or Braj, p. 363.

Education, an agency arresting the progress of decay in the use of language, p. 252.

English ancestors of modern E. and Germans separated from those of the Hindus in pre-historic ages, p. 337.

Ganjam, in Northern Circars, p. 313.

Garhawal p. 376; G. dialect, ibid.

Gathas, p. 318; Buddhistic G.s, p. 563.

Germans, the most predominant of all the nations in philological studies, p. 246; G.s., pp. 337, 563, 566.

Gandhara or Afghanistan, p. 345.

Girnar, near Junagad in Kathiawar, p. 312.

Goanese, dialect in Goa, pp. 375, 417, 483; G. and Malvani, pp. 521, 524, 556; their way of declension p. 547f.; their forms in Vernaculars, p. 551f.

Gotamiputra (King), his caves, p. 316; style of his charters abounding in long compounds, p. 317.

Grammar, its function, p. 579.

Greek language, pp. 571, 575.

Gujarati language or dialect, pp. 362, 375, 388, 472; G., Hindi and Panjabi dialects, pp. 395, 484; extract from G., p. 378; G. people give a short sound to vowels, p. 395f.; careless about pronunciation; its cause, p.399f.;they have similar vocal organs in some respects to those of their Pali and Prakrit ancestors, p. 406; G. terminations, p. 477; past participles in G., p. 497; oblique forms in G., p.516f.; oblique cases in G., p.517; G. people cannot pronounce of or 37, p. 560.

Hindi dialect, pp. 362, 375, 388, 475; old and new, p. 363; many dialects of H. Mewari, Marwari, etc., p. 376f.; grammatical structure of H. identical with that of Urdu spoken by Mussalmans, p. 377; H. people p. 472; H. terminations, p. 478; absolutives in H., p. 501; oblique form in H. 516; derivative of the root \$\overline{\sigma}\$ expresses genitive relations in \$\overline{H}\$, p. 543f.

India, position of I. in the intellectual nations of the world, p. 241; the original home of the scientific philology, p. 244; I., p. 336; central and southern I., p. 345n1; Indian anceint method of study of philology, p. 245; I. Grammarians do not give us the inventions of their own brains, its reason, p. 270.

Indo-Germanic languages, p. 570.

Infinitive of purpose, in the vernaculars, p. 502.

Inscription, in Marathi, Sanskrit, its date, p. 498; in the cave-temples p. 589; copper-plate Inscription in Marathi dated 1128 Sake or 1206A.C., p. 590.

Italian, language, p. 587.

596 INDEX I

Jaina, p. 319; literary works, p. 321f.; Ardhamāgadhī, sacred language of the Jainas p. 322.

Junnar, p. 316.

Kacchi, a dialect, p. 375.

Kanheri (caves) p. 316.

Kanoji, a dialect p. 376.

Kapurdigiri or Sahbazgarhi in Afghanistan, p. 313.

Karla (caves), p. 316.

Kashmir, kings of, p. 321; K. language, p. 375.

Khalsi, near Masuri in the Himalayas, p. 313.

Khandeshi, a mixture of Marathi and Gujarathi, p. 376.

Kumaon district, p. 376; Kumaoni dialect, ibid.

Lag, to adhere, to stick, the old Skr. root, forms derived from it, p. 531.

Language, primary laws of development and growth of language, p. 248; use of false analogies in the history of the growth of language, p. 253f.; generalisation of grammatical forms, p. 254; L.s of the world divided into three branches. Aryan or Indo-European, Semitic and Turanian and their different branches, p. 257; living L. is one used by people generally, p. 275; science of L., its possibility, p. 276; law of analogy in simplifying grammar of the L.,p.374; oblique forms (Sāmānya rūpas) in various L.s. p. 513f., laws of change, development, growth, or corruption. the bases of the growth of a L., p. 565; what is meant by L., its reasons ibid; L.s of Europe, p. 574f.; modern L.s not allowing Hiatus, examles, p. 575.

Latin, language, pp. 561, 571, 575, 587. Lithuanian peasants, pp. 566, 567. Magadha, a country, pp. 312, 315.

Māgadhī, language, pp. 320, 323, 326, 327, 589,; its contents, p. 313; its peculiarities, p. 343f.; reduction of all the sibilants by Bengalees to the palatal ₹ point to their being descendants of the old M.s, p. 511.

Mahārāṣṭrī, a dialect, pp. 320, 321, 323, 327, 335, 344, 348, 439, 469, 472, 561; its literature very extensive and valuable, p.321; difference between M. and Saurasenī, pp. 325f., 328, 510; process of pronouncing the words in M. is not slow, p. 336; Skr. second person plural 判 becomes € in the M. and I in the Saurasenī, p. 354.

Mahomedans or Mussalmans, p. 377.

Malvan district, p. 375.

Malvani, dialect, (author's native tongue) pp. 375, 417, 515; pronunciation of y. 新 in M., p. 395.

Manshera in Punjab, sixth version of Aśoka's edicts, p. 313n.

Maratha country, p. 588.

Marathi language, pp. 244, 375, 388, 417; distinction between M. and Gujarati, p. 286; words in M. passage compared with those in Sanskrit, p. 386; general rule re. change of स to 型 in M.,p. 446; M. is the direct daughter of the old Maharastrī of the grammarians, p. 469; formation of nouns of three genders in M., p. 476; M. terminations, ibid; augmented nouns in 37 in M., ibid; two forms for the old present in M., p.482; imperative terminations in M., p. 487; past tense in M., p. 495; the same by ਲਾ–ਲੀ–ਲੇ in M., p. 496; this ਰ of the past tense in M. traced to Skr. 7, p. 497; past participles in M. ibid; instances from M. dialect. p. 498; absolutive in M. formed by adding 37, the same as Mahārāstrī র্জ p. 501; past passive perticiples of F and H in M., p. 510f.; M. verbs derived from the Prakrit and not

from the Apabhramsa forms, p. 511: M. the modern representative of the old Maharastri, ibid; the oblique forms in M., 513f., 521; peculiarities of cases in M., p. 536; origin of M. हन, p. 537; different derivations of M., ibid; derivation of M. चा-ची-चं: M. genitive terminations, p. 539f.; objections to derivation of कर, from Skr. past participle कृत. p. 541f.; termination कर, कार, p. 543f.; declension of M. Present, p. 546f.; M. forms in vernaculars p. 550f.; declension of future in M., p. 556; Brahmans of culture speak correct M., p. 583.

Mātrā, pp. 289, 290, 330, 404.

Nada, vocal sound or intonated breath, its formation, pp. 250, 279, 281, 332, 334, 339.

Nanaghat, p. 316.

Nasik, p. 316; N. cave inscriptions, p. 338.

Nepal, p. 345; Nepali language, p. 375. Nouns, duals of both N.s and verbs unnecessary, p. 295; masculine nouns in \(\frac{2}{3} \) and \(\frac{2}{3} \), pp. 298, 346f.; the same in \(\pi \) in pali, ibid.; the same ending in a consonant, p. 299f.; N.s. in \(\frac{2}{3} \) abundant in Sk., pp. 303, 397f.; mas. N.s in \(\frac{2}{3} \), \(\frac{2}{

Objects, names of, not simply conventional, p. 254.

Oriyā (or Oriyi) dialect pp. 375, 377, 388,475; O. terminations, p. 478; and Bengali forms in the vernacular, p. 553.

Paisācī, a dialect, (Culikā O.) pp.320, 321, 323, 324, 328, 332, 345, 472; its peculiarities, p. 344; way of speaking by lower classes, p. 454.

Pali, a dialect, pp. 304, 344, 346, 347, 349, 350, 352, 353, 354, 388f.; P. the

earliest of Prakrit dialects and almost as much studied as Sanskrit, p. 246; P. the sacred language of the Buddhists when it was introduced, p. 276; peculiarities of consonants etc. in P., pp. 279,285; some conjuncts in P., p. 286; P. 37 or \$1 for ₹41, ibid, consonantal changes. pp.286-288,291; vowel changes.pp.288-290; two-fifths of Pali vocabulary are composed of pure Sanskrit words. pp. 292, 571; defect in pronunciation, p. 293; instances of alien people in the P. language, ibid; grammar of the P. dialect, p. 294: its process of simplification, p. 295; false analogies extensive in P., ibid; principal points of P. grammar, p. 296; neuter nouns in P., p. 301; strong inclination to obliterate difference between cases, p. 304; law of false analogies or generalisation in the formation of the P., ibid; verbs in P., p. 305f., 307f.; other cases and moods in P., p. 308; Atmanepada terminations in P., p. 309; use of the present in P., p. 310; temporal augment 37 often omitted in Pali, p. 311; Pali or Prakrit inscriptions, p. 316; P. a literary and sacred language by the time of Gotamiputra, p. 317; changes in the P. due to the circumstances and vocal peculiarities of a foreign race, p. 330; phonetic changes common to P. and Prakrit, ibid; dual and dative case wanting in P., p. 345; नो and स of Prakrit unknown to the P., p. 354; P. an earlier stage in the language than Prakrits, p. 358; use of these two, p. 359f. : relations between Pali. Sanskrit, Prakrit and modern Vernaculars, pp. 558f.; extract from Pali, Dictionary, p. 570; Pali not derived from Sk. but independent corruption of the lost Aryan speech; P. however in a decidedly later stage than Skt., ibid; P. not fit to be an independent dialect, p. 571f; existence

of P. at the time of Asoka, p. 584; reasons why P. not regarded as independent, ibid; P. becoming the ordinary speech of the uneducated, p. 588; the elaboration of the Pali or low Sanskrit began in a decided manner about the seventh or sixth century, B. C., p. 589.

Panjabi, a dialect, pp. 375, 377, 388, 405, 472, 475; oblique form in P., p. 516; P. terminations, p. 577.

Parasmaipada, pp. 300, 306, 308, 310f.; difference between P. and Atmanepada roots, p. 492.

Parsis (people), p. 388.

Pāţaliputra, p. 315.

Persian, words of P. origin in the modern dialects, p. 387.

Phonetic decay, as in change of मध्य to मा or मे etc. p. 249; P. corruptions, p. 278f.; the principle which guides the P. change is the economy of effort, p.292; P. corruption rapid when one race learns the language of others, p. 587.

Prakrits, pp. 267, 336; latter P.s represent the third stage in the development of Sanskrit, p. 312; how Sanskrit reduced to the P. form, p.320; Arşa Prākṛta, p. 322; these P.s used in dramatic plays, p. 323; phonetic changes common to Pali and P.s. pp.330, 333; P.s whether genuine dialects or creation of Pandits, p. 336; principle of economy of exertion in P.s, ibid; elision of consonants in P.s. p. 337; P.s about the time of Aśoka, p. 338; dissimilation of P.s defined, p. 340f.; vowel and consonant changes in P.s. pp. 341, 342; P.s introduced anusvara and hence tendency to speak through the nose, p. 343; Mahārāṣṭrī, principle P., pp. 344, 469; grammar of P.s, p. 345f.; grammatical forms in P.s. pp. 346-357; uniformity and simplicity in the grammar of the language, p. 357; P.s resemble the Sk. in the last

stage of its development; p. 350; P.s and Apabhramsa dialects, p. 374; many forms in Vernaculars are combinations or adaptations of P. forms, p. 389; observation of the P. grammarians not perfect, p. 469; Future of P.s, p. 493; P. forms in Vernaculars, p. 508; P.s descended from Sanskrit, p.559; Sanskrit playwriters of later ages used P. for their inferior characters, ibid; Desya words in P.s found in the vernaculars, p.561: P.s becoming literary dialects as Sanskrit before them, p. 562; P.s. assuming a settled character. p. 583f.; the growth of the specific P. in the early centuries of the Christrian era, pp. 589, 590.

Priyadarśin (King) in Aśoka edicts p. 314.

Pronouns and their declension, pp.302, 341f., 342, 350, 370.

Purbī, a dialect, p. 376.

Races, some preserving their speech in a pure form, p. 252.

Rewa, State of, Rewai dialect, p. 376. Rgveda-Samhitā, p. 258.

Sakārī, p. 324.

Salsetti, a dialect, p. 375; S. discrict, p. 533.

Sāmānyarūpa or oblique forms, pp. 518, 519, 523, 524f.

Sanskrit, its importance even to this day, p. 244; S. more ancient than Prakrits, ibid; now preserved in books and used by learned men, ibid; Sanskrit philology in the hands of Europeans, p. 245; three varieties of S., p. 258; Vedic S., p. 260f; Classical S., pp. 262f, 264f, 266; S. literature, pp. 267, 273; new dialects arose from S. when corrupted, pp. 276, 277; S. assigned to respectable men of education and women of holy order in dramas, p. 323; S. was a living

language when Pali and Prakrits came into existence, pp. 359; S. and Desya words, p. 362; many S. words in Marathi, pp. 386, 387; S. conjugational distinction lost in Prakrits, p. 481; S. imperative in respectful solicitation, p. 490; Sk. roots, p. 498, 500; S. older than dialects, p. 564; their contemporaneous development an impossibility, p.569; words in Pali compared with those of S., p. 570; Middle S., p. 574; S. has the most perfect grammarians in the world, p. 575; corruption of S. p. 577; classical S. literature, p. 578; S. the refined language of the learned, p. 581, 583; S. and Pali existing side by side, p. 584; S. spoken langguage when Pali arose, ibid; S. well understood but not well spoken by lower classes, pp. 585, 587; chronology and historical causes of the several linguistic changes, p. 587; S. of Yaska and Papini, p. 589

Saurasenī, a dialect, pp. 320, 321, 324, 327, 329, 335, 344, 348, 354, 355, 356, 357, 472, 510, 561; S. the language of the refined people, p. 320; its use, p. 323; S. and allied languages, p. 332; its peculiarities, p. 343; S. forms of the Future, p. 372; S, closely following Apabhrmsa, p. 373.

Sawantwadi, pp.375, 505.

Semitic, one of the three languages of the civilised nations, p. 257.

Sindhi, a dialect, pp. 375, 388, 475; Arabic and Persian elements in S., p. 388; S. M. and H. literature p. 474; S. terminations p. 477; absolutive in S., p. 501; oblique forms in S., p. 515f; S. forms in vernaculars, pp. 549f; 550.

Sramanas p. 314.

Srī and Sarasvatī hostile to each other constantly, p. 241.

Stage, analytic, defined p. 249.

Style, nominal, pp. 264, 266, 565; as opposed to verbal or fluent one, p. 539.

Sūdras, pp. 587, 588.

Suffix, pp. 300, 420.

Svarita, (accent) p. 342.

Svāsa, its formation p. 250f; (simple breath) p. 279; S. pp. 281, 284, 286.

Tadbhava words, pp. 360, 387, 388, 496, 523, 527, 586.

Taddhita, pp. 267, 568.

Tatsama words, pp. 387, 388, 499, 502, 523, 587.

Tenses, Present, Imperative, etc. moods and tense terminations, p. 306f.

Terminations, p. 256; nominal T., its different forms, pp. 351, 474, 482f.

Teutonic languages, pp. 337, 344.

Teutons (people), p. 345.

Thanesvar, p. 338.

Turanian, one of the three languages of civilised nations, p. 257.

Udātta (accent) p. 342.

Una, the one absolutive termination in Marathi, p. 510.

Usavadāta (king), p. 316,

Vedic language, its chief characteristic, p. 258f., declension of V. nouns ibid; V. Sanskrit now obsolete, p. 260f.; obsolete words in V. hymns, ibid; V. studies, p. 269; V. and middle Sanskrit, p. 294; V. forms, p. 304f.; V. syntax, p. 501; V. hymns, p. 563; V. dialects, ibid; V. period, p. 567; V. stage, p. 570; V. and classical Sanskrit p. 573, 587.

Vengurla, p. 505.

Verb, p. 352f.; V. in Apabhramsa, p. 371f.; verbal style, p. 264; Verbal forms pp. 545, 574.

Vernaculars, modern V.s. in the present speech, pp. 247, 375; their classification, p. 375; detailed examination of V., p. 381f.; examination of V.s into three branchess, p. 389

V.s derived from Prakrits, p. 557; date of modern V.s coming into prominence, p. 590; modern V. pronunciation, law of accentuation p.412f.; causal roots in V.pp. 450,504f; Skr. dentals changed to cerebrals in V.s. p. 450f.; mode of Northern V.s of India, p. 469; local tendencies exhibited by the speakers of V.s. p. 472; pronouns in V.s. p. 479f.; verbs etc. in V.s. pp. 481, 495, 500, 502, 503; absolutive in V.s. p. 501f.; causes of V.s. p. 512; one chief and import-

ant source of the modern case affixes overlooked by V. philologists; origin of \(\tilde{\tau} \) in V. terminations, p. 532f.; ablative terminations in V.s., p. 536; derivation of \(\tau \) in V.s., in Gujarati, p. 539; another way of possession in V.s., p. 540; another derivation of the V.s., "\(\tilde{\tau} \) in V.s., p. 542; future tense of V.s., p. 553; V.s. and Prakrits, p. 559; peculiarities of modern V.s., Sanskrit and Prakrits p. 560.

Visarga, pp. 297, 300, 301.

INDEX II

INDEX OF OBSOLETE SANSKRIT WORDS

Anirvāha, celibacy, p. 263.

Anvavasarga, allowing one his own way, p. 271.

Anvaje-kr, to strengthen, p. 271.

Abhividhi, including, p. 271.

Abhresa, equitableness, p. 271.

Asas, and Ebhih, Nominative plural and Instrumental terminations gone out of use, p. 262.

Adeśa, command, p. 257.

Upajana, augment, p. 263.

Upadeśāya glāyantaḥ, unable to teach, p. 263.

Upabandha, augment, p. 263.

Upaje-kr, to strengthen, p. 271.

Upeksitavya, finding or observing, p. 263.

Utsañjans, throwing up, p. 271.

Urdhvasoşam Suşyati, withers standing, p. 271.

Kanehan, to fulfil one's longing, p. 271. Karman, signification, p. 263.

Gaves, looking for a cow, p. 255.

Caksas, the reach of sight, p. 261. Celaknopam vṛṣṭaḥ (Namul), rained till the clothes were wet, p. 271.

Duhitr, a daughter, one that milks cows, p. 254.

Nāmakaraņa, a nominal termination, p. 263.

Niravasita, excommunicated, p. 271.

Nivacane-kr, to be silent, p. 271.

Nivrttisthāna, weak terminations, p. 263.

Naighantuka, subordinate, p. 263.

Pitr, the father, one who protects, p. 254.

Prthvī, the earth, that which is broad, p. 254.

Pratyavasāna, eāting, p. 271.

Bilma, variety, p. 263.

Brāhmanavedam Bhojayati (Namul), feeds every Brāhmana that he finds, p. 271.

Bhānu, the sun, that which shines, p. 254.

Manchan, to fulfil one's longing, p.271.

Yatho, as to, p. 263.

Siśiksa rājyena, invested with sovereignty, p. 263.

Srudhi, hear, p. 262,

Svakarana, marrying, p. 271. Svaposam pusnāti (Namul), supports by his own means, p. 271.

INDEX III

INDEX OF MYTHOLOGICAL WORDS

Agastya, p. 545. Arjuna, p. 503, 532, 533. Aśoka, (tree), p. 378.

Indra, pp. 255, 569.

Kadamba, (tree), p. 379. Kanha, (Kṛṣṇa), p. 477. Kāma, (God of Love), pp. 362, 526. Kānha, (Kṛṣṇa), 535. Kṛṣṇa, pp. 379, 499. Kṛṣṇacanda, same as Kṛṣṇa, p. 532. Kaikayī, p. 527.

Ganga, p. 364. Gandharvas, p. 532. Gajendra, p. 255. Ganapati, p. 504. Govardhana, p. 535. Govinda, p. 499.

Janaki, p. 529.

Tretāyuga, p. 544.

Devakī, p. 533. Devadamana, (God), p. 379.

Nāga, p. 570. Nārada, pp. 486, 542. Nidāna, p. 570. Nirvāņa, p. 278,

Pārvatī, pp. 489, 494. Pūtanā, p. 533.

Bibhişana, p. 541, Brhaspati, p. 569, Brahms, pp. 498, 543. Bharata, p. 486. Bharadvāja, p. 542.

Maheśa, p. 487. Madhava, p. 503, 504. Manavendra, pp. 255. Muni, p. 490.

Yośoda, p. 533.

Raghunātha, p. 529. Raghupati, p. 486. Raghuvīra, p. 544. Rati, (Goddess of Love), p. 526. Rādhā, p. 489. Rāma, pp. 486, 529, 530, 542, 545. Rukmiņī, p. 532. Rudra, p. 529.

Laksmī, p. 329.

Vajra, p. 379. Varuņa, p. 261.

Samkara, p. 542. Sambhu, p. 485, 545. Samadhara, p. 532. Saligrama, p. 504. Siva, p. 489, 544. Sivatirha, p. 364.

Satī, p. 489. Sanaka, p. 499. Sarasvatī, p. 329. Sītā, p. 542. Sudāma, p. 544.

Hanumat, p. 488. Hari, p. 504.

INDEX IV

INDEX OF ANCIENT WRITERS AND WORKS

Atthakathā, commentary by Buddhaghosa on the Dhammapada, p. 276.

Atharva-Prātiśākhya, p. 288nl; Atharvaveda, pp. 269, 273.

Alamkāravrtti of Vāmana, p. 590. Astādhāyī of Pāņini, p. 582f.

Rgveda, the rks in it referred to, I. 1. 2, 7; 3.2; 25.12; 71.9; 82.2; II. 12.4; VI. 56.1; VII. 86.3; X. 14.2; 44.6, pp. 259, 273.

Ekanātha, p. 499.

Aitareya Brāhmaņa, references to, II. 2, 11; III. 9, 23, 26; IV. 8; V. 14; VII. 13, 14, 16; VIII. 7, 23, 24, pp. 245n, 262, 263; A. B., p. 261; its style, p. 264.

Kapāda, p. 275.

Kanhadade Prabandha, p. 477.

Kabīra, poet and saint, his works his Ramainī and Sākhis, pp. 377. 497, 498, 509, 516, 532, 541, 543.

Kātantra, p. 320

Kātyāyana, the grammarian, p. 245; his Vārtikas or notes on Pāņini's Sutras, p. 265; change in Sanskrit after the period elapsed between the Brāhmaṇas and Yāska borne witness to by K.; Patañjali's discussion of a Vārtika in K., p. 267f; Vedic, verbal forms become obsolete in his time, participles occupying their place, pp. 270, 271; K. lived when Sanskrit arrived at the classical stage, pp. 273; S74; Patañjali's work does not indicate a different stage in the growth of the language from that of K., pp. 274; K., p. 577; difference of opl-

nion between K. and Patafijali, pp. 579, 580; his date first quarter of the 4th century same as that of Nandas, pp. 588, 589.

Kālidāsa, the Setubandha, a poem attributed to him but written by one Pravarasena, p. 321; speeches in the Apabhramsa dialect composed by K. in IV act of his Vikramorvasīya, p. 590.

Kāvyadohana by Tulasīdāsa, p. 517f.

Kāvyaprakāśa by Mammaţa, its Prakrit verses, p. 321.

Kāvyādarśa by Daņdin, p. 590.

Kramadiévara, his Grammar in Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 247, 362; extract from his work quoted by Lassen, pp. 367n1, 368, 369, 480n, 521.

Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya, the great Naiyāylka, his style and mode, p. 275.

Gāthās, writers of these knew the spoken language or Pali, p. 318f.

Guṇāḍhya, the traditional author of Bṛhatkathā, p. 328.

Gotama, a Naiyāyika, his Nyāyasūtras, pp. 265, 275.

Govardhananāthaji. the story of the Manifestation of, in Braj, p. 379f.

Gaudavadhakāvya by Vākpatirāja, pp. 321, 323n; a passage from G. pp. 328f., 329, 500.

Canda, his Prakrit Grammar not older than Hemacandra's, p. 322n3 (continued on pp. 323-327).

Canda, the earliest Hindi poet, pp. 494, 498, 537, 590.

Chandas (the Vedas), p. 572.

Janmasākhī, a work in the Panjābī, p. 379.

Jāaneśvara, author of Jāāneśvarī and several other works, pp. 256f., 534.

Jñāneśvari, a commentary in Marathi on the Bhagavadgitā by Jñāneśvara, referred to, I. 8, 48, 49, 112, 141, 171. 176, 213, 225; II. 10, 27; III. 162; V. 147; IX. 1; XIII. 197, 200, 214, 244, 280, 347; XVIII. 1147, pp. 477, 482, 488, 489, 490, 491, 499, 503, 532, 533, 535.

Tulasidāsa, Hindi poet, author of Rāmāyaņa and other works written in the Purbī dialect, passages from his Rāmāyaṇa quoted to illustrate the uses of the forms in the Vernaoulars, pp. 376, 377, 485, 488, 489, 493, 494, 497, 498, 504, 505, 509, 526, 527, 529, 530, 540, 541, 542, 544, 545.

Taittirīya Brāhmaņa, I. 1. 5, II. 7. 18, p. 245n; T. Samhitā (Black Yajurveda), II. 4. 1, II. 5. 2, p. 245n.

Trivikrama, grammarian, author of Präkrtasütravrtti which gives grammar of six Präkrit dialects, pp. 321, 327, 362.

Daṇḍin, author of Kāvyādarśa, he speaks of the Mahārāṣṭrī as the pre-eminent Prakrit, pp. 320n, 321; mention of Bṛhatkathā written in the Paiśācī in his Kāvyādarśa, p. 328; mention of the Apabhramśa in his work, p. 590.

Daśamukhavadha (poem), its authorship doubtful, composed by Kālidāsa or Pravarasena, p, 321.

Dhammapada, p. 276f.

Dhātupāṭhā, list of roots by Pāṇini, p. 261.

Nala-Damayanti, work by Mansukharam, p. 378,

Nāgojibhaṭṭa, Naiyāyika, p. 275. Nigāma (the Vedas), p. 572, Pañcopākhyāna, story of Hiraņyaka, p. 477.

Patanjali, the great grammarian. author of Mahābhāşya on Kātyāyana's Vārtikas or notes on Pāṇini's Sutras, p. 245; the language of his work, p. 265; his language different from that of Panini, p. 270; his comment on the discussion of a VErtika of Kātyāyana, p. 271 : he savs in his Mahabhasya; though Vedas were and are committed to memory, the literary incalculable number of case forms, verbal forms, Taddhitas, Krdantas impossible to commit to memory in the absence of any general rules laid down by grammarians, pp. 569, 573; Sanskrit not the only language spoken in times of Kātyāyana and P.; several passages in his Mahābhāsya contain allusions to a dialect arising from a corruption of Sanskrit, p. 577: his interpretation of the Sutra भवातयो धातव: (I. III. 1), p. 579; corruptions of forms were used in his time but not by Sistas (educated people). p. 581; corrupt language, composed of correct and incorrect words mentioned by him, must have been the vernacular of other classes, p. 583; his date 2nd century B. C., p. 588; his highest respect for Pānini's grammar, p. 589.

Pāṇini, the great grammarian, p. 245; Brāhmaṇas are the best representatives extant of the verbal portion of that language of which Pāṇini wrote grammar; probably the spoken language of his time formed the basis of his grammar, p. 263; verbal forms in general in his time, pp. 264; 270; fluent or verbal style of speech (Bhāṣā) was in use in his time, ibid; his Sanskrit more ancient than that of Kātyāyana, p. 271; P. though not infallible still not an indifferent grammarian, p. 272; re. language of his tine, p. 273; he gives

in his grammar a good many rules applicable exclusively to the dislect of the Vedas, the synonymns used for the latter being Chandas, Nigama, Mantra and Brahmana, p. 572; Bhāṣā or the ordinary Sanskrit, distinguished from the dialect of the Vedas, must be the language used in his time; Bhāṣā, a proper name, but in later Sanskrit it acquired a generic signification and meant language generally; P. refers certain points to popular usages, e.g. the names of countries are conventional, no grammatical analysis be given of them, it being fictitious, p. 573; change in the language between the times of P. and Katyayana, p. 574; his age about 8th century B.C., p. 589; references to his sutras, I. 1, 36; 3, 1; III. 2, 171; 4. 9, 10, 11, 12, 14; IV. 1. 49; V. 2. 96, **98**, **99**; **3**, **73**, **74**, **75**, **76**, **77**, **85**, **86**, **87**, 96, 97; 4.4; VI. 3. 109; VII. 1. 10, 39, 41, 46, 50; VIII. 2.8, pp. 258, 259, 272, 420, 500, 579, 581; P., pp. 262, 263, 267, 271, 272, 273, 274, 302, 312, **320, 420, 564, 567, 568, 574, 575, 577,** 581, 588, 589,

Purāņas, p. 576.

Prabodhacandrodaya (drama) instances of the use of the Ardhamāgadhī, p. 327.

Pravarasena, Setubandha, poem attributed to Kālidāsa but written by P.; Bāṇa says about him in his Harṣacarita, "his (P.'s) fame reached the other side of the ocean by means of Setu", p. 321.

Prākṛtasūtravṛtti, grammar of six dialects by Trivikrama, p. 321:

Prātišākhyas, Vājasaneyi-P. in Indische Studien, volume V, p. 145; and Atharva-P. edited by Whitney, I. 37, p. 288n1; vowel sound explained in P.s. p. 289n; and and is rapidly pronounced and the temporal value assigned to it is half

a Mātrā in P.s while in Prakrit transformation it is one Mātrā, p. 330.

Premasagara, in Hindi, p. 379.

Premānand, his Sudāmānum Caritra, pp. 540, 544.

Bana (poet), he highly praises the author of Setubandha in his Harsacarita, p. 321.

Bahvroya, its twenty-one varieties, p. 269.

Buddhaghosa, his commentary (Atthakathā) on the Dhammapada written in 5th century A. D., p. 276.

Beharilal, his work Satasai and commentaries on his works in the Braj, pp. 376, 377, 489, 504, 509.

Brāhmana (the Vedas), p. 572.

Bhagavatī, a Jain religious work in Prakrit, p. 247.

Bhagavata, X Book (Hindi), p. 377.

Mantra (the Vedas), p. 572. Mansukharāma, his work Nala-Damayantī, p. 378.

Mahabharata (by Veda-Vyasa,) p. 392n.

Mahābhāṣya, passages in M. containing allusions to a dialect arising from a corruption of Sk., p. 577; passages from M. referred to, pp. 584, 588; author of M. says, it is the duty of Brāhmaṇa to study Vedas with their Angas (or illustrative Sāstras) grammar being the chief of them, p. 589.

Mālatī-Mādhava, pp. 507, 540.

Mudraraksasa, p. 325.

Mrcchakatika, pp. 308, 326 327.

Moropant, Marathi poet, p. 552.

Yajurveda, (White); its Madhyamdina Recension, practice for reading invariably # for \(\), p. 458, Yaska, he lays down correct principles of the derivation of words, p. 245; his language more ancient than that of the rest of the non-Vedic literature; archaic words and expressions in his Nirukta, p. 263; after his time Sanskrit uuderwent a peculiar change, ibid; style in his time, p. 264; change that came after the period Sanskrit elapsed between the Brahmanas and Yaska, pp. 267; Y., p. 271, 273, 312; he refers in his Nirukta to the Vedic dislect and another called Bhāṣā, p. 572; his Sanskrit called Middle Sanskrit, p. 574; Yāska lived a short time before Pāņini, p. 589.

Rukmiņī-Svayamvara, pp. 499, 533.

Lakṣmīdhara, his work on grammar mentions six dialects, pp. 321, 327. Lalitavistāra or life of Buddha, p. 317f.

Vararuci, his Prākṛtalakṣaṇa, one of the six treatises on Prakrit grammar p. 319; he derives Saurasenī from Sauskrit, p. 320. re. the oldness of his Prakrit, p. 325n; V. indistinct in several cases; his rules misunderstood by all writers; he is incomplete, p. 345n2; V., p. 347; pronouns in V., p. 350, 352; verbal forms in V., p. 354; Apabhramśa not mentioned by V., p. 362; V., p. 469; he gives the termination 50, p. 501; the Saurasenī Absolute termination according to V. \$34, p. 510; V., p. 560.

Vallabha, his works in the Braj, p. 376. Väjasneyi-Prātiśākhya, p. 288n1.

Vātsyāyana, his Bhāsya on Gotama's Nyāya Sūtra, pp. 265, 275.

Vāmana, author of Alamkāravrtti, p. 590.

Vikramorvašī, Prakrit speeches of the king, in the IV act of V., are in Apabhramsa dialect, pp. 362, 420, 590.

Viśvanātha, he attributes Dākṣiṇātyā to gamblers in his Sāhityadarpaṇa, p. 327, Veņīsamhāra, p. 325.

Vedas, pp. 567, 569, 570, 572, 573, 589.

Śańkarāczyna, his Bhāsya presents philosophical style in middle stage, p. 266.

Satapatha Brahmana, I. 4.1. 10, p. 262; its style. p. 264.

Sabarasvāmin, his Bhāşya on Jaimini's Sutras, p. 265f.

Sākuntala, use of चत् in, p. 294; Present used for Imperative mood, illustrated from, p. 308,

Sarngadhara, his Paddhati, p. 321.

Sadbhāṣācandrikā by Candra, p. 321.

Sāmaladāsa (author), p. 541. Sāmaveda, p. 269.

Sahityadarpana, author of S. assigns several dialects to several classes of people, e. g. Magadhi to the attendants in the royal seraglio, Ardhamagadhi to footmen, royal children, and merchants, Pracya to the Vidusaka and others, Avantiki to sharpers, warriors, and clever men of the world. Dākṣiṇātyā to gamblers, Sākārī to Sakāras, Sakas, and others, Bāhlikā to celestial persons. Drāvidī to Dravidas and others, Abhīrī to cowherds, Candaliki to outcastes, Abhīrī and Sabarī, also to those who live by selling wood and leaves, and Paisacī to dealers in charcoal, and Saurasenī to hand-maids, pp. 323. 324, 326, 327n1.

Suradasa, his works, distinction between the idioms of S, and Tulasidasa, p. 376.

Surasagara, pp. 535, 536.

Setubandha, attributed to Kālidāsa, but written by Pravarasena, p. 321. Svargārohaņa by Sundarbhaţţa, p. 517.

Harsacarita, author of Setubandha praised by Bāṇa in H., p. 321.

Hala, author of Saptasatī, a collection of seven hundred songs, chiefly of an amorous nature, pp. 247, 321. emacandra, a Jain scholar of Gujarat lived in 12th century; his Prakrit grammar edited by Dr. Pischel, p. 319; also author of a Kośa of the Deśi words (Deśināmamālā), p. 320; gives grammar of two more dialects, the Culikā-Peiśācī, and the Apabhramśa, p. 321; he identifies the Ardhamāgadhī with the Principal Prakrit, p. 322; H. quoted in connection with the specific grounds one can find in Prof. Weber's book in support of the assertion of that the Jain dialect occupies a middle position,

p. 322n3 (continued on pp. 323-327); he illustrates rules about the Māgadhī from speeches of low characters in Šākuntala, Mudrārākṣasa and Veṇīsamhāra, p. 325; Prakrit dialects mentioned to be six by H., p. 327; H. followed by author in all his observations on the Prakrits, pp. 345 and n2, 350, 352, 354, 356, 357; words from his Kośa of Deśya words given, p. 360; his grammar of Apabhrathśa, pp. 362, 363, 368, 372, 421, 439, 441, 448, 469, 480n, 500, 506, 528, 529, 534, 539, 540, 560.

INDEX V

INDEX OF MODERN SCHOLARS

ufrecht, Professor, his view re. the origin of Prakrits and Sanskrit, p. 569.

Seames, Mr., his comparative grammar of the modern Aryan languages, pp. 247, 391n, 480n; his erroneous view re, the forms of Future, p. 494: on Vernacular causal terminations. p. 508n; his wrong derivation of कहां, जहां, etc., p. 527; on case terminations, pp. 532, 534, 537; B. and Dr. Hoernle on the suffix att, p. 541; B. and Dr. Trumph, their wrong analogy between q and Latin bo, p. 554; his argument against Prakrit that none of the Prakrits was ever a spoken dialect, p. 560; in his Introduction to Comparative Grammar. he speaks of Prakrits as spoken languages but the same view modified later, pp. 562, 563; his view-Prakrits arose by natural development, while Sanskrit was created by Brahmans and principally by Pānini,-oriticised. pp. 567, 568, 569. Benfey, Professor, p. 267.

Bühler, Dr., and the work of Brhatkathā of Gunādhya, p. 328.

Burnouf, M., French Scholar, his essay on the derivation of the language from Sanskrit, p. 246.

Caldwell, Dr., traces the origin of the termination 表 to the Dravidian 表, p. 526.

Clough, an original treatise on the Pali by, p. 246.

Colebrooke, his essays, p. 246,

Cowell, Dr., his edition of Prākṛtaprakāśa by Vararuci, p. 247.

Cunningham, General, fifth version of Aśoka's edicts at Khalsi, discovered by, p. 313; Buddhist Inscriptions at Mathura discovered by, p. 316.

D'Alwis, Mr., his work on the Pali, p. 247.

Dickens, his false analogies such as 'I knowed, ''you was' etc. seen in his novels, p. 254.

Ellis, Mr., his preface to Campbell's Grammar of the Telugu Language, p. 345.

Fausböll, a Danish scholar, his edition of the Pali text, p. 246.

Goldstücker, on the archaic character of the language existing in Pāṇini's time, p. 271n; his observations help to decide the date of Pāṇini as being about the 8th century B. C., p. 589.

Grierson, his Linguistic Survey of India, p. 247n3.

Höernle, his essays on some points in vernacular philology appeared in the Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, p. 247; his Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian languages, p. 247n3; in the introduction to his edition of Canda's Prakrtalaksana he makes an elaborate attempt to prove that the dialect, the grammar of which is given in that book, is more ancient than the Prakrit of Vararuci and Hemacandra; his views re. the changing, preserving and dropping of certain vowels and consonants in the "older Prakrit" of Cauda refuted and conclusion arrived at that the Prakrit of Canda was not older than that of Hemacandra and Vararuci, p. 322n3 (continued on pp. 323, 324, 325, 326, 327); traces infinitives in vernaculars to Sanskrit Potential participles in अनीय. p. 502; on the derivation of the suffix कर from Sanskrit past participle कृत, p. 541.

Kellogg, his Hindi Grammar, p. 247n3.

Lassen, Professor, a German scholar, his essay on the derivation of the language from Sanskrit; also his work entitled Institutiones Linguae Pracraticae based upon the grammatical works of native writers and upon Prakrit passages occurring in Sanskrit dramatic plays, p. 246; he points out instances of the use of the Ardhamagadhī in the Prabodhacandrodaya, p. 326; he thinks Daksinātyā and Āvantikī are the languages in the mouths of a gambler and a keeper of gambling house, named Mātbura, respectively in Mrcchakatika, p. 327n1; on grammar of Prakrits, p. 346n1; on terminations in Prakrits, p. 354nl; on the derivation of verbal forms in Prakrit, p. 355n1 and n2: on declension in the Apabhramsa; his extract from Kramadīśvara, pp. 367 and 367n1, 368, 369, 371; on personal pronouns in the Vernaculars, p. 480n1; on verbal forms in the Vernaculars, p. 490; on case termination in Vernaculars, p. 537.

Locke, English Philosopher, on accurate pronunciation, p. 251.

Max Muller, Professor, his opinion about Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali, etc. pp. 566, 570.

Muir, Dr., his valuable work "Sanskrit Texts" in five volumes second of which devoted to Prakrit Philology, p. 247.

Pischel, Dr., his edition of Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar and his elaborate contribution to the Grundriss der Arischen Philologie, p. 247n1; instrumental in 307 such as 3707 mentioned by him, p. 535; he corroborates the view of Mr. Beames that none of the Prakrits were ever spoken languages, p. 560.

Senart, M., Kaccayana's Native Grammar edited by him, p. 296n1.

Slack, Major, history of Rai Diaca in his Grammar, p. 378.

Trump, Dr., his Grammar of the Sindhi language, pp. 247, 490; his derivations of Vernacular terminations, pp. 526, 527, 540, 550, 554.

Turnour, his edition of the Pali text, p. 246.

Vrajalal, a Gujarati Pandit, his little tract on the History of Gujarati, p. 247; he mentions a work named Muñjarāsa, written in the Apabhramsa, p. 363.

Weber, Professor, his elaborate analysis of the language and contents of a Jaina religious work in Prakrit entitled the Bhagavatī, and of the language of a collection of Prakrit songs by Hāla, together with an edition and translation of the work named Saptaśatī, pp. 247, 321, 322; his view re. the Jaina dialect, p. 322n3; his opinion re. the formation of Sanskrit and Prakrits, pp. 562f, 567.

Whitney W. D., reference to his edition of Atharva-Prätisäkhya, p. 288n1

Wilson H. H., Professor, his Hindu Theatre, p. 246; his views re. Prakrit, p. 559f, his view—Prakrits not spoken dialects but artificial adaptations, p. 561.

INDEX VI

INDEX OF SANSKRIT AND OTHER WORDS

अ near : अनेन, अस्मे, p. 248f. अंख Pr. for अश्र, p. 343. अकासि Pali, p. 309. अकेला H., Pr. एकलुअ, p. 411. अका M. आका a Desya word, p. 360. अक्खान Pali for आख्यान, p. 283. अक्षदेविन Skr., p. 327n1, अक्षि, G. आंख, pp. 468, 469. अगर्नी H., अग्नि, p. 470. अगरु Pr. for अंग्रंस, p. 341. अगला, अ**ग्र**, p. 425. अग्ग Pali for अग्र, p. 283. अग्गयो for अञ्चयः, p. 298. अग्गि Pali for आग्न, pp. 283, 347. अग्गिएं &c. (Apabhr.), p. 368. आग्गिणि loc. sing., p. 346. अग्गिणो or साहुणो for अग्गी, p. 346. अग्गिनो. अग्गिनि Pali for अग्नयः. अग्नी. p. 298. अग्गिस्मा-म्हा, p. 296. अग्गिस्स and अग्गिसिंम-हि, p. 298. अग्गी, pp. 298, 347. अग्नि or ग्गिनि, pp. 298, 304; आद्वी for आग M., p. 409; °प्रवेश, p. 387. अग्र, G. आगो, p. 467. अग्घाडो, a Desya word, M. आधाडा, p. 360. अङ्गार, in इंगळ M., pp. 406, 439. अकुदी Pr. for इक्क्दी, p. 341. अङ्गति**उ ज**ज्जरिआउ, p. 368. अफ़्ट: or °क for आंगठा, pp. 424, 463. अंगोद्धाः H., अक्रवस्त, p. 432. अचाना Pr., आचम, p. 447. अच्छ Pali, p. 330.

अच्छरा (Pali) for अप्सरस, p. 282. अच्छरिय (Pali) for आश्वर्य, p. 279. अच्छेर Prakrit for आश्वर्य, p. 334. अज of अज़ां from अब Skr., p. 383. अजवाळो G. from उज्ज्वाल. Skr. or Pr., p. 399. अञ्ज Pali for अन्य, p. 283. अटारी, G., Skr. अडालिका, p. 440. अह Pali for अर्थ, p. 282. अही (like अग्गी) or अहीनि Pali, pp. 301, 304, 305. अहचण, अहचण्, pp. 423, 429. अन्न or रिज Pr. for ऋज, p. 330. अण्ण Pr. for अन्य, p. 332. जन and अनन Pali for आत्मन, p.299. अत्तनेहि-भि Pali, p. 299. असा. असानी &c. Pali, p. 299. असा Pali for आत्मा, pp. 283, 388. आत्थि Pali for अस्ति. p. 305. अत्यर्थ, Pr. अञ्चह्न, M. अचाट, p. 575. अत्र in एथ M., pp. 406, 577. अद्दे Pali, p. 302. अहक Pali for आर्र्डक, p. 283. अच, M. आज, p. 463. अयतन Skr., p. 539. अन्द्रा Pali for अध्वा, p. 283. अध्सद्धं " half dead ", p. 427. अने from अन्य, p. 382. अनोखा, अन्पेक्ष(कः), H. p. 432. अन्देदर (Saura.) for अन्तः प्रर, p. 343. अन्धे Skr., p. 500. अधिर H. अधिर or अधिरा, Skr. अधकार, pp. 429, 430. अपचा, Pali, p. 311. अपना, आत्म(न्), p. 425.

अव्य for अल्प (Pali), p. 279. अप्पा for आत्मा (Apabhr.), p. 365. अप्सरम् Skr., p. 282. अब्भ Pali for अञ्च, p. 283. अध्यन्तर Pali for अध्यन्तर, p. 283. अब्भिड्ड from अभ्येत, p. 507. अब्युत Pali for अद्भृत, p. 279. अभिमञ्ज Pali for अभिमन्य, p. 332. अभ्यञ्जनकम्, M. भिज्ञणें, p. 428. अभ्यन्तर, M. B. भितर, p. 428. अब्र. M. अमाळ, आभाळ, अब्रालि,p.467. अमर्ज, अमरिस, Pr. अमस्स, p. 333. अम्रना, अम्राहि &c. Pali, p. 302. अमू, अमुणी, अमुहिं &c. p. 350. अम्ह Pali for अदम, p. 279. अम्हाकं, तम्हाकं Pali, p. 303. अम्हि Pali for अस्मि, p. 279. अम्हे, अम्हेहि, अम्हेस Pali, pp.303,304. अयं, अनेन &c. Pali, p. 302. अय्य for आर्य Pali, pp. 279, 286. अय्य Māgadhī for अय, p. 344. अय्यउत्त Śaur. for आर्यपुत्र, p. 510. अर from अपर Skr., p. 383. अरघड, M. रहाट, p. 428, अरण्य, M. रान, pp. 454, 467. अरह Pali for आई, pp. 285, 317. अरिय Pali for आर्य or अर्य, p. 285. अर्ष, अप्य, आप, p. 251f; G. आप [ब्रं], p. 461. अलचपुर Pr. अचलपुर, p. 342. अलिअ Pr. for अलीक, p. 341. अल्लानि, अदादि, Pali, p, 309. अवहो, M. आह, p. 360. अवनमन, M. ओणंवर्णे, p. 442. अष्टाद्श, M. अटरा, p. 439. अस्स Pali for अभ्य, p. 283. अस्सम Pali for आश्रम, p. 283. अस्सव Pali for आसव, p. 283. अस्थुः, Pali, p. 309. अहर्य or अहअं Apabhr., p. 371. ਅ**ਸ਼ੇਦ** for ਅਵੇਂਦ Pali, p. 314. अहोसि Pali, p. 309.

आ of आस्ना, M. आगत, p. 430. आअरिस or आअंस for Pr. आदस. pp. 333, 359. आइ or आई, p. 404. आइल B., p. 498. সাক্ত, সান্ত, সাৰ, p. 404. आंख H. G. अक्षि, p. 415, आखदा saying, p. 436. आखेर H. अहेर, p. 448. आख्यान H. वाखाणणॅ, p. 467. आग of आगे from अब Skr., p. 384. आग M. अग्नि, p. 414. आंगळी, अङ्गलिका, p. 426. आचमन, M. आंचवणें, p. 442. आज from Skr. अय. p. 381. आजकार B. of today, p. 543. आचरब्र from उचार, p. 393. आचस्कदि Māg. for आचक्षते, p. 344. आडे from आस्ते Skr., p. 385. आणत्तओ for आज्ञप्तकः, p. 421. आणपयति, आणापयति, Skr. आज्ञापयति, pp. 580, 581. आणाल Pr. for आलान, p. 342. आंत M. अन्तः, p. 545. आंतृन M., p. 538. आत्मन Skr. for Pali अत, p. 304 : अताण Pr., p, 347; M. आपण p. 464; असा, p. 471. आत्मा and आत्मना, अत्त, अत्तन, p. 299. आप from अर्प Skr., p. 382, आपणा from आत्मन, p. 386; आपण आत्मान, p. 454. आपनकार B. of your honour, p.543. आपुरू or आपूर्व M., p. 500. आपेल Pr. for आपीड, p. 333. आमारेला M., p. 499. आम B., आंबा M., p. 422. आमलक, आंबळा, pp. 416, 442. आमळा myrobalons, p. 443. आमि from अस्मके or वयम Skr.,p.385. आमेल Pr. for आंपी**ड**, p. 342.

आम्भे from **वयस** , p. **3**86. आब्रातक, M. आंबाडा, p. 417, की Pr., p. 475. आमरोड, p. 427. आंबा-आंब्या M.oblique आंब्यास,p.513f. **आंबाडो**, p, 418, **आय** of आया from आगत Skr., p.384; आअ, p. 498. आयस H., command, p. 474. आय or आयनि Pali, p. 301. आयेण, आयहो Apabhr., p. 370. आर M., अजबर, p. 430. आर from अपर Skr., p. 385. आर्द्र Pr.,becoming अह or ओह,p.335 आर्द्रक M. आर्ले and M. ओर्ले, p. 468. आर्षम् , ऋषीणां इत्म् etc., p. \$22n1. आला M. p. 498. आव Vern. G. Causal करावेंद्र, p. 505. आब from आगतः, p. 382. आंबळो or आंबलो, p.:418. आशिष, असीस, p. 424, आश्चर्य, p. 387. आस of आसिया from आगच्छ, p. 385. आहे, p. 483.

इकहा, एक, p. 425. इक्सण Pali for ईशण, p. 290, इक्सु, p. 469. इस, M. ऊस, p. 445; P. इक्स, Pr. उक्सु or इक्सु, pp. 468, 469. इक्सल Pr. for अक्सर, pp. 335, 340. इक्स to wish, p. 295. इक्सल Pali for इक्स्य Skr., p. 304, इक्सु, p. 294. इज्जते Pali, p. 311. इत of इतना from इयत्क Skr., p. 384. इत्या Pr., p. 358. इत्यानित Skr., p. 539. इति Pali for कृति, p. 330. इस Pr., p. 571. इसस्स Pali, p. 304. इसिणा Pr., p. 349. इसे, इसिना, etc. Pali, p. 302. इसी, इसे, इसे etc., p. 350. इस्ती for अस्टिका, p. 410. इष्टीन, कृत्वाव Vedic, p. 312. इस्तर, ईश्वर; p. 388. इह from एवं Skr., p. 383.

ईण्डुं for अण्डकम, p. 408. ईश्वर, इक्झर, p. 47!. इसि for ईषत्, p. 339.

उक्का for उल्का Pali, p. 279. उक्खअ or उक्साअ Pr. उत्कात,p. 341. उखल or ओखल from उल्लख, p. 397. उखाडनां, उत्खात, p. 436. ਰੱਸਲੀ H. for अङ्गली, p. 411. ਤੰਬਰ P. for अङ्गाल, p. 410. **उद्घर,** p. 360. उचार P. utterance, p. 426. उच्चसे Pali, p. 311. उच्छु for इस्र, pp. 292, 339. उजाला P. "light" p. 426. उद्घ Pali, p. 330. ਤਯੇਫ for ਤੁਯੁਕਲ. p. 408. उज्ज**र**, p. 361. उज्ज्वल Skr., उजळ M., p. 256. उद्दक Skr. H. दूलहा, p. 428. उद्रान Pali for उद्यान, p. 286. उठ of उदिया from उत्था Skr., p. 3**85.** ਤਰਬੁ p. 426. उठना, p. 425. उठाना, H., p. 447. उढ़ि from उड्डयते Skr., p. 386. उदिद, M. H. G., p. 3 0. उद्वावन्तिअए, for उद्रावन्तिया, p. 421. उण्ड, Pali for उच्च, p. 279. उत्तराहि, p. 346. उत्था**ज**, p. 425.

उत्सक, M. ओसंग, pp. 445, 465. उत्सूष्टक, H. जुडा, p. 428. उथलपाथल, M. उपर्यस्त, p. 460. उदात्त, p. 580. उदिस, Pali उद्देसत्वा, p. 316. उद्रमन, M. उगवर्ण, p. 442. उद्दर्शन, M. उट्डॉ, p. 466. उद्देग, M. उबग, p. 464. उंदीर for Skr. उन्द्रक, p. 411. उपज, उत्पच Skr., pp. 424, 425, 426. उपजन, to be produced, p. 426. उपजना, p. 425. उपजानित्वा, Pali, p. 317. उपरि, M. बर, p. 428. उपलक्ष, M. ओळख, p. 468. उपविश, बेसणे M. pp. 401, 428, 441. उपविष्ट for बैठा, Pr. pp. 401, 496. उपविष्टक, H. बैठा, p. 428. उपहराणि, Skr., p. 308. उपाध, M. H. उपाधि Skr., pp.413,450. उपाध्याय, M. पाध्या, p. 428. उपाध्याय as उपज्ज्ञाय Pali, p. 281. उबटन, उबर्टन, p. 424 ; M. उटर्णे, उद्द-र्तन Sk. p. 452. उब्बेग Pali for उद्देग, p. 281. डब्म Pali for ऊर्ध्व p. 281; डब्म, उम्ह etc. p. 351. उबदिहां, अप्युहं, p. 500. उबस्तिद् Māgadhī for उपस्थित, p. 344. उच्चक्रिओ, उइतित, p. 361. उन्होंड for उद्भूष्ट, p. 333. उच्च M. उन्ह in उन्हाळा, p. 462. उसदो P. द्रगाहे p. 477. उसास, उच्छास Skr. pp. 424, 425, **TH** Pali for **TR**, p. 292.

उत्पच of उत्पचते, M. G. pp, 463,481.

क or के a louse यका Skr. p. 524 कन, उनास, p. 395. ऊर्घ्य, उस् Pali, p.281; उमा M.,p.464. कस M. for इस्र, pp. 410, 415. ऊसवो, उच्छवो, p, 446. ऊसओ, ऊच्छवो, p. 446.

सक्स M. रीस, p. 465. सज्ज in उज्जू M., p. 391. सतु for उतु, रितु or रतु? p. 289. ऋषि for इसि, रोप or रपि, p. 289.

प of पह from प्य; p. 386. एआरह Pr. for एकाद्श, p. 335. एड for एति, p. 326n3. एकधा, p. 571. एकस्थकम्, H. P. कद्वा, इकट्टा, p. 428. एकादश M. अकरा, p. 439. एक or एअ Pr. for एक, p. 331. एतारिस for एतादिस Pali., p. 314. एत्थ Pr. for अत्र, p. 340. एथें M. from इदम Skr., p. 528. एव for एत. p. 334. एाभे or एहि Pali, p. 302. एस्यु Pali, p. 308. परिस Pr. for इंद्रश, p. 333. एवो from ईट्टश Skr. p. 382. एको पुलिको Māg. एव पुरुवः, p. 352. एसे पुलिसे Mag. एव पुरुष:, p. 479.

ऐसें from ईहरा, pp. 382, 385.

ओकर्ण from उद्दिर, p. 393. ओकास Pali for अवकाश, p. 289. ओजळ for अकुलि Skr., p. 412. ओह Pali for उट्ट, p. 291. ओडक end. from उदक, p. 397. ओणत Pali for अवनत, p. 286. ओणवा for अवनत, p. 401. ओणीत Pali for अवनीत, p. 286. ओपि Pali for अवि. p. 289. ओपपें M. for अप, p. 410. ओप्येंद्द Pr. for अप्यांति p. 339. ओर in ओरडा G., p. 397. ओळंगई for उल्लुङ्ग, p. 393. ओळंबा for अवलम्बक, p. 401. ओवरी dial, p. 397. ओला Pr. श्वापद, p. 465. ओस for अवश्याय, p. 401. ओसड Pr. for औषध, p. 331. ओस्सजति Pali for अवस्रजति, p. 291.

जो from उत Skr., p. 384. ओपगवः son of उपग्र p. 573. ओपश्लेषिक for ओपसिलेसिकPali,p.285. ओर from अपर Skr., p. 385. ओफिक for ओसिक Pali, p. 285.

कअल Pr. for कदल, p. 335.

कई Pr. for कपि, p. 335. कउसल Pr. for कोशल, pp. 330, 358 कक्ष Skr. armpit M. काख, p. 527. कच्छप, °क, M. कासव, pp,437,445,446. कञ्जका Pali for कन्यका, p. 332. कञ्जाभि-हि Pali कञ्जायं, कञ्जास, p. 300. कञ्जाय, कञ्जायो Pali, p. 300. कट Pali for रूत, pp. 286, 288. कटकम, कडअं Pr., p. 417; M. कहें, p. 435. कार्टि Skr. M. कह, p. 435. कद Skr. M. कवाड, p. 435. कट्टइ from क्रष्ट, p. 507. कडण from कठिन, कठिण, pp. 399,453. कडअं for कहें, p. 418. कहउं G. for कहं, p. 418, कड्ड for कटक, p. 411. कडणें M. काडा, कडी &c. कथा, p. 438. कणअ Pr. कनक, p. 331. कणेरू Pr. for करेणू, p. 342. कण्टकः M. कांटा, p. 417. कण्ण Tadbhava, p. 360. कते for कृतम्, p. 326n3.

कथानिका M. कहाणी, p. 449. कथेति Pali for कथयति, p. 289. कदलकम् Skr. केळे M., pp. 251, 475. कदली Skr. केली or कयली, p. 523. कथ, कहना H., p. 449. कन्द्रक in नेद M., p. 406. कन्दोड, कन्दोत्थ, p. 361. कसहा, कन्धाः, स्कन्ध, p. 471. कपर्दिका for कौडी or कचडी M., p.403. कपाट Skr. M. कबाड pp. 435, 437. कपित्थ for कैथ H. p. 401. कब H. P. काबि p. 413. कवेंद्र for कमल Apabhr, p. 365. कमड for कमड, p. 334. कमन्ध for कबन्ध, p. 343. कमल Tatsama, pp. 360; कमळ M. pp. 442, 443. कमलंड plural, Apabhr, p. 366. कमलउं for कमलकम Apabhr, p. 366. **कमळो**, p. 443. कमेण Pali for क्रमेण, p. 284. कम्माणं. p. 352. कम्माइं Magadhi for कर्मणाम. p. 352. कम्हा from किम्म, p. 339. कयं for कृतम, p. 326n3. कय्य Pali for कार्य, p. 286. कर of कस्तन, करोति, pp. 382, 383. 385,386; कर O.B. करा करो. p. 488. करजे G. करिये H., p. 356n2. करतील, करि,° M. करशील,करि°, p. 491. करदा doing, p. 436. करम for कर्म, कम्म, Pr., p. 387. करलें or केलें M., p. 254. करवतें, p. 507. करवाणि Skr., p. 308. करब. करबड Pr.कराप्यते Skr.कार्यते.p.508. करशो G. do, p. 457. करसीये G. करीये, p. 493. करसं G. करिस्सस्, करिसस् M.कर्स, p.493. करसे G. he will do. p. 442. कराइण H. to cause to do. p. 447.

कराबीस M. केलीस, p. 555; करावे M. should be done, p. 502. करित M.. p. 500. करियते Pali, p. 311. करिक्णें or करवेणें, p. 429. कारिडिड Apabhramsa, p. 493. करीत unaugmented करतो, p. 424. करीन्द्रो doing, p. 436. करीवर्णे M. or कराविणें, p. 504. करीस, करिस्सं or करिस्सामि, p. 493. करीस M. करीत, धार्वे-धावत, pp.483,491. करेन्डि Pr., p. 354. करे. करों &c., p. 405. करो M. करा. p. 484. करोति or कायिरति Pali, p. 306. कर्ण M. कान, pp. 454, 461. कर्त M. काटणें. p. 466. करता M., p. 429. कर्दम H. कांदो, p. 443; G.काद्व, p.462. कर्पर M. स्वापर, p. 460. कर्पा or कर्पा for क्रपा Pr. किवा, p. 387. कर्म mixed Skr. & Pali, p. 318; М. **काम**, р. 461. कर्मस्य Pali. p. 317. कर्याधो S. I do. करीन्दो, p. 492. कल Māgadhi for कर, p. 343. कळणे M., p. 504. कलम्ब Pr. कदम्ब, कळंब M.,pp.335,439. कलिआण H. कल्याण, p. 431. कळी कलिका Skr. p. 524. कहाबिओ M. कालाविणें, p. 360. कबल for कौर or कौल H., p. 403. कवाड M. कपाट, p. 443. कबाल Pr. for कपाल, p. 334. कवि M. कवी, p. 514. कार्बह्र M. कविअ-कवी, p. 520. कास Pali and Pr. कृषि, pp. 287, 580. कस्ट Māgadhi for कर, p. 344. **жения** Pr., р. 325. कह, कथराति, pp. 382, 383, 384, 386. कहा Pr. for कथा, p. 336.

कहाणी M. कथानिका, p. 453 : H. कहानी, p. 455. कहेड for कथयति, p. 331. कहलो. G. pp. 498, 499. कह्यों G., कह्यौ, p. 496. काउण काऊणं or काऊण for कृत्वा, pp. 326n3, 343. काग H. P. काक, p. 434. काज्छ of काच्छे from कक्षा Skr, p. 386. काछिम B. for कच्छप, pp. 407, 444. काट, p. 481. कांटो, pp. 418, 478. काड of M. काडणें, कृष्ट, pp. 438, 445. काडणे M. कृष्ट, p. 507. काहा, p. 419. काज Pr., p. 325n3, B. काज ear. p. 455 ; काण क S. काणो ibid. काणभोअस. काणभोजस्य, p. 589n. काथ, कथु, p. 415. कान for काण, p. 454. काननए for काननके, p. 421. कांत, Skr. कन्त, p. 481. कापड M. कापाड Mal. Goan., p. 417. काम from Skr. कर्म, pp. 382, 384. कामकिसोरो, p. 362. कायर H. Skr. कातर, p. 429. कायव्यं-क्यं for कर्तत्र्यम्, p. 326n3. कायस्थ in H. केथ, p. 404. कारज for कार्य, Pr. कज, p. 387. कारापेति or कारापयति, Pali, p. 312. कारिय Pali for कार्य, p. 285. कारेड Pr. for कारयति, p. 331. कारेति or कारयति. Pali. p. 312. कार्य M. काज, p. 461. कालिकार B. of Yesterday, p. 543. काक मांजर accent on ज. p. 427. काৰ in काबळा, काक, p. 430. काबरा M. कातरक, p. 430. काशीकर M., p. 542. कास or कंस for कांस्य, p. 343

कासित for खासिअ, Pr., p. 339. काइं from क्र, Pr., p. 355. काहिनी for कथानिका, p. 407. कांडीं from Skr. केभिः p. 381. किंकर Skr. p. 542. किण Pr. for की, Skr., p. 254. किंद्रा, कींद्रा M. कीटक, pp. 423, 426. किडीस from कीड, p. 394, किडो, p. 418. किण, Pr. p. 353. किणाति, Pali from क्री, p. 306. किति from Skr. कियत्, p. 381. किनि Pali for कीर्ति, p. 290. किदं G. कृतम्, p. 510. किथ for कथम, Apa., p. 364, किय of किये from इत, p. 384. किळस, M. क्रेश, p. 470. किलेश, °स for होश, pp. 285, 317. किवा Pr. for क्या, p. 330. किवाड for कपाट or कवाड M., p. 407. किविण, Pr. for कृपण, p. 339. किस. H. कृषि. p. 455. किस Pr. for इन्हा, p. 330. किसर Pr. for केसर, p. 342. की from कास्मन Skr., p. 383. कीजे, M., p. 489. कीटक,किंहा, M., pp.394,417,425,435. कीहा, कीहो, p. 426. कीण, Pr., p. 353. कीतो S. done, p. 496. कीद्रं, done, p. 436. कीन्ड, done, p. 498. कीर्त, कीर्ति, p. 413. कील Skr. for क्रीड. p. 497. कीलड for Pali and Pr. कीळाते, Sk. क्रीडाति pp. 331, 334f. कीलक, into खिळा pp. 394, 460. कीहाणी for कहाणी, कथानिका, p. 407. कुकर, कुक्करसमृह, p. 519.

कुक्कुरेर, कुक्कुर सम्रहेर, B.O., p. 519. क्राक्ष, M. कस, pp. 393, 445, 465. 469, G. कुख p. 468. कुच्छिमई-कुक्षिमती, p. 362. कंजी H. क्राञ्चिका, p. 434. कटज Skr. M. कुटा p. 435. कुंटब G. for कुटुम्ब, p. 411. कुड, कुडूं, कोड़ं, कोड Old M., from Sk. कोतक, pp. 360, 361. कुड, कुडना for H. क्रप्ट, p. 407. कुढार Pr. for कुठार, p. 334. कुणइ, Pali, p. 571. कुणव Pr. for कुणप, p. 334. कुण्डम् into कोंड, M., p. 393. कृतम्बक Paisacl for कुट्टम्बक, p. 344. कृष्य Pali for कृष्य, p. 283. कुबडा M. कुब्ज Skr., p. 256. कृष्ज, M. खुजा, also M. कुबढा, p. 460. कुमर or कुमार Pr. pp. 341, 447. **दृमळो**, p. 426. कुम्भआर Pr. for खुम्भकार, p. 335. कुंभार M. कुम्भकार p. 430. कुरु द्वविति करोति,करकर करतो,M.,p.576. कुरुच from कु and रोच्य, p. 361. कुवर G., कुमार, p. 412. ऋवो p. 426. क्रष्टम in कोड M., p. 393. क्षप्रज्ञलए for क्षुप्रमोज्बलके, p. 421. कुहरो, from कुरूज, कुह, p. 361. कुढ in कुढना : कृष्ट, p. 438. क्रपक: Skr. G. क्वो, a well, pp. 394, 436, 446. कुर्पर: in कोंपर, p. 393. कुव Pr. for कूप, p. 334. कुस: M. Fem. कुशी-सी, p. 479. छ Skr. for करड़ or करेड़, Pr., p. 254. इत. G. कीधी 496. कृतम् in कयो, p. 392,

क्रात्ति: in कात M. कातडें, p. 390. इन्हाम, original for इंगोमि, p. 248. ह्रपा in कींब, M., p. 390. कारी, किसान, °ण, in Pr. किसी, किस, p. 391. कृष्ण, कान्हा, pp. 390, 463. के from किमकह, 382. के of केली Skr. from रूत, p. 381. के, कअ, p. 498. केड G. for कार्ट, p. 412. केहब Pali for केटभ, p. 330. केल्थ्र for क्रज Apabhr., p. 364. केरको, p. 540. केरिस Pr. for कीट्टश, p. 333. केल Skr. कदल or ली केळ sing. केटरी pl.; pp. 429, 479, 522 ; B. केल, p. 498. केळा G. केळाने, p. 517. केला M. pp. 395. 403, 498, 499. केलास Pali for कैलास, p. 330. केर्जी कअलक + इं, कमलक + आनि, pp. 476, 520; केळीं, केळीस, केळींस, p. 514. केलीइ, केळी, p. 520. केट्ट केटें, p. 503. केळे for कदलम, pp. 401 420, 514, 522. केळें for केलयं Pr., p. 403. केलेला M., p. 500. केवट H. केवर्त, p. 452. केबड़ Pali for केबर्त, p. 289. केबी G. how large, p. 395. केशाकेशि adv. p. 577. केहरि S. a lion, p. 515. केहड़ G., p. 408. कैवर्त Skr. for केवट H., pp. 400, 466. कैस of कैसा from कीहरा Skr., p. 384. कोस H.P., द्वाक्ष, p. 414. कोइं, कोट, a fort, p. 360.

कोड M. इष्ट, p. 438. कोडिम्बो M. कोडंबा, p. 360. कोण M. from कः प्रनः Skr. (who is it) pp. 382, 453, 479. कोण M. for कोन, p. 454. कोणो black, p. 361. कोत्थ्रह Pali for कौस्तुभ, p. 330. कोंपर for कोंपरा, p. 421. कोमल Skr. M. कोंबळा, p. 443. कोमर्ड pali for कोमदी, p. 330. कोल B, क्रोड Skr., p. 439. कोळसा M., p. 395. कोळसो, p. 395. कोलित्त, कोलित, p. 360. कोसेय्य Pali for कौड़ोय, pp. 289, 291. कौन H., p. 455. कोर or कोल H. कवल, p. 440, किण B. Skr. कीणा, p. 481. क्षण, छण M. सण, pp. 256, 445. क्षण for खिण, p. 407. क्षत्रिय खत्री or छत्री, p. 471. क्षम, छम, p. 471. क्षगा for छिमा, p. 407. क्षमा for खिमा, p. 407. क्षय, छय, p. 471. क्षर Skr. Pr. उझर M. झरणें, पा° p. 465. क्षि Skr. Pr. झिज्झ M. झिजणें p. 465. क्षीण M. शीण [णें] p. 445. क्षीर M. खीर pp. 468, 469. क्षरक-रिका M. सरी pp. 445, 465. क्षेत्र M. शेत pp. 445, 465, 469; G. स्ति, p. 468.

सारा, सब्ब Pali, p. 279. सब्द M. Māl., Goan. सबाप, p. 417. स्वण Pr. M. स्विण or सण, p. 465. स्वतरी, श्रिवय Pr. स्वतिअ, p. 387. सादिर for स्वेर M., p. 401. सन्य (Pali) for स्कन्थ p. 279.

INDEX OF SANSKRIT AND OTHER WORDS

खनु, p. 471. खब, खण्ड, p. 471. खराब M. घोडा, p. 546. खालित for Pali स्वलित, p. 284. खा of खाब from खांड (Sans.) p.384. खाऊ M. खाऊस. p. 514. खाण M. खाने or खाने, p. 414. खाद G. खादितम, pp. 436, 510. खान B., p. 471. खांद or खांदा, p. 422. खांदि for शान्ति, p. 436. खांब M. खंभ G., p. 422. खांसी G. कासित, p. 458. खिज M.G, to be sad p. 481. खिया. p. 481. खिला, खीला p. 426. खिलाना caus, of खा to eat, p. 440. खोर. p. 469. खजन for खोजना, p. 409. ख़ाडिओ for खण्डित, p. 408. खदन for खोदण, p. 409. ख़लना H. खोलना, p. 506. खुशाल M. कुशल, p. 459. खाडि S. or खहे पिओ, p. 477. खुहा P, क्रपक:, p. 460. खेचबं for खोचना, p. 398. खेतर G. क्षेत्र, p. 470. खेळ M. खेला B., p. 422. खोम Pali for शोम. p. 289. खोळो, G. क्रोड, pp. 395, 460.

गञ्ज Pr. for गत, गज, p. 335. गञ्जा from गतक, Sans., p. 384. गइ or °ई for गति: p. 326. गइजा S. Gone, p. 496. गइन्द्रओं for गजेन्द्रक: p. 421. गड for गत: Apabhr, p. 366. गडओं Pr. for गवय, p. 334.

78 [R. G. Bhandarkar's works, Vol. IV.]

ग्रङ Apabhr. p. 366. गच्छह for गच्छाते, p. 326n3. गच्छह Pr., p. 354. गोच्छस्सोत Pali गम, p. 305. गड Pr. for नट, p. 334. गडक, गडवा M. गळवा, p. 523, गण from ग्रज M. ग्रज, p. 399. गत Skr. Pr. गअ, गय M., pp. 495, 541. गतः, गतिः M. गत pp. 413, 523. गन pr. for गण, p. 332. ग्रन्म, ग्रन्मा Panjabi, p. 421. गम G. M. ठाव, p. 444. गमन, M. गमवण, p. 442. गमा or अगमा, &c, pali, p. 311. गमात Pali: गामिस्सात गच्छात. p. 305. गम्मड for गम्यते Pr., p. 357. गय [गञः गत] pp. 384, 498. गयणओ Pr. for गगनतः, p. 325n3. गयणं Pr. for गगनम, p. 325 n3. गयल H. gone, p. 497. गया H. गतकः Skr., p. 429. गरहा Pali for गर्हा. p. 285. गरायम्, गरिष्ठ, p. 571. गरू Pali ग्रह Skr., p. 571. गरूअ Pr. for एक pp. 341 571. गरूल for Pali or Pr. गरूल, गरूह. pp. 331, 334. गर्भिणी Skr. गाभण p. 255. मळणें M. माळणें, p. 506. गर्ळब for गिल M. गिळणें. p. 399. गलादिन the past day, p. 497. गळं M. गळवा, गळवास, गळवांस, p. 514. गलोड, °ई, Pr. for यहची, pp.333,341. गल्लां, p. 475. गवसर्णे M. p. 255. गम्ब Māgādhī for गच्छ, p. 244. गह Pali for यह. p. 287. गहनाः S. गहजो. p. 455. गहिर Pr. °रा H. गभीर, pp. 341, 412. गंह M. for गोधूम Skr., pp. 411, 459. गाम, गामा M. p. 421. गाम from ग्राम Skr., pp. 385, 443. गाय or गाइ from गावम, p. 384. गाल्डि S. a story, p. 515. गांव H. गांबोंका, p. 516. गिण्ड S. गूण्डा, p. 481. निक Pali, यथ, p. 283. गिनना for गणणें, p. 407. गिम्ह Pali for ग्रीष्म, p. 279. गिरिसिङ्गहं Apabhramsa, p. 367. गिरिहे &c. Apabhr., p. 368. गिलान Pali, क्वान्त, ग्लान H., pp. 285, 470. एडङ M. घोस pp. 393, 445. यह, M. यूळ, p. 438. राज Apabh., p. 366. युजब, युजबस्स, युजबा Pali, p. 300. युजवत Sk. Pali युजवन्त, pp. 300,304. खेंगहिं or गुणहिं Apabhr, p. 366. यन Pr. for ग्रज p. 332. यनगन Paiśācī for युणगण, p. 344. ਪੁਲ, ਗੁਛ, for Pali ਗੁਲ, pp. 331,334f. यध in गिषड or गिषाड, p. 391. ने, गियाछि, pp. 382, 3**8**6. गेज्झ Pr. for गाह्य, p. 339. गेन्द्रअ Pr. कन्द्रक, pp. 334, 340,433. गेय्य Pali for गेय, p. 291. गेल B., p. 498. गेला M. pp. 395, 403, 419, 498, 499. गेरिक Skr. for गेरू, p. 400. गो, गाबी, गोज, गोजी, p. 581. गोत, गोतास, pp. 295, 395. गोनं Pali, p. 304. गोपाल. गुपाल H., p. 424; M. गोबळा गोपालिक M. G. गवळी, p. 437. गोपालक M. गोवळा. p. 446. गोफा Māgadhi, p. 395. गोळक M. गोळा, p. 417.

गोळो, p. 418.

गोहो, p. 360. गौर for गोरा M., p. 400. ग्राम M. गांव, p. 442. ग्रीम M. गीम p. 463. ग्वास from गोपाल, p. 384.

घअ Pr.. for घृत, p. 330. घट Skr. to happen, घडणें M.p. 435. घटक Skr. M. घडा, p. 435. घटना G. घ्रष्ट, p. 507. घटिका Skr. M. घडी, p. 435. घड Pr. for घट, pp. 334.381. पहिअंड for घटितक, p. 421. चत Pali for जत, p. 287. घयं for घतम p. 326. घर from यह Skr., pp. 385, 448. धर्म, धाम M., p. 461. घागर M. गर्गरिका, p. 460. घाय M. घात Skr., p. 429. पुरसाल a stable, p. 427. घणा in चिन Hindi, p. 390. प्त for पर्त, पत्त, p. 289. घृतम् in गिहु in Sindhi, p, 391. ਸ਼ੁਦ in ਬਟਰੂ, ਬਟਜਾ, p. 390. घे of **घेऊन** from **यही**त्वा, p. 381. घर or घरा, p. 422. ਬੇਲੀ G. p. 395. **भोटक Skr. B. घोड**ा, pp. 416, 435. घोटिका M. घोर्डा, pp. 415, 478. घोडड, घोडा M., p. 483n. घोडओ, p. 478. घोडा or घोडाओ, घोडाने or घोडाओने, घोडिओ, घोडोंका, pp. 395, 478, 516, 517. घोडिया H.घोडी घोंटिका,घोडिआ,.p.476. षोडी M. Mal. षोड्यो, pp.478,514.515.

घोडे M. H. घोडका, pp. 516, 519.

418, 478, 517, 522.

घोडो G.घोडचो,घोडाने, घोडचा, pp. 395.

बोहर्जू S. p. 476. बोस M. सुरुह, p. 459.

चक M. चाक, p. 467. **ਚਵਾੇ** M. ਚਾਂगਲਾ, p.471. **चश्चर Pr. for चत्वर, p. 332.** चतुर्थ for चौथा M., p. 402. चतर्वश M. चोवा. p. 439. **चत्रक for चौक M., p. 402.** चंता from G. M. चिंता, p. 399. चन्द्र M. चांद्, p. 467. चमरी. p. 443. चरणें M. चारणें, p. 506. चर्म M. चाम in चामहें, p. 461. चलाना H., p. 447. **चिल्ला, चिल्लिया,** चिल्लिआर, p. 494. चिलिंहहि, p. 494. **चलिहे. चलिष्यति,** p. 495. **चवण from व**च Skr., p. 383. चिंदा Pr. for चपेटा, p 342. चामर M. चौरी, p. 442. चापानेर, p. 429. ਗਲ Skr. ਚਲ, p. 382. चिकित्सय Pali तिकिच्छापेहि. p. 295. चित्रक, चित्ता M., p. 394. चिरंतन Skr., p. 539. चीन्ह known, p. 498. चीयत Cūlikā Paiśā, जीयत, p. 344. बुद्ध for चण्ड, p. 408. जमण, p. 471. **द्वरा M. दूर**, pp. 422, 423. जुल B. Skr. जुहा p. 439. चूंची H. for Skr. चूचुकम्, p. 411. चढक into चढा M., p. 394, **पूर्णक, जुना M.**, p. 394. **चेटक-चे**स्टा **M.,** pp. 255, 419. चेतिय Pali for चैत्य, p. 285. चोस्ता G. p. 395. चोम्पूज for चतुर्राज, p. 402. ৰাৰ ৰহন্ত Skr., p. 412. चोत्य for चतर्च, p. 402.

चोदेन्त for चोदयन्ति, p. 317. चोष्पढइ a Desya word, p. 360. चोरिका, चोरी, p. 409. चौदीस from चर्तावहाति Skr., p. 385.

छड्डोति Pali for छर्द्यात, p. 282. छण Pali for क्षण a festival, p. 282. छन्द Pali for छन्न, p. 283. छर्द, M. सांडणें, p. 466. छल्ली, p. 361. छब Pali for शब, p. 287, छांड from छाया Skr., p. 384. छाअलिआ, लागालिका, p. 429. छागली, M. शेळी, p. 445. छाप Pali for ज्ञान, pp. 287, 458. छाया, M. सांव-[ली], p. 445. छावा M., p. 458. छासी, p. 361. छिज्ञ, Pr. छिच Skr., p. 504. ार्छणो. छिण्णी.छिण्णालो. छिण्णाली. p.360 छिन for क्षण, p. 407. छिन्न, छिनो S., p. 496. छिप्प, p. 361. खिव in मिशी, p. 408. छिषइ, p. 361. छुअ, छुना, p. 425. छुगो, S. गुच्छः, p. 461. छुटबुं G. छोडबुं, p. 506. द्धडी for डोडी a Girl, p. 409. इतो, p. 426. ख्य Pali for आह, p. 282. इप शिवणें, pp. 437, 445, 446. छडणा, छप, p. 460. 要: H. Skr. 靈ष, p. 432. डे from आस्ते Sans., p. 382. छेडो G. p. 395. डेख S. शकन, p. 458. छोरा from आरक: p. 397.

जग Pali Skr. pp. 318, 381. जण from जनयति Sans. p. 383; जण M. जनक, p. 453, जतनः M जतान Māl. Goan., p. 417. जत्थ Pr., p. 349. जथा for यथकः, p. 399. यज्ञोपवीत जनेउ. °க H. Sans., pp. 383, 411, 432. जनेत H. जन्ययात्रा, pp. 431, 454. जमन, M. जेबण, p. 443. जमलोउ, यमलोक Apabhr., p. 366. जमनं eating, p. 443. जमाइ, p. 443. जमीन M. भुई, p. 257. जसना H. for यसना, p. 280. जम्म for जन्म Pr. Pali, p. 279. जिम्म or जिस्स Pr., p. 349. जम्हा from यह, p. 349. जय for जै H., p. 403. जल. M. जळणे and पोळणे, p. 464. जलाना H, p. 447. जळ M. जळवे, जलोका Sk., pp. 515,524. जलोकाः M. जळू, p. 416. जह, 'हा for यथा, p. 341. जहां Apab. Skr. स्मात् Pr. म्हा, p. 370. जिहिटिल Pr. for युधिष्टिर, p. 333. जा M Skr. या, p. 481. जाऊ M. जावे, p. 515. जाऊत, p. 488. जागिओ S. जागण, p. 496. जाणर्जे M. जाना pp. 453, 481. जाण Pr. for ज्ञा Skr. pp. 254 353, जाण or णाण for ज्ञान, p. 332. जात M. जाति Skr., p. 413. जाबना H, p. 455. जानिस्सति Pali ज्ञास्यति, pp. 295, 296. जाम for यावत Apabhr., p. 365. जामातृ, °क Skr.जांबई M., pp.347,442. লান্ত S. লান্তু, women, p. 476. जाला Women S., p. 475. जिजा Pr., p. 349.

जिध for यथा Apabhr., p. 364. जिब्भाई।जिमे M., p. 521. जिसइ Pr. or जेमइ for जमति, p. 339. जिवह for जीवाति, p. 341. जिह्ना M. जीभ, p. 464. जीआ Pr. for ज्या, p. 333. जीउंदा Saur. जीवन्दो-जीवन्त, p. 436. जीभ M. Māl. जिभो-जिभे, जिह्वा Bkr., pp. 414, 478, 515, 523. जीमना for जमनम्, pp. 407, 408. जीर्ण, M. जुने, p. 454. जीव, जी H. M. जीब, pp. 416, 446. जीवन्त Pr. जिबेन्त् M., p. 423. ज्ञुअलअं for सुगलकस्, p. 420 f. जुआ or जुआ S. for गूतक, pp. 425, 426, 428, ज्ञआणओ for युवकः p. 421. ज़र्ड M., p. 423. ज़गून H. for ज्योतिरिक्कण, p. 410. जुज्ज Pr., p. 353. जुझ M. p. 481. जहा, Skr. जटक, p. 426. जुता shoes, p. 426. जुळें, M. युगलम् or °कम्, p. 430. जुवा M. H. Skr. णुतक, pp. 423, 429. जुल्बणं Pr. for योबनम्, p. 325n3. जे from Skr. यकत्, pp. 381, 386. जे from ये. यके Sans., pp. 348, 383. जेत्थ्र for यत्र Apabhr., p. 364. जेन for जैन, pp. 406, 586. जिम, जेम for यहत Apabhr., p. 364. जेवहा M., p. 395. जेबर्णे for जमन, p. 408. जोसें or जाण-ज Pr., p. 349. जा from यकः, p. 384. जोड or जोडा, pp. 395, 422. जोड्यण Pali यौदन, p. 330. जोड्यन Pr. योबन, p. 331. ज्ञा to know Skr., p. 344. ज्ञातिग्रह in नेहर H., p. 404.

जित of जितने from यावत, p. 383.

जेष्ठपत्र for जेडीत H., p. 402. ज्वर, p. 387.

য়স Pr. for ध्वज, p. 332. যুত্তনা S. from য়ন্ত-धृत: Skr., p. 496. ফার্ছ H. ভাষা, p. 431. যুতা Pr. for ध्वनि, pp. 332, 334, 432. যুব slight resemblance, p. 432.

अस्साति:Pali for ज्ञास्याति, p. 296. अयाञ्च एदिसानि different reading for एतारिसानि, p. 315.

टक्क में, M. Skr. तर्क, p. 452. टक्क र्ड for टिक में, p. 399. टाम [में] M. तन, p. 451. टामो S. Skr. ताझ M. H. तांबे, p. 453. टाळ, टाळा M. ताल, ताल, p. 451. टिकली M. तिलक, pp. 451, 461. टिळा M. तिलक, p. 451. टिट S. Skr. त्वा thirst, p. 453. टुंटो S. तुष्ट (कः), p. 451. टेटो M. तेटा तिर्यक, p. 451.

डहर from स्थिर Skr., p. 385. डाति Pali for तिष्ठति डायी, p. 286. ड्रेन S. स्थछ, p. 451. डेब of डेबीत from स्थापयति, p. 381. टेबर्णे for स्थापन, p. 408.

डिखिण S. दक्षिण, p. 451. डंद S. M. दात, p. 452. डंस , दण्ड, p. 471. डंक or दब्भ for दर्भ, p. 331. डंग for दम्भ, p. 331. डंग S. M. द्या, p. 452. डंग डिंग M. दर fear, p. 452. डंगति डंस Pali for दिल्ति दंश, p. 286. डंसा, S. दर्शन Skr., p. 452.

डाइन to दाहिण, p. 445. हाउ S. हाहह M. दाह Skr. देश, p. 452. डाम or डाब H. दर्भ, p. 452. डालिम Skr. for दाहिम, p. 497. हांस H. E. G. दंश, p. 450. हाह Pali for दाह, p. 286. ਫ਼ਾहਲੀ M. ਵਲ, p. 451. हाहांण O. H. दहिना, p. 452. हिअप S M. देणें Skr. दान, p. 452. डिओ S M. ।देवा Skr. तीप (क), pp.426. 452. ड़िग S. दष्ट, p. 452. हिंदो S, p. 497. डिम्भ for डंभ, p. 407. हिहाड from दिवस Sans. p. 383. होतो S M. धीट Skr. धष्ट, p. 452. द्धरो S. Milk, p. 497. हे from दा Skr., pp. 383, 497. डोला or दोला for दोला, p. 331.

णअण Pr. for नयन, p. 335.
णई or नई Pr. for नयी, p. 331f.
णक्कल or लक्कल for लाक्कल, p. 343.
णच Pr., p. 353.
णडाल or णिडाल for ललाट, p. 343.
णर or नर Pr. for नर, p. 331f.
णाण Pr. for ज्ञान, p. 332.
णाली or णाडी for Pali नाळी, p. 331.
णाडल or लाडह for लाइल, p. 343.
णिडाल Pr. for ललाट, p. 340.

तइअ Pr. for हतीय, p. 341. तहतु, p. 350. तए, तुमह &c., p. 351. तं. तया & ताय &c. Pali, p. 303. तक्ष M तासणें, p. 465. तच्छक Pali for तक्षक, p. 282. तट Skr. M तड, p. 435. वहाग M तळं, p. 438. तथा Pr. for हक, 330. तण्डा Pali तृष्णा, p. 287.
तचा for तथा Śaura. p. 343.
तनोति Pali, 306.
तप्त:-तपो S, p. 496.
तप्पन for तपेण Pali, p. 279.
तम्बोल Pr. for ताम्बुल, p. 333.
तम्बा Pr. from तब्, p. 349.
तकं M टक्पॅ, p. 462.
तसंना H हृष्, p. 456.
तकं S. बास, p, 470.
तळसी G. तुलसी M. तुळसी, p. 399.
तलाझ for the Pali तळाग, तहाग Sk.,
pp. 331, 334.

तळाक Pali for तहाक, 286. तवड Pr. for तपात, p. 334. तस्स Pali for तस्य, p. 283. तह or तहा Pr. तथा, p. 341. तहिं of तहिंजे, तेषाम Skr., p. 382. ताइन for Pali ताळन, p. 286. ताज [जें] M. तन, p. 454. ताह्य for ताडिश, तादिस, p. 289. ताहरा for तैसा M., p. 401. ताप Skr., ताब G., p. 255. ताप M. ताब [जें], pp. 437, 446. ताम for यावत् Apabhr., p. 365. तामीतर Paisaci for दामोदर, p. 344. ताम्बल Skr. for तांबोळी, p. 398. तान्ब्रालिक M. तांबोळी, p. 416. ताम्बे for तम्बयम् Pr., p. 403. तार Apab. तुभ्यम्, p. 382. तिज Pali for तृज, p. 287. ातीनी Pali for तृप्ति, p. 288. तित्य Apabhr., p. 366. तित्थवरो Pr., p. 335. तिष for तथा Apabhr., p. 364. • तिन of तिनके तेषाम् Skr., p. 385. तिब्ब Pali for तीव, p. 290. तियाग P. त्याग, p. 470. तिरडा or तेरडा, p. 397. तिरिच्छ H. for तिरध्य, p. 410.

तिर्कांदरे M. an arrow, p. 427.

तिस from तस्य, p. 384. तिस्सा or तीसे Pr., p. 349. तिस्साय Pr., pp. 349, 358. तीआ Pr., p. 349. त्रह, p. 481. तुटर्जे M. तोडर्जे, p. 506. तुड़, p. 353. ਰੁਤਭੂਂ M. ਰੁਣ, p. 507. तुण्ड in तोंड M., p. 393. तुन्द in दोंद M., p. 393. ਰੱਕਲ M. for ਰਸ਼ੁਲ, p. 411. तुम्भ for तुम्ही, p. 386. तुम्ही Skr. युयम, p. 381, तुम्हइ p. 481. तुवर Pr. S. त्वर, p. 43%. ਰੂੲ-ਰੂਤੀ S., p. 496. तर्ते M. G. Instantly G. तरत, p. 432. तृणम् in तण, pp. 390, 392. तुषा in दिह Sindi तिहा, pp. 391, 442 तेणें, जेणें &c. G., p. 477. ततीस for अयक्तिशत्, p. 401. तेत्तिस Pali for त्रयांक्रिंशत्, p. 291. तेत्यु for तत्र Apabhr., p. 364. तेम, तिम for तहत् Apab., p. 364. तेरह Pr. for त्रयोदश, pp. 335, 429. ਕੋਲ Pali for ਕੈਲ, pp. 289, 400. तेल Pr. for तेल, p. 331. तेसं, तेसानं, तासं, तासानं Pali, p. 302. तेासें and ताण or तस्सा, p. 349. तैलिक M. तेली, p. 416. तोणीर Pr. for वणीर, p. 333. तोण्ड Pali, pp. 331, 394. तोमा from युष्माकम्, p. 386. ब्रयोद्श M. तेरा, p. 439. बोट Skr. M. तोड in तोडणें, p. 435.

बकेति Pali स्थमपति p. 286. धम्म, स्तम्भ p. 471. धा from Skr. स्था, p. 382. धा H. S. स्थो, p. 557. धान स्थान, p. 527. चिंअ from स्वित Skr., p. 383. चिंजता Hindi, p. 431. चिंजता Hindi, p. 431. चिंजता Hindi, p. 431. चींज S. "become "p. 491. चींज for स्थान, p. 333. चुत्त Pali for तुन, p. 286. चेंच्य for Pali स्थेय, p. 291. चेंच्य for Pali for तत्त्व, p. 308. चेंच्य for स्थित, p. 402. चेंच्या Pali, p. 314. चेंग M. चिंअणु. स्थित, चिंज, p. 482. चेंच कें M. त्तींक, p. 461. चेंग for स्थल, p. 333. चेंगेरे from स्तींक Skr., p. 383.

दंश M. इस [जे] p. 450. देश M. दाह, p. 437. दंसण Pr. for द्शन p. 343, दसण Tadbhava, p. 360. दहब Pr. देत्व, pp. 330, 358. व्हबअ Pr. देवत, p. 330. दक्खित Pali द्रक्ष्यति, pp. 296, 311. दक्षिण A. डाइन, p. 455. दग्धला M. old, p. 499. दच्छं, द्रक्ष्यामि Pr., p. 355. **बन्धिद** Pr., p. 355. दञ्छिहिइ Pr., p. 555. दण्ड M. दांडा, दांडी, p. 451. दत्तम in दिण्णं, p. 406. वृधि M. वृहिं, pp. 385, 449. दम्म M. हंभ, p. 421. द्रिसइ, p. 357. वर्द्धर G. वादुर, p. 462. दर्भ G. हामो or हाम, p. 461. दळवी M. दलपति, p. 419. विश्व Pr. for वृश्वि, p. 335. वृह for वृज्ञ, बह, pp. 335, 451. दहिना, दक्षिणक, p. 425. द्हीना H. डाहाज, p. 422. दाडिम M. डाळिंब, p. 438. दाद M. वंष्टा, pp. 414, 437. दाणि or दाणि for इदानीय, p. 343.

दांत, p. 415 for दांता, p. 421. दाम tying rope M. दावे, p. 442. दालत for दोलत, p. 405. वालिम for वाडिम, p. 334f. दास्त Māg. शुष्क, p. 344. विअर, दे° Pr. देवर, pp. 331, 342. विअह Pr. for दिवस, p. 335. दिअहरा Apabhr., p. 366. विभार**ण**, p. 440. दिसाना to show देखना, pp. 395, 427. दिहा for हष्टकः, p. 421. विडल S. p. 498. विद्व Pali दिष्ट, इष्ट, pp. 279, 287. दिब्भ or दब्भ for डाभ, p. 407. दिया, दीपक, H. दिआ, pp. 425, 429. विलाना cau. of दे, p. 440. दिवस, दिवह or दिअह, p. 441. दिवह Pr. for दिवस, p. 335. दिसणे M. दर्शनक, pp. 453, 504. दिसना H. p. 455. दिशि Pr. दशि Skr. p. 590f. दिह, p. 441. वीष Pali for वीर्ध, p. 291. दीजे M., p. 489, ਵੀਰ M. ਵਇ, p. 414. दीडो from हष्टक Skr., p. 382. दीन्ह, p. 498. दीपक M. दिवा pp. 417, 446 दीपक, °को Pr., p. 475. दीया or दीवा, p. 426. दीर M. दिअर, pp. 430, 431. दीसई Pr. हस्यते, pp. 326n3, 357, 561. द् Pr. for दि, pp. 334, 432. दुअल Pr. for दुक्ल, p. 341. दुइ from हे Skr., p. 385. दहअ Pr. for दितीय. p. 341. द्रग्ध, दुधो S., p. 496. द्रणा M. द्विराण, p. 432. दुख for दुग्ध Pali, p. 279. बुलार, बुलेल, p. 440. दलहरो Apabhr., p. 397.

हुन्ह G. S. दीडो, pp. 390, 496. दे of देऊन from दत्त, p. 381. देइजी M. दीयताम, p. 491. देऊत, p. 488. देक्स Pr. for द्रक्ष, p. 340. देख from द्रक्ष or हक्ष, pp. 384, 385. दे**लाइनं** G. show, p. 395. देव, देवा, देवो Pr. p. 346, देव p. 525. देवसूह M. देहारा, p. 449. वेवाबनं, p. 440. देहजी, p. 391n. बेह्न S. pp. 515. दौंद M. Skr. बुन्द, बुन्द, p. 436. दोप from हे or हो Skr., p. 385. दोबार door for दुआर, p. 397. दोर दोरा, p. 421. दोला M. डुलर्णे, p. 451. दोहति Pali for दोगिष, p. 305. दोहद M. डोहळा, p. 451. दोहल Pr. दोहद, डोहाळा M. pp. 335, 439. दोलत. दोलती, p. 524.

दोलत. दोलती, p. 524. दादश M. बारा, p. 439. दार Pr. दुआर, M, दार, pp. 447, 464. दो B. दुइ, p. 447.

धनम for धर्म Pali, p. 279. धरम, धर्म, धन्म, Pr., pp. 387, 470. धराइ तेडे B., p. 447. धरिको S. 496. धरिकें M. or धरलें M., p. 491. धालिमा S., p. 496. धवल for धवला M., p. 403. धवाद G., p. 395. धाह M., p. 506, धाम G. Skr. धाव, p. 443. धीमर H. M. धीवर, p. 444. धुआरख, p. 440. धुज, Pr., p. 353. धुन Pr. S. or धून धुनक Skr., p. 432. धुलावा to wash धोना, pp. 395, 440. धमञ Pr. धुनक, p. 447. धर or धल Skr. धलि, p. 440. धळ M. धलि, p. 414. धष्ट, गठो S., p. 496. धोतर M. धोतार Māl. Goan, p. 417. धोवडाव G., p. 427. ध्वज M. झॅडा, p. 464.

नअ Pr. for नग, p. 335. नअर Pr. for नगर, p. 335. नआ M. for नवा, p. 505. नइ M. Mal. & Chit नय नदी, p. 419. नईइ or नईए, p. 348. नकर Cūlikā Paisā. for नगर, p. 344. नक्षत्र for नक्खत्र, p. 471. नख S. नहु, pp. 448, 450. नग्नक, M. नागडा, p. 466. नणंद M. ननान्द्र, pp. 348, 453. नदिये. तदियं Pali नच, pp. 301, 348. ननद H. or ननदी, p. 455. नमन for लवणें M., pp. 403, 442. नयन for H. नैन P. नेज, pp. 402, 403. नयर Pr. Skr. नगर, pp. 335, 429. नया for नवा, p. 505. नरो G. णवरि Apabh. निस्त, p. 399. नल Māgadhi for नर, p. 343 नर्जी, नलिका Skr. नळये G. M., p. 524. नवओ, Pr. M. नवा, p. 446. नवता from निमन्त, p. 397. नवनीत for लोणी M., p. 403. नवशिक्षित, नौशिक M. नवशिका p. 403. नस्स Pr., p. 353. नह Pr. for नख, p. 323n3. नहान or सिनान Pali for स्नान, p. 285. ना of नाले from नाम, p. 382. नाइ from नहि Skr., p. 385. नाइते, Pr. न्हा or नहा to hathe, p. 445. नाई for नाबी, p. 505. नाच M. to dance ज्ञा, p. 481. नाणं Pr. for ज्ञानम, p. 325n3. नाणी Pr. for ज्ञानी, p. 325n3:

नात M. नक्क, p. 529f. नाथ, Skr. M. नाह, p. 449. नाथ for नाथ Saura, p. 343. नामित: M. न्हाबी, pp. 416, 437, 446. नाम Skr. नांच. pp. 382, 442,443. नासी Pr. for नासी; p. 3\$4f. नोष from Skr. नाम, p. 381. नाविक in नेया. p. 404. नास M. नाज. 2. 456. नाइ Pr. for नाय, pp. 323n3, 336. निअक S. नेर, or नेल Skr. निगढ, p.439 ानडर or नेडर Pr. for नपर, p. 341. ानगण्ड Pali for निर्धन्य, p. 286. निस्स or नक्स Pali for निष्क p. 291. निवल Apabhr., p. 366. जिन्हों for निश्चिन्त Saura., p. 343. Mes M. ਲਗਟ forehead, p. 441. **ੀ** ਜ਼ਿਲ M. ਲਗਣ, p. 460. निक S. sleep निहा. p. 453. निद्या or नेद्या Pr. नित्रा, p. 331. निद्रा, M. नीज, p. 465. निपज M. to be born उत्पन्न, p. 481. नियावणें M. निर्वाह, p. 459. निम्ब. M. खिंब, p. 441 निरसणें Skr. निरीक्षण, p. 398. निर्शेक्षण, Pali, p. 317. 👝 🖯 निका M. नीलक, Skr., pp. 419, 423. निषद्ध Pr. for निपत्तति, p. 323n3. निसपती H. निशापति, p. 456. निहस Pr. for निकच not निक्रम p. 339. नीज M, नीद, निद्रा, pp.:414, 453, 523, नीड Pr. for Pali नीळ, p. 331. नीत M. नीति Skr., p. 418. नीम Pr. नीप, pp. 343, 444. नीसी Pr. for नीवि, p. 343. नीलत्त Pali for नीलत्व, p. 283. **बन H. सम्मः p. 441**.: क्रिकेट मुक्किट ह कृत्य for Pali नच M. नाचमें नाच M.. DD. 305. 463. ने to carry Skr. नप. p. 400 नेड or जह Pr. for नयति, p. 3311. पडजीन for प्रतिच्छाया, p. 398.

नेडंबा P. निमन्त्र, pp. 397, 453. नेडरं for बपरब. p. 326n3. नेक्स Pali for निक, p. 291. नेड H. or नेरे निकटे, p. 431. नेस Pali for नेज. p. 291. नेतिस Pali for निश्चित्र, p. 291 नेपच्य for नेपच्छ Pali, p. 281. नेरे H. निकटे Skr , p. 439. नेल S. निगड, p. 431. नेवल for न**क्छ: 🔈 4**08. नेहर H. ज्ञातियह, p. 448. नीता H. निमन्त्र (कः), p. 432. मोनीत Pali for नवनीत, p. 289. ₹ M. Skr. ₹₹₹, p. 481. न्हांबी M. न्हांब्या, नापित, pp. 514, 522. पअड or पाअड Pr. for मासत, p. 341. पञाबर्ड Pr. for प्रजापति, p. 335. पष्ट for त्ययाः Ap., p. 365. पडर for पौर, pp./330, 358. TE Pali for TE. p. 283. पक्स Pali for पक्ष, p. 284. पक्रम in पिक M., p. 406. पिसराज्ञ for पुष्कराज, p. 407. पस्सलावि Pr. for प्रस्तलति. p. 325. पधिरख Skr. मगल, p. 440. पङ्ग with ल for पांगळा, p, 407. पजिरद्ध Skr. प्रज्वल, p. 440. पज्जलति Pali for प्रज्यलति. p. 283. पश्चवश M. पंचरा. p. 439. पश्चम M. पांचवा, p. 443. पञ्छा Pali for प्रभात, p. 279. पंज P. S. पंजा पञ्च, p. 434. पञ्जर for पिंजरा, p. 407. पड्ड Pali for भएन, p. 279. पटि Pali for मति. p. 283. ਪਣੀਲ, ਪ**ਫ਼ਬਲ, p.43**5 पढ M. पड in पडणें. p. 437. पड for पडि-पतिः पडोर्सि-मतिषेशी,p.435. पडचा G. M. प्रातवात. p. 436. पदछाया M. reflection, p. 435. 79 [R. G. Bhandarkar's works, Vol. IV.]

पडण for पतन, p. 331. वह M. पाडणें, p. 506. Tenier Proof, p. 435. वहसाद for प्रतिशब्द, pp. 398, 435. पहलाळ G. Skr. मृतिशासा, p. 436. पहुंचअ Pr. for प्रतिश्रत, pp. 333, 348. पहर्से M. प्रतिस्थाय, p. 435. पाडि Pali or Pr. for पाति, p. 334. पहिक, प्रतिक, p. 589. पहिसा for प्रतिमा, p. 331. पहिलाग्छ 'the fallen tree ', p. 497. प or पाडिब Pr. मतिपद्, p. 341. पढिहार for प्रतिहार, p. 331. पहोशी or 'सी H. P. M. पतिवेशी p.433. पट M. or Pr. for पठ, pp. 334, 444. **48W. S. 418W. p. 506.** पठम Pali for प्रथम, p. 283. पहल for प्रथम, Pali पडन, pp.331,334. पण from दनः Skr. pp. 382, 399. पंडत for पण्डित, p. 399. पण्डि Pali for पार्डिण, p. 284. पंडे G. from विषड M., p. 399. पति H. पतियोंका. p. 516. पतीज faith, अत्यय, p. 431. पतेस Paisaci for भदेश, p. 344. पतोह H. एकवंध, pp. 464, 432. पत्त Pali for माम, þ. 290. पन M. पातें, p. 467. ... पथिक M. पही ा . 449. पदस S. पदा, p. 470. पद्धत M. Skr. पद्धति, p. 413, чч Pali чэч, pp. 295, 305. प्यसास, a place where water is provided for passenger, p. 429. पन्द Pali for पक्स, p. 284. **44.4.4** from **42.4.** p. 365. नपदा plural-Apabhr., p. 366. परगट or प्रकट M. प्रकट, p. 434, परकाई H. Skr. प्रतिक्छाया, p. 439. प्रमेश H. P. प्रतिभार, pp. 433, 456. परवारणको for परवारणकः, p. 481. परवेस H. प्रवेश, p. 456, ...

परशोत्तम G. M. इंड्योत्तम p. 399. परस H. पर्श, p. 456. TTER Apabhr., p. 367. पराइले परिहाज Pr. " worn" p 445. परामरिस Pr. परामस, p. 359, परामर्श, परामरिस for Pr., p. 333. परिधा H. पहिर [ना] p. 449, परिमधरओं Aph. परिमृत्यरक, p. परीक्षा M. पारस, p. 468. परोस H. परिवेष, pp. 432, 433, परोडत P. for प्रराहित, p. 411. परिक्रो S. पर्सप्प to remain, p. पर्ण M. पान, pp. 454, 461. पताप M. प्रताप, p. 470. पतिक H. visible प्रत्यक्ष, p. 432 पर्यक्र M. परुंग, p. 467. पर्यस्त M. पालट, pp. 335, 467, 575 वर्यान Pr. वलान, p. 335. पर्याय, M. पाकी, p. 467. पलिस. Pr. for प्रदीत, p. 335. पलिह Pr. for परिष, p. 339. पलिहा Pr. for परिखा, p. 339. पहुटइ, पहुत्यइ from पर्यस्त, p. 507. प्बडतिकाअ प्रवृतिकाया, p. 589. पवादा M. प्रवाद [क] p. 452. पवित्रक for पैता B. p. 402. पशमाने O., pp. 519. पदचात् G. पार्ख, p. 463. पूच्य Pali प्रस to see, p. 295. पसर from Skr. मसरति, p. 381. पसिंखि or पासिकि Pr. प्रसिद्धि, p. 341. प्रसंस्कृति Mag. प्रस्तलति, p. 344. पस्सति Pali for पंच्यति, p. 283. पस्तिस्सति Pali for ब्रह्यति, p. 296. 484 S. a stone, p. 441. पहरना or पहिरना, Skr. परिधान, p. 398. पहिचान Skr. प्रत्यभिजाना, p. 449. पहिचानना H. प्रत्यभिजात, p. 460. पहिरना H. परिचान, p. 460. पहाडि Pr. for प्रश्नुति, पुढे M. or ऊड, pp. 331, 334, 459. पा B. **पाय, पाय, p. 43**0.

वाक Pr. पार Vern. पाय or वा pp.335, **337, 386**. पाउस Pr. for प्राकृत, pp. 330, 455. र्वोचिमो. सातमी. p. 443. पाट, पाटा, p. 421. पाडवा M. मतिपद, p. 412. पाणिम Pr. for पानीय, p. 341. पाणी M. पानीय, पानी, pp. 453, 454, 502, 522, पातळ M. पाताळ Mal., Goan., p.417. पाताल H. पताल, p. 424. पाद Pr. पाम M. पाय, pp. 323n3, 404. पादोन in पाओन or पाऊन Pr., 404. पान M. for पाण, p. 454. पानी, H., p. 455. पापर्वे Skr. पारधी, p. 523. पायुजीति विपायुजाति Paliपाप्रोति.p.306. पाय M. पाव Skr., p. 429. पारस, Skr. परीक्षा, पारस्तर्णे, p. 398. बारद, दो Pr. M. पारा, pp. 416, 475. पार्श्व M. पार्शी, p. 467. पालवं G, Skr., पार, p. 439. पाला from पुर्याय Skr. p. 385. पाव H. पाअ foot, p. 430, पाप from माम्रोति, p. 383. पापुणे M. प्राप, p. 443. पाशे Skr. M. फास, p. 442. पापाण, पदाण, Pr. pp. 335, 441. पास from पाइवे Şkr., p. 385. पासइ, परसइ, पश्यति, p. 469. पासबं-पासलें, p. 360. पास or पंस for पांस, p. 343. पाडाण Pr. for पाषाण, p. 335. पाइण Pr. for त्राचुण, p. 336. विकास from शिक, p. 394. चिक्क Pr. for पक्क, p. 340. पिगहर्द for पगलनम्, p. 408. विषद्धना for वगळजें, p. 407. पिन्डी Pr. for पृथ्वी, p. 332.

विजरा for पड़जर, pp. 407, 408.

पिह or पेह for Pr. पिष्ट: p. 381. पिडी M. पीडिका Skra p. 423.4 💆 पिण्ड, in पेंडा-पोंडी M. पिण्ड or पेण्ड Pr. पिण्ड, पंड, pp. 255, 331, 393. पित, pp. 337, 347. पिठकः पिउओ S. P., pp. 391, 416. पित्यहम in पीयर G., p. 391. पिपिरू, Skr. पिप्पल p. 440. पिप्पल for पिंपळ, p. 407. पिया पीना, p. 425. पिरिह S. माथ, p. 450, पिल्लान Pali, an ornament p. 294. पिलाना Caus. of पी tod rink, p. 440. पिखबति Pali for प्रवात, p. 285. पिवळा, M. पीतस्रक Skr. पिवसपा or पिबळे obli. पिबळ्या or पिबळे आंब्यास. pp. 423, 514. पिष्ट, पीठो S. p. 496. पीआ or पीड Pr. Ver. पिड, p. 337. पीडक H. पीडा, p. 437. पीठिका M. पि**डी. p. 437.** पीड पीडयति M. पिळ्के, p. 438. पीडेड Pr. for Pali पीछेति. p. 331. 🐇 पीतल Skr. Pr. M. 19तेन्द्र, pp. 423, 500. पातो S. drunk, pp. 496, 496. पीवावेदि Saur, p. 507. पीद drunk, p. 436. पीरसबं G., for पारवम, p. 412 पीळ or पील for पीड, p. 49% पीलणं Pr. for पीडबड, p. 325n3. पाळन Pali for पीबन, p. 286. पीवलअ, पीतलकम, M. पिवळें, p. 430. पीस H. पिड्, p. 456. पीडा H. पित्रुड, p. 488. 38 P. for 388, p. 343. पुद्र from पुत्र, Sans, p. 383. पद S. प्रज, M. पूत, p. 453. sq Pali for se, 279. प्रवन for पोळणें. p. 409. प्रदर्ग Pr. for प्रश्विम, p. 334, प्रदम Pr. for मध्य, p. 339.

प्रदे M. महाति pp. 436, 452. प्रश्न Apabhr. for प्रमः p. 365. with H. for 9344, p. 411. gana Pali, p. 306. क्यों, H. पूर्णिमा, p.:432. gen Pali for gen, p. 279. पर for उपरि. 412. प्रस्ता H. for प्रत्य, p. 411. **THE** H. for **THY**, p. 458. प्रोबांका Skr. प्रोक्टांका, p. 497. परिस Pr. for पुरुष: p. 341. Miss. for 954, pp. 331, 343. ger Pali for qu, p. 281. प्रश्न O. B. प्रश्नर प्रश्नमानकर, p. 519. THE M. for TE. p. 344. पण्डर for पीखर H., p. 409. प्रसाति बन्धतिPali for सुष्णाति बध्नाति D. 305. प्रसक्य पाँची H. पोथा, pp. 393, 417. पुष्ट Pr. for प्रश्चिनी, p. 330. पूर्वी Pr. for प्रथमी, p. 341. पछना. प्रजा. p. 425. प्रजेति Pali for प्रजयति. p. 289. पूरा, p. 486. o to require o प्रिंग Saura प्रशित p. 343. 'ર્શ્વ, યુવો S. <u>p. 404</u>ે ા ં in grifa 2004, M. 418, p. 129. Te the back in 48, 48, pp. 38 THE Pr. for fact, p. 338. for hed Pali, p. 281. वेडे from पीडिकया. p. 398. 🕶 Pr. for fis, p. 333. or five Pr., p. 34. चेमा Pr. प्रेमच, p. 331. वेबाल, वेज्ञह from साथ or प्राज्य, p. वेच्याह Pali, Plentiful, p. 294 पेरना from प्रसिर, p. 40की 17 Pr. for von, p. 334

वेस्कृद्धि M. for बेस्ति, p. 344. पैठना G. Ver. शविष्ट, pp. 496, 507. पैदा करना for पेदा करहे, p. 405/ प्राप्त पोक्सर Pali पुष्कर, pp. 279 291, 331. पोइं, पोट &c., p. 360. पोत from प्रकृति. p. 404. पोधक Pali for प्रताक, p. 291. wien Pr. for W. D. 300. 41v. p. 305. पोरास, p. 395. पोलिका for पाळी M., & 109. पोसति Pali for gwill, के 305. पौत्र for पोत्ता P., p. 400. प्रगलन for बगळजे, p. 407. प्रज्वलन for पाजळणे, p. 407. प्रत्यभिजाना, H. पहिचान, p. 575. प्रत्यभिजानाति P. पद्धाण, p. 463. प्रभा or प्रभात, M. पहाट, p. 449. प्रभाकर Skr., p. 542. प्रविद्य for वैठा M., pp. 401, 489, 496. STREET M. STEET, D. 462. प्रस्थाप, M. पाठव [जें]. p. 437. प्रस्थापन M. पाठबर्णे, p. 462. अपस्थाव, M. पाडेब, p. 446. पाउ for पाय Apabhr. p. 365. पाप्रजक, a guest M. जहजा, p. 448. भाष, पाब (के) pp. 437, 446. प्रार्थना, p. 387. पाइर in जडस, p. 391. Pali, gala, ga, p. 286.

माना, H. फाडनां, p. 506. जिस Pr. for पनस, pp. 339, 458, जिस Pali for स्पन्त. p. 279, जां for फिरनें, p. 399. जरही M. बरहा, p. 458. फरह Pali for परहा, p. 286. जरहर Pali for परहा, pp. 286, 339, जरहर Pali for परहा, pp. 286, 339, कता and करेंत Pali, pp. 304. 305. किंद्र Pr. for स्कटिक, p. 339. कंस Pr. for स्कटिक, p. 343. कस Tadbhava, p. 360. कंसर्ब, पाका, कांस M. फंसर्ब, pp. 360, 361. कस्स Pali for स्क्ब्रें, p. 284. कांस, M. पाका, कांसा, pp. 421, 459. कांड or कांडर, Pali, p. 294. किंस H. कीरना, p. 425. इका, p. 261. इटलें M. कोंडलें, p. 506. इसेन्द्र Pali for स्कोंड, p. 279. इस्स Pali for पुजा, p. 286. कोंज for कोंज, कोंजी, pp. 405, 524.

बहुल, p. 361. बगडडं G., ावियट-विघडणे M., p. 398. बगळा M. बक, or बकक, p. 434. बस of बाडिया from बत्स, Skr., p. 385. बज्य Pr. Skr. बध्य, p. 504. बज्जाड for बज्जते Pr., p. 357. बड B. बडा H. P., p. 422. बदर Skr. for बयर-बेर, बबर-बोर, p.429. बक्र Skr. बधी S., p. 496. बाधिरक M. बाहिरा, p. 449. बनेबी from भइणी-बहनोइ, pp. 412,419. बन्द, बन्ध, p. 471. **aver** father, p. 361. बङ्गण from बाह्मण, p. 350. ्बर्भचेर Pr. for ब्रह्मचर्य, p. 334. **धंभन or बाभन for बाद्यण,** p. 315. TOTAL PICE DE SUGAL COME STATE बरसं H. बरिस Mध्यातिस, अन्त्रविक्रिक्षण THE WAR POST PROPERTY OF THE P बरिड Pali for वर्ड, p. 285. बरिसे Pr. वस्स, p. 359. बह्न or बोल from ज Sans., p. 386. बहा P. Calamity बहाई, p. 476.

बलीवर्द for बेल M., p. 401. बस of बसि. बसे from उन्नविश, p. 386. बस S. बर्ष p. 456. बसर्णे for बैसर्णे, p. 402. बहन for भनिनी, p. 398. बहुनोइ भगिनीपति, pp. 419, 432, बहलना Skr. विहर or °ण, pp. 398, 439. बहि (ही) ण M. भगिनी, pp. 414, 453. 479, 523. बहिन H. or बेत, p. 455. बहेडअ Pr. for बिभितिक, pp. 331, 338, 334, 341. बहुमुहो from बहुमुख, p. 362. बाजू M. बाजूस, p. 514. बांझ Hindi for बन्ध्या, p. 280. बात from इस Sans., p. 384. चाम्हण Pali for बाह्मण, p. 314. बारना Skr. ज्वाल, p. 440. बारसक Pali for बस्स, p. 316. बारह Pr. for द्वादश, p. 335. बालाहे Apabhr. बालाया. p. 369. बांब Skr. बापी बाबी Pr., p. 523. बाष्प M. वाफ, p. 463. बांस वंका, बांसा M., pp. 280, 421. बाहेर Pr. for बधिर, p. 336. विंगा H. बकक, pp. 407, 434. बितीत H. ब्यतीत, p. 431. बिधा H. व्यथा, p. 431. बिदिआ H. P. विका, p. 431. बिभी Skr. M. बिह, p. 481. बिमीतक M. बेहरा, pp. 397, 410, 417. विशना वेश्ना विश्वनम, pp. 395, 447. बिलाकी G. बिडाल, p. 460. विवहार, व्यवहार, p. 431.-बिस मिसें M., p. 441. बिह्बाडड G. to terrify, p. 395. बि or बेहान from बिमानम Sk., p. 396. बीस Sindhi, p. 445. बीडो बीटक, p. 426.

बीस विंशाति, p. 385. afe Pr., p. 353. after G. to fear, p. 395. बीहादि Pr. p. 353. बीहीबरावबं to threaten p. 440. द्वचति Pali, Atm., p. 306. बुज्य Pali ब्राच्य, pp. 254,305,353,508. बुष्या Pr. for बुद्धा, p. 332. द्वा of दक्षि from दुध्यति, pp. 386,481. बड Pr. for बद, p. 330. हुधानं or हुडानं हृद्धानां थेरानं; p. 315. इन्द्रं, इपी S., p. 496. बरे Pali., p. 297. बुद्धेभि Pali for बुद्धेः, p. 298. बुध्य Pali बुड्स बुजर्जे M., pp.295,464. इप Pr. for इप्न, p. 343. बुभुशा, M. युक, p. 468. ब्रस Skr. M. ब्रसा, p. 441. बूंद H. for बिद्रं, p. 411, बृहस्पति बिफे बिहप्फई, pp. 391, 402. वेडिस Pr. for वेतम्, p. 339. बेना H. ब्यजनक, p. 431. बेराना H. बिराना Skr. बिडम्बन, p. 439. बेहच (द्र) G. विभज, p. 449. बेटना G. उपविष्ट, pp. 496, 507. बेढा from उपविष्ठक, p. 383, बेल्ब for बेड्डब Pali, p. 285. बेस M. उपविश, pp. 428 455. बोर for बदर, p. 401. बोस्ट (जें) M., p. 483. बोहकर or जाकर, p. 501. बोह्र H. or जा बोहक or जाके. p. 501. च्या of व्याचे from के Skr. Pr. p. 385. जाहाज बामज S. बाभबु, pp. 408, 455. न्द्र ब्रह्म बोह्न, p. 361.

भहरब Pr. भैरब, pp. 330, 358. अनस H. अगतन, p. 516. अगिनी for भैण, p. 402. अग्न, क, अगी S. pp. 466 496.

Non Pr. Skr. 404, p. 564. ਸਤਕ ਸਵਾ, p. 471. भड़ Pr. for मह, p. 334. भक्त M. भात, p. 462. मतार, मत्तु from बेह, p. 347. मद्र M. मला, p. 468. मसाणा मञ्जना or भट्टना, p. 471. मचूत for Skr. विच्नति, p. 398. भमर Pali for प्रमर, p. 284. भमरी M. भें। बळ, p. 543. ममरो a bee, p. 443. **ਮਸਬੰ**, p. 443, मय for मे P., p. 402. भयंत भवन्त, p. 589n. मरह Pr. for भरत & not भरम, p.:339. भला for भद्रक Skr., p. 383. ਮਲਾ M. ਮਾਲ B., p. 422. भवक for अमर Apabhr., p. 365. भस्टालिका Mag. for भट्टालिका, p. 344 भाआ or भाऊ Pr. M. माई, p. 337. भाउ or भाऊ from भातृक, pp. 383, 391n, 428, 522.

भाक, भाषा, Skr. p. 523.
भास H. भाष, p. 458.
भारते H. P. भाइपद, pp. 404f, 432.
भाइपद, M. भादपद, p. 459.
भाक P. Skr. बाष्प, p. 459.
भाक H. jacksl भासुओंका, p. 516.
भिउडी Pr. for भुकटी, p. 341.
भिकेस from भिक्त p. 394.
भिक्ता or भिक्त for भिक्ता, p. 298.
भिक्ता Pali for भिक्ता, p. 298.
भिक्ता Agent Agent For भिक्ता, p. 298.

भिक्खुस्था-म्हा, p. 296. भिक्खु and भिक्सचो for भिक्कु, p. 298. भिक्षु, p. 294. भिजा or भिगा भीगा, p. 426. भिगे M. भेडावर्ण, p. 506. भितर, भीतर, p. 426.

भिक्ति Skr., भिंत, p. 523. शिक्षिकी Pr. for विसिन्त, p. 339. भिसें M. बिस. p. 458. भी from अपि, p. 384. मीक M.Skr. बिका, pp. 414, 444,523. मीगा, p. 425. मुई Pr. M. सुन्नि, pp. 447, 514, 521. सकेस from सक. 395. भ्रक्त Skr. भ्रतः भ्रत. p. 499. भुजन Pr. Skr. भुजन्य, p. 504. मुस Pali for भूश, p. 288. भ्रसा, भूस, p. 423. ₹ pp. 557, 580. सुअ from भूत, a being, p. 385. चक M. अअशा, pp. 414, 444. स्मि, भुई, p. 523. भूमियह, M. भुंयार, p. 449. च्त M, असा बुस Skr., pp. 422, 459, भक्त in श्रंगा, भिक्को, y. 391. भेस H. वेप, p. 458. भेडावणें M , p. 507. भेख from भगिनी Skr., p. 382. भेस M. Skr. बेश. p. 459. मेंस, महिषी, p 459. भोक hunger for यक, p. 398. मोचा for भुक्त्वा, p. 339. भोष G. from भुई M., p. 397. भोवजे M. भावडजे, p. 50%. म्पाला, M., pp. 444, 498. अमण M. भोंबजें, p. 442. ब्रमर for भोंबरा M. भंबरा, pp. 404,443. बातक in भाउ or भाऊ, pp. 392, 416.

মঙ্গ Pr. for बुब, p. 330. মঙ্গৰ Pr. for सब्न, pp. 331, 335. মুই or ई for सहि, p. 326n3. মুহুৰ Pr. for सुकुद, p. 341. মুহুৰ Pr. for सुकुद, p. 341. মুহুৰ Pr. for सुकुद, p. 341. মুহুৰ Pr. for মুহুৰ, p. 330. মুহুৰ, মুহুৰ M. মুহুৰ, p. 399.

मक्कन Culika Paisa. for मार्गव,p.344: संग Tadbhava Pali for मार्ग. pp. 290, 360. मक्षिका M. माशी, pp. 416, 445, 465, 469. मच Pali for सृत्यु, p. 287. मचनो Pali for बत्यो, p. 295. मच्छ P. सासा M., p. 422. मच्छर Pali for मत्सर, p. 282. मज्ज्ञिम Pr. for मध्यम, p. 339. मञढ, म**डिए**, p. 471. मञ्चक M. मांचा, p. 417. मंजार Pr. for मार्जार, p. 343. मंजी P. मश्चिका, p. 434. मञ्जा Pali for संज्ञा, p. 332. मढ or मढिका M. मह, p. 437. मड from मध्य Skr., p. 385. महञ Pr. for सूतक, p. 334. महद् G. from युत M. सहदा, p. 399. **ਸਵੇਂ**, p. 452. मह Pr. for मड, p. 334. मणोज Pr. मणेएण for मनोज. p. 332. ਸਾਰਫ਼ਲ Tadbhava, p. 360. मत्थञं for मार्थे, p. 418. मत्याउं for मार्थ, p. 418. मत्थक Pali for मस्तक, p. 279. मत्स्य M. मासा, pp. 445, 465 मध H. मह [ना], p. 449. मधनिका H. मिहानी, p. 449. ਸਫ M. ਸਣਯੋਂ. p. 468. मदन Pr. मयण, pp. 396, 402. मच M. मध Skr., pp. 413, 450. मञ्ज honey M. मोंह, p. 449. मधुमक्षिका for मोमासी, p. 402. मध्य आंत M. माजी, p. 464, 544. मन M. मनम Skr., pp. 385, 454. मनाप Pali, pp. 294, 317f. मनुस P. महस्तां obl. pl., p. 516. मन्य for Pali मड्य M. मानमें, p. 454. मन्यते M. मान [में], p. 467.

मध्दे and तुंदह Pali, p. 303. मर्गञ Pr. for मरगत, p. 334. मरहदुं for सुरहणे, p. 399. मर्जे M. मारण, p. 506. मरहट्ट Pr. for महाराष्ट्र, p. 342. मरा H. Skr. सुत्र क, p. 439. मर्व Pr. मह, p. 335. मळबु G. from मिल, मिळण, p. 399. मलिन for मैळ Old M., p. 402. मस from मिन G. M. मिन, p. 399. मसं Pr. for इमग्र, p. 343. मस्तक M. साथा, pp. 417, 462, 475. महिषी Skr. म्हेस, pp. 401, 441. महरत H. for सहत, p. 411. माआ Pr. Vern. माउ, p. 337. माइ or माउ Pr., Vern. मा मातृका Skr. pp. 337, 383. माउ for मातृका, p. 428. माउद्यो M. Skr. मातृष्वसा, p. 457. मासन for मञ्जूण Skr., p. 385. मागितलें, M., p. 499. मांचो, p. 418. माजस G. माजसी, pp. 399, 517. माणुसहं Apabh., p. 367. माप्स M. मनुष्य, pp. 453, 455. माण्डू S. मानुष, pp. 515, 523. मात M. बार्ता, p. 444. माती, मृत्तिका, Skr., p. 524. मातृका in माई, pp. 392, 416: मात्यहम in माहेर M., p. 391. मातृब्बस्, °का, in माबक्षी M., pp. 391, 404. माच of माचाते M. माजणे, pp. 463,481. मानूस M. p. 455. मार of मारा, महाम Skr., p. 382. मारूदि for मारूति, p. 343. मारे S. or मार्थी having beaten,p.501. माळ, माला Skr. p. 523. मालाए or 'इ or 'अ, मालाये, p. 348. मालापो Pr. माला, p. 348. माकूम for साक्रम, p. 399.

माज्ञा from मज्ञक Skr., p. 386. माशी, मक्षिका Skr. H. मोसी, pp.428 मास or मंस for मांस, p. 343. माह H. G. middle from मध्य, p.450. माहेर M. माह्यह, p. 448. माह Pr. for आह. p. 336. मिग Pali for यून, p. 288. मित्त Pali for क्रिक p. 283. मिथुन M. मेहण, p. 449. मिरिअ Pr. for मरिच, p. 339. मिरी H. for मरिचम, p. 410. मिल of मिलिके Pr., Skr., p. 384. मिलान Pali for म्लान, p. 285. मिज्ञी for इमश्रु, p. 407. मिहुण Pr. for मिश्रुन, p. 336. 🖔 मीस for मिस्सं, मिश्रम्, p. 469. सुभाउ Apa. for सूतक, pp. 366, 421. HEE Skr. HEE Pr. H. HEE G. HIE H. P. मोडा, pp. 402, 410, 435. मुक्ल P. for मोलना to bud, p. 410. मूकी G. बुक्की M., p. 444. मुक्त into मोकळा M., p. 393. मुख M. माहरें, p. 448. ਸ਼ਹੂਟ G. M. for ਸ਼ੁਰੂਟ, p. 411. मुग्ग for मुद्र Pali, p. 279. मुख्ध in भोंदू ? M., p. 393. ਸ਼ੁਲ B. ਬੀਤਕ to wipe away, p.444. सहा Pr. for सूर्या, p. 343. मत Pali for सूत्र, p. 290. मुदी, सुद्रिका, Skr., p. 524. • मद् Pali for सृदु, p. 288. मुद्रर in मोगरा, M., pp. 393,407,409. सुद्धहे Apabhr. सुग्धाया, p. 369. सुद्धाणा, मुण्डना, p. 471. म्राप्टि M. मूडें, p. 462. स्सा Pali for स्वा, p. 288. मुस्ता in नागरमोधा M., p. 393, मुह Pr. for मख, p. 336. सहल Pr. for स्लर, p. 335,

सग Pali for स्क, p. 287. च्छ, इमश्र, pp. 398, 412. मल्यम in मोल, M., p. 393. सृग for मिग्ग मिर्ग, p. 289. सृत in मुओ, G. S., p. 292. सुत्तिका in माती M., pp. 392, 416. मृत्यु H. मीच, मच Pali मीच H., pp. 281, 391, 463. खंड M. in मऊ, p. 390. सष्टम् in मिठा, B. O., p. 390. मेख Cūlikā Paiśā. for मेघ, p. 344. मेघ S. मेह, p. 448. मेडी Pr. for मेथि, p. 331. में**ड्र** for मण्ड्क, p. 408. मेंडा M. मेडा, p. 459. मेळ for मेळा, p. 395, 421. मेळा Māgadhī, p. 395. मेळो, G. p. 395, मेर M. मेटा, p. 459. मेह Pr. for मेघ, p. 336. मेंहि S. for महिस Pr., p. 410. मेहुण from Māgadhī मिथुनम्, p. 397. मेदान for मेदान, p. 405. मोक्स, मोक्ष, pp. 291, 388. मोक्खति Pali for मोध्याति, p. 311. मोक्ष for मोक्ख or मौख, माञ्छ, pp. 471, 586. मोगरो G., p. 365. मोण्ड Pali, p. 331. मोर्ती, मोत्या obl. मोत्यास, मोत्यांसp.514. मोर Pali for मदर, pp. 292, 402. मोलि Pali for मौलि. p. 289. मोह G. in मोहदूं, from मुख, p. 397. मोहरा or महरा from मुख, p. 397. मोहरे or म्होरे from सह, p. 397. मौक्तिकम Skr. for मोतीं, मोत्या. pp. 400, 415, 522. मोत H. P. for मृत्य, p. 411. ब्रक्षण M. माखणें, p. 468. **न्हजितला** Old M., p. 499. स्तर for महेस. p. 402.

म्हेस M. महिषी, pp. 414, 455.

यज्ञोपवीतः M. जानवें, pp. 454, 461. यञ्ज for यज्ञ Pali, p. 279. यज्ञ Skr. यज्ञम् Pali, pp. 317, 318. यज्ञम्बर Skr., p. 542. यह from एष Skr. P., p. 385. याण Pali for ज्ञान, p. 286. याणादि M. or जानाति, p. 344. याह, विवाह, p. 431. युगम, M. ज्रं, p. 416. युद्ध, M. झूज, p. 464. युद्धा M. ज, p. 416. युद्धा M. ज, p. 4283. योग्ग Pali for योग्य, p. 283. योग्ग Pali for योग्य, p. 291. योग्य, M. ज्ञाग, p. 466.

रअअ Pr. for रजत, p. 335. रअणं Pr. for रतनं, p. 325n3. रक्तः M. राता in राताम्बा, p. 462. रक्ष M.^राख (जें), p. 468. रजनी for रैन H., p. 402. रञ्जं and राजून Pali, p. 300. रञ्जा, रञ्जो, राञ्ज Pali, p. 300. रट-आरट, M. रड, रडणे, आरडणें, p.435. रण्ण Pr. for अरण्य M. रान, H. रनः pp. 342, 428. रितया, रितयं, p. 301. रत्त्वा and रत्त्यं Pali, p. 301. रथ्या for रच्छा Pali, p. 281. रन्धनम् for रांधणें, p. 407. राश्म, G. रास reins, p. 466. राञं or राञ Pr., p. 348. राआ Pr. for राजा, pp. 335, 347. राख from रक्ष Skr., p. 382. राख्यो G. राख्यो. p. 496. राचा Culika Pais. for राजा, p. 244. राजं. राजेन and राजम्हा Pali राजानं, pp. 299, 300. 80 [R. G. Bhandarkar's works, Yol. IV.]

राजञ्ज Pali for राजन्य, p. 283. राजन, राअ, Pr. राय H., p. 323n3. राजा, गजार, राजादिगेर, राय, राव, राजा-नो, pp. 255, 300, 218, 519. राजिनो and राजिनि Pali, p. 300. राज्रभिहि and राज्रुस, p. 300. राज्ञीः M. राजा, p. 461. राञी for रञ्जो G. Pali, p. 314. राञी Pali, p. 314. रात M. रात्रि, p. 414. रातें nights H. p. 475. रान M. for राण, p. 454. राज्याण्स M., p. 427. राय M. राजा Skr., p. 429. राव M. राअ king p. 430. रास M. Skr. रााज्ञी, p. 413. राहि or सासि, p. 413. रिक Pr. for रिप्र, p. 335. रिच्छ Pr. for ऋक्ष, p. 330. रिच्छ Pr. Pali, अच्छ, p. 358. रिजू or उज्र Pr. ऋजु, pp. 330, 358. रिण Pr. Pali अण, p. 358. रिते Pali for ऋते, p. 288. ारी दि Pr. or Pali इदि, p. 358. रिद्धी Pr. for ऋदि, p. 330. रीति, p. 413. रुक्त Pali for स्था, p. 290. रुक्ख Pali for बृक्ष, pp. 284, 288. रुन्ध Pr., p. 353. रूपा, रूपे, रूपानि Pali, p. 301. स्तम M. रुसतो, रुमतो, p. 424. रेहेबुं G., p. 408. रेह P. for रोहित, p. 411. रेन H. रजनी, p. 414.

लक्सण Pali for लक्षण, p. 284. लक्सी Pali for लक्ष्मी, p. 284. लक्षणाः लक्छना, p. 471. 'लक्षमाः लक्छमन, p. 471. लक्षमुं G. from लिसना Hindi, p. 399.

लग of लगे, p. 384. लग्ग from लग्न Skr., p. 384. लग्गइ from लग, p. 507. लग्न: M. लाग जिं, p. 466. लच्छण for लक्षण, p. 471. लच्छाति Pali from लप्स्यते, p. 296. लही from Pr. याष्ट, p. 508n. लड्क लाडवा M. p. 522. लद for लब्द Pali, p. 279. लब्धः लधो S., p. 496. लब्भइ for लभ्यते Pr., pp. 357, 561. लम्भति Pali Atm. p. 306. ਲਵਮਰੇ Pali. p. 311. लभिस्ताति Pali लस्यते Sans., p. 296. ਲਗਟम् M. ਵਿਤਲ, ਜ਼ਿਲਗਵ੍ਚ pp. 406, 407. ललेर P. नारीकेल, p. 441. लवन for लोंना, p. 403. लवर्णे from नमन, pp. 408, 441. लहरं &c. Apabhr. p. 371. लाग from लग्न, pp. 382, 386. लागपति causal, p. 531. लागर्द G. to adhere, p. 395. लाङ्गलः M. नांगर p. 440. लाब Pr. for अलाब, pp. 342, 428. लाभणें M., p. 504. हाहसओं for हाहसक, p. 421. लावर्ण M., p. 531. लाषुक, p. 294. लाह Pr. for लाभ, p. 336. ਲਿख M. ਲਿਵ (ਯੋਂ), pp. 448, 450, 481. लिखा, पढा, ार्दया, पीया &c., p. 495. लिद्अं for लिद्कं, p. 420. लिधिकर Skr., p. 542. लिह Pr. for लिख, pp. 336, 481. लीणओ Apab. for लीनक, p. 421. ਲੀਲ G. ਜੀਲ, p. 441. लुहना H. from लुद, p. 437. **द्धण** Pr., p. 353. खनाति Pali, p. 306.

खुष्पला Old M. p. 499, लेबाइइं to come to take, p. 395. लोग H. लोक लोगन, pp. 434, 516. लोग B. M. संघेलोण,—स्वण, pp. 401, 454, 455. लोगी M. नवनीत, p. 441. लोहितच G. लोही, p. 416. लोह from लोहित Skr., p. 384. लोह H. for लोहित, p. 410. लोहना H. निवर्त, p. 441.

बअण Pr. for बदन, pp. 331, 335. वह for पति, p. 326n3. बड M. or बय, दृत्ति, p. 419. बन्स Cülikā Paiśā. for ब्याघ, p.344. वको G. from विक्रय, विक्री, p. 399. वकासवं G. from विकास, p. 399. वंक Pr. for वक्र, p. 343. बचन for बैन, p. 403. बचनकर Skr. p. 542. बच्छ Pali for बत्स, p. 282. बच्छे Pr., p. 358. बच्छेंण or बच्छेणं Pr. बक्षेण, p 343. बन्छेस Pr. or बन्छेसं for ब्रुक्षेष, p. 343. बट Skr. M. बड, p. 435. बड़ात for Pali बर्तते, pp. 282, 580,581.* .वडाअणु M., p. 447. बड from बर्ध Skr., pp. 383, 415. बाहिल M. बडेरो S., pp. 256, 382. बद्दाति, वर्तते, Skr., pp. 580, 581. वाङ्क Pali for वृद्धि, p. 288. वण्ट Pali for बृन्त, p. 286. वतन M. वतान Mal., Goan., p. 417. बत्ध Pali for बस्त, p. 279. वत्स M. बच(डें) वासरू, pp. 445,465. बदोमे or बदामि Pali from बद्, p. 305. वधाइणु H., p. 447. बधु H. G. S. बहू, बौ O. बधुयो, pp. 301, 402, 449. वध्यं, वज्झ, p. 231. बन्ध्या M. वांझ, p. 463.

वर from उपरि Skr., p. 381. वरसबुं G. to rain वर्ष, p. 456. वरात M. वरयात्रा, p. 430. वरिस H. वर्ष, वस्सिक Pali,pp. 316,456. वरील M. or वरला, p. 500. वर्ध M. बाहणें, बहुण S., p. 466. वर्धक-कि वाहो G., p. 466. वर्ष, वरिस or वास Pr., वस्स, p. 333, वर्सण S. to rain वर्ष, p. 456. वल्लहर्नु Apabhr. for वल्लभकस्, p. 421. वसन for भौन H., p. 403. वसर्स G. विषम M. विषम, p. 399. बसही Pr. बसति not बसई, p. 339. वासिकरण S. वशीकरण, p. 456. बंस S. बंश, p. 456. वस्त M. वस्तु Skr., p. 413. बह Pr. and Skr. same, p. 384. बहालं G. बलुभ, p. 460. वहालो G. or वाह्वो, वल्लभ, p. 449. वह Pr. for वध्, p. 336. वाउणा Pr. for वायुना, p. 335. वाटसरू, वाटसरा, वाटसरास, वाटसरास, pp. 474, 514. वाटिका M. वाडी, p. 416. वाडी, वाटिका Skr., वाडचे, Māl.,Goanp.524. वाहो S., p. 515. वाणारसी Pr., for वाराणसी, p. 342. वाणिज M. वाण्या, p. 522. वाणी M. for वानी, p. 454. वात, वाय, बाय, p. 404. वातूळ in बावळा M., p. 404. वादयति M. वाजविणें, p. 465. वानुं G. वचनकम Sk r., pp. 430, 454. वापी Skr. M. बाब, p. 436. वामअ Pr., वामक, р. 447. वामन in बावन Apabhr., p. 404. वाय H. बात, Skr., p. 429. बाळबुं G. Skr. बार to resist, p. 439. बालुका M. बाह्र, p. 416. वाळ M. बालुका Skr. बाळवांस, p. 524. ।विअण Pr. for व्यजन, p. 333.

विअणा Pr. for वेदना,वेअणा,pp.331,342. विआण Pr. for वितान, p. 335. बिख M. बिखु S., बिष, p. 458. विडल Pr. for विपुल, p. 335. विख-विख् S., M. विषे, p. 441. ात्रेखरणें Skr. for विष्कर, p. 398. विखम H. विषम, p. 458. विगाहित Pali for गार with वि, p.305, विच्छुक Pr. for वृश्विक, p. 342. बिज S. lightning, p. 516. बिज्जं Pr. for विद्वान, p. 332. विज्ञल Pr. p. 500. विझ S. to throw विध्य, p. 481. बिज्ञप M. बिनव [णें]. pp. 454, 461. विज्ञाप्ति M. विनंती, p. 454. ार्थेच् M., pp. 411, 514. विंद्धअ Pr. for वृश्विक, p. 343. विंजणा, p. 431 . विडो, p. 423. विश्व Apa. for विना, p. 365. विदिति Pali for बेनि, p. 05. विद्र Pali for विदग्ध, p. 286. बियत् M. बीज, pp. 463, 500. विदेस for Pali विदेष, p. 283. बिनंति M. बिज्ञाप्ते, बिणंति, pp. 444,454. बिपत M. विपान, p. 413. बिष्प Pali for विभ, p. 283. बिप्पिअयारउ for विप्रियकारक, p. 421. विश्वति, विश्वत, p. 523. विरिलो S. for विरल, विरळ M., p. 407. ाबिरिय Pali for बीर्य, p. 285. बिलिक Pr. for ब्यलीक, p. 333. विवाह H. विआह, p. 446. विंश [ति], बीस, p. 441. विभाम M. विमांवा, p. 442. विश्वास S. वे ताहु, p. 441. विष्कर M. ।विखरणें, p. 463. विसट Pali for विस्त, p. 288. विसणेला M. excited, p. 499. विसंदुल nom. sing. Apabhr.,p.366. विसामो, p. 443.

विस्मरण for विसरणें, p. 407. विस्सरति G. for विस्मरति, p. 285. विहत्यी Pr. वितस्ति not विअत्थी, p. 339. विह-विस P. from विष, p. 397. विहान morning, p. 449. बीज M. विद्युत्, p. 415. वीटिका M. विडी, p. 416. वीसं Pr. for विष्वक्, p. 334. बुबह for उच्यत Pr., p. 357. बुद्धि Pali for वृष्टि, p. 288. ਭੂਤਬੁੰ G. ਬ੍ਰਾੲ, p. 507. द्वस Pali for रूप, p. 288. वृक्ष P. रुक्ख, p. 468. बृद्ध H. बुड्डा, बहिल, pp. 256, 352. क्रिक M. विंचू, p. 416. वृषभ in H. बसह, p. 390. बृष्ट in बुठबुं G. p. 391. वज्झ Pali for वैद्य, p, 330. वेडावणें M. from विडम्बन, p. 397. वेढ [जं] M., p. 444. बेण M. बेदना, p. 430. वेदना, वेण Pr., p 255. वेदेति or विदति Pali for विद्, p. 305. वेयिका, वेदिका, p. 589n. बेर for बैर, p. 406. 'वेरबुं from विकिर, p. 398. बेल M. for बिहा बेली, pp.410,414,479. बेल्ली Pr. for बर्ला, p. 339. वेस्सभू Pali for ।विश्वभू, p. 291. बेहारण to cause to sit, p. 440. बैदिक Skr. for बेदिओ, p. 400. बेख Skr. for बेज़ S., p. 400. वैवाहिक Skr. for वेइ, p. 400. बोसंग from उत्सङ्ग Skr. p. 381. ट्यग्ग Pali, p. 286. ज्यग्य Pali, p. 286. व्यजन a fan, pp 407, 431. व्याख्यान, बाक्खान, p. 471. व्याघ M. बाघ, p. 467. न्याधि Pali, p. 286,

ज्ञक Pali for शकत, p. 287. ज्ञास्त Pali ज्ञाक, p. 458. शत for से, p. 403. ज्ञाद M. सड (जें), p. 451. इाड्य M. साद, p. 461. जामेथ Pali, p. 317. हास्तवाह Mā. सार्थवाह, p. 344. हाहाणपण, शहाण्पण, p. 433. 'जाटिका Skr. M. साही, pp. 415, 435, 478. ज्ञाल्मली-ज्ञेबरी, सांवरी, सांबरी, p. 409. शाहश M. for सारस, pp. 331, 343. **ज्ञालीय**, p. 540. शिक (जें) M., pp, 483, 485. जिक्लो M. प्यालें, p. 495. शिकेल M. शिकतील, शिकितील, शिकला, शिकतो. शिकत आहे, p. 492. जिक्ष M. शिकणें, p. 468. शिखण्ड M. शेंडी, p. 448. शिखा M., p. 457. शिग्र-शेगुल, शेगट M., p. 393. शिय, p. 457. जिंग. p. 457. शिही, p. 457. शिथिलम्, for सहज्ञ M., pp.410, 451. शियाल or शेयाल from शृगाल,p.397. शियाळो G. शीतकालक Skr., p. 429. ज्ञिरि for भ्री, p. 317. जिलें M. शीत अकम, p. 430. शिलोक M. श्लोक, p. 470. াহাৰতাৰ G. make him sew,p. 427. शिवणें, छूप, Skr. सिब्, pp.408,457. शिवद G. to sew, p. 457. शिवादबं G. to cause to sew, p.395. **जिसम G.** जिंशप, p. 457. जिसवा M. जिंजाप, p. 443. ज्ञीक M. ज्ञिगर्णे, ज्ञिक्णें, pp.424, 444. जीक्यो, p. 426. ज्ञीब M. ाज्ञीबर्णे, ज्ञिबला, p. 424. ज्ञीवबुं G. to sew, p. 395. ह्य for सं what ? p. 457.

शुका, मूखा, p. 426. ग्रुण, p. 386. श्रणिष्यति, स्रणिस्सति, श्रण्यन्ति, pp. 317 ह्यण्डा in सोंड M., p. 393. क्रभ H. सोह [ना], p. 449. श्रष्क M. सका, p. 463. ज्ञल्य M. सुना, p. 466. शुगाल in शियाल G., p. 390. **ரு,** pp. 387, 391. of Pali gu to hear, p. 295. जुजोति S. सुज [खु], p, 455. शेखरक P. सिइरा, p. 448. शेगट H., p. 457. होज M. हाय्या, pp. 410, 414, 457. होण pp. 395, 408, 457. होणवई or य M. सेनापति, p. 419. शेणवी, p. 419. जेंडी M. ज्ञिखण्डिका, pp. 397, 431. जेंदर M. Skr. सिन्द्रर, p. 457. शेष्ट M. or शेपटी, पुच्छ, p. 460. होल B. for हाल्य, pp. 412, 431. शेवरी M. or सांवरी Skr. शाल्मली, pp. 408, 440. शैवल Skr. for सेवल M., p. 400. होबाल H. होवाल, pp. 447, 457. जोणितस्य क्रम्भः-जोणिवाह क्रम्भे, p. 352. शोणिदस्य Pr., p. 352. शोन or शुन for सुण, p. 397. इयामल for सांबळा M., pp.407, 442. च्यालक M. साळा. p. 417. श्री for सिरि Pali, p. 285. भ्रेडी Skr., p. 457. श्लाघ H. सराह (ना), p. 448. श्लेष्म for सिलेसुम Pali, p. 285. इवशूर M. सासरा, p. 441. श्वशरक, सामरा M., p. 424. इबापद in सावज, p. 404.

षोडश M. सीळा, p. 439 षोल from षोडश, p. 386.

सअह Pr. for ज्ञाकट, pp. 335, 339. सइ or सय, M. स्मृति, p. 419. सहर Pr. for स्वेरं, p. 330. **सउन्दला** Saur. for शकुन्तला, p. 510. सउह Pr. for सोध, p. 330. सकल O, and B., p. 519. सक्क Pali for जाक, जाक्य, जाक्य, p.283. सखी M. सई, p. 448. सगन for Skr. शकन, p. 399. सगरांद P. संक्रान्ति, pp. 434, 436. सगळा M. Skr. सकल, p. 434. सगुन, शङ्कन M. शङ्कन, p. 434. संगोच P. संकोच M. संकोच, p. 434. सच from चेत with स. p. 294. सद्य for सत्य Pali, p. 281. सज्ज्ञस Pr. for साध्वस, p. 332. सद्धा Pr. for सटा, p. 339. सह Pr. for शह, p. 334. सहक्र M. शिथिल, p. 438. सहिल Pr. for शिथिल, p. 341. सणिकं Pali for जनकै: p. 286. संठविअ, संठाविअ Pr. संस्थापित, p. 341. सण्णा Pr. for संज्ञा, p. 332. सण्ड Pali for लक्ष्ण, p. 284. सत्तार Pali for ज्ञास्तार, p. 304. सत्थ or सत्था Pali, p. 299. सत्था, सत्थारो Pali, pp,298, 299. सत्थार, सत्थरि Pali for ज्ञास्तार, p. 299. सत्थ्रस्स or सत्थ्रनो Pali, p. 299. सत्य M. साच, p. 463. सप S. a. wish, p. 516. संत H. संतनका, p. 516. सन्तिक in तस्सान्तिकं, p. 294, संनिध M. पार्शी, p. 519. सपत्नी M. सबत, pp. 403, 437. सपूत H. for सपुत्र, p 411. सप्तदश M. सतरा, p. 439. सद्द for ज्ञाब्द Pali, p. 279. सब्ब Pali for सर्व, p. 281. सभ from सर्व Sans. pp. 383, 459. समणु G. स्वप्न, M. सपन, स्वप्न,pp. 399. 444.

समर Pr. for ज्ञाबर, p. 343. समर्प G. M. सोंप्णें. pp. 404, 461. समृद्धि or समिद्धि Pr., p. 341. सराहना Skr. श्लाप. pp. 440, 470. सरिआणं or सरियाणं, सरिताम, p.326n3. स- सारिच्छ, Pr. सदृश, p. 341. सर्प M. साप, p. 461. सर्व G. सह for सव, p. 464. सल M. शल्य, p. 456. सळई M. शलाका, p. 431. संक्रेखम G. श्लेष्म, p. 470. सवञ्ज Pali for सर्वज्ञ, p. 332. सवत M. सपत्नी, p. 414. सद्यं, सद्ये, &c., Pr., p. 349. सन्वज Pr. or सन्वण्ण for सर्वज्ञ, p.332 सन्बन्ध Pr., p. 349. सन्वस्ति or सन्वाभि, p. 349. सब्बेसिं, सब्बाण-णं Pr., p. 349. मही for सखी, p. 336. साअर Pr. for सागर, p. 335. साई from स्वामी Sans., p. 333. सांकळी M. जुङ्गला, p. 456. साक्षी, साच्छी, साखी, p. 471. साग H. जाक, p. 434. सांगे M., p. 487. मांचं from सत्यक्म, p. 382. सांज, संध्या Skr., p. 523. साडिआओ Pr., p. 478. साडी, शाटिका Skr. pp. 478, 514, 524. साध H. साध Skr., pp. 413, 450. साध M. साव, p. 449. सांत P. ज्ञान्ति, p. 456. सामन्त, M. सावंत, p. 442. सामळो, p. 443. सायंतन Skr., p. 539. सारिखा M. for सहक्ष, p. 412. सार्थ M. साढे, p. 466. साळ M. ज्ञाला Skr., p. 456. साळो. p. 418. सावज M. सावय, श्वापद, p. 465. सांबरो Skr. इयामलक, dark, p.440,

सावली, M. छाया, p. 430. सांविरो Skr., इयामलक, p. 440. सासप Pali for संपेप, p. 291. साह Pr., pp. 346, 347. साह for साधु, p. 336, साहुणो Pr., p. 346. साहुस्स, साहु M., p. 521. सिकरी, Skr, जूङ्खला a chain, p. 440. शिखावनुं Guj. to teach, p. 395. सिंचबुं G., सिंच Skr., p. 457. सिडी G., p. 457. सिडिल Pr. for शिथिल, pp. 331, 334. सिणिद्धकं for स्तिग्धकम्, p. 420. सिन्ध्र, इंद्रि, p. 393. सिमिण Pr. for स्वप्न, p. 343. सिया, सीना, p. 425. सियार, शृगाल, pp. 431, 440, 455. सिर of सिरू from शिरम् Skr., p. 383. सिलाघा Pali for श्लाघा, p. 285. सिलेस Pali for श्लेष, p. 285. सिलोक Pali for श्लोक, p. 285. सिविण Pr. for स्वप्न, p. 340. सीख H., ाहीक्ष, p. 456. सी**खर्ड G**uj. to learn, p. 395. सींग G. for गृङ्ग, p. 455. सीस Pali for शिषे, p. 291. सञनस्स Apab., p. 367. **स्रुआमी**, स्वामी, p. 433. **सहणं** for सूचीनाम, p. 326n3. **स्रक M., शु**ष्क, p. 456. स्टित for मुक्रत, स्क्रत, p. 289. मुको, p. 426. सुक Pali for शुक्त, p. 283. **सुखकर**, H. सोहर, p. 448. मुखुमार Pali for सुदुमार, p. 286. सुजर्णे M. from ज्ञूय, p. 504. सटणें M. सोडणें, p. 506. **सुन** Pr. for शून्य, p. 332. स्ण, ज्ञाण, Pr. for जाणीति, pp. 253, 353, 383. सुजी, सुज्यो S. having heard, p. 501.

मुणोति, सुणाति Pali, भूणोति, p. 306. सुता⁷, शुतार, p. 458. सुद्दिसण Pr., सुद्दसन, p. 359. मुद्दशेन, सुद्दरिसण,सुद्दशण,सुद्दस्सन,p.333. मुन from ज्ञुण, pp. 384, 481. मुन्देर Pr. for सौन्दर्य, p. 334. मुन्न, शुण्डा, p. 471. सुपिन Pali for स्वप्न, p. 285. मुत, G. मुतो, मुत्त, मुत, pp. 462, 499. सभाउ H. P., स्वभाव, p. 433. सुर or सुर M. स्वर, p. 433. मुरिअ Pali for मूर्य, p. 285. मुव H. शुइ to sleep, p. 432. मुबइ, स्वपिनि, pp. 334, 432. सुरह Māgadhi for सुष्ट, p. 344. सुहावन or सोहावन from सुखापन Skr., p. 397. सुई Pr. for मुचि, p. 335. मृक्ष्म for खुखुम Pali, p. 285. मुचिक, H. मुजी, p. 416. सूज H. or सूज्ञ, Skr. मुख्य, p. 434. मूजी H., माचि or मूचिक, p. 434. स्रतना H., सुन्न, p. 507. मून M. स्तुषा, p. 460. सेज H. शय्या, pp. 456, 523. सेज्जा Pr. for शय्या, p. 339. सिद्धि Pali for श्रेष्टिन्, p. 291. ਜੇਲ Pali for ਗੈਲ, p. 289. सेव्वा or सेवा Pr. for सेवा, p. 331. सेहर्स G. सुलभ, p. 460. सेहलो G. मुलभ, p. 449. सेहबुं Guj., p. 408. सेन G. संज्ञा, p. 414. सैन्धव Skr. for M. सेंघेलोण, p. 400. सोअमह Pr. for सौकुमार्य, p. 341. सोग H. शोक, pp. 434, 456. सोंड M. ग्रुग्डा, pp. 291, 414, 455. सोत्त Pr. for स्रोतस्, p. 331. सोत्तिय Pali for श्रोत्रिय, p. 291. सोदर Skr., सोअर Pr., सोयरा M., p. 323n3.